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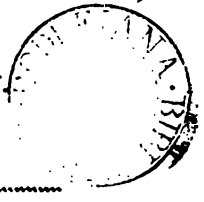

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR JANUARY, 1825.

ART. I. 1.—*Sermons and Charges, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. With Memoirs of his Life, by Henry Kaye Bonney, D. D. Archdeacon of Bedford.* 8vo. 325 pp. Longman & Co. 1824.

2.—*Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism. By the late Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, and some of the most eminent Writers of Persia, translated and explained: to which is appended an Additional Tract on the same Question; and, in a Preface, some Account given of a former Controversy on this Subject, with Extracts from it. Dedicated to the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, K. G. &c. By the Rev. S. Lee, A. M. D. D. of the University of Halle, Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Honorary Associate of the Royal Society of Literature, M. R. A. S. &c. and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.* With a Portrait of Mr. Martyn. 8vo. 584 pp. 1*l.* 5*s.* Rivingtons, London; Deighton & Co. Cambridge. 1824.

3.—*Letters on the State of Christianity in India; in which the Conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable. To which is added, A Vindication of the Hindoos, Male and Female, in Answer to a severe Attack made upon both, by the Reverend *****. By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in Mysore, Author of the Description of the People of India.* 8vo. 222 pp. Longman & Co. London. 1823.

4.—*A Reply to the Letters of the Abbé Dubois, on the State of Christianity in India. By the Rev. James Hough, Chaplain to the Hon. East-India Company, on the Madras Establishment.* 8vo. 322 pp. 5*s.* Seeley. 1824.

5.—*An Answer to the Abbé Dubois; in which the various Wrong Principles, Misrepresentations, and Contradictions, contained in his Work, entitled "Letters on the State of*

Christianity in India," are pointed out; and the Evangelization of India, is, both on Sound Principle and by Solid Fact, demonstrated to be practicable. By Henry Townley, Missionary to Bengal. 8vo. 214 pp. 4*s.* 6*d.* Westley. 1824.

THE death of Bishop MIDDLETON, and the time which elapsed before his successor could arrive at Calcutta, gave a serious but unavoidable check to the progress of Oriental Missions. Bishop's College, the great work of the Church of England, and of her first representative in Hindostan, has continued upwards of two years without any European officer but the Principal; because its founders were unwilling to appoint and dispatch the Professors, until Bishop Heber had communicated his sentiments upon the subject. It is now ascertained, that in July last his Lordship left Calcutta upon his visitation, without having written to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The earliest season, therefore, at which his letters can be expected, is the end of 1825; and if the answer should reach him by Midsummer 1826, the correspondence between the Society and the Visitor of the College will have suffered an interruption of four years.

Upon a hasty view, this prospect is discouraging. What institution, it will be asked, can struggle against such lamentable delays? How can the Church propagate Christianity in India, if every bishop has a system of his own, and makes room for it by upsetting what has been already done? Such were not the means by which Europe was converted from Paganism. The Popes, with all their faults, acted a wiser part. It was the steady prosecution of one plan which enabled Rome to achieve her conquests. The "infirm of purpose" can accomplish no great work; and although some may be dazzled with the glitter of their success, and others alarmed at the apprehension of their triumphs, experience teaches us to fear little from their enmity, and hope nothing from their co-operation.

These are the natural expressions of disappointment, which will be called forth by recent proceedings in the East. The loss of four years, two of which to all appearance might have been saved, is a subject of deep regret, if not of just complaint; it produces doubt and alarm; and no one can pronounce such feelings unreasonable nor unfair. Even if the result should prove favourable, if the circumstances which are so unpromising should turn out advantageous, it will not be less true that the present prospect is gloomy, or less prudent to prepare ourselves for the worst.

That these have been our own feelings we do not deny. But further reflection causes them in great measure to subside. A careful examination of the works enumerated in a preceding page, has convinced us, that the counsels of Bishop Middleton *cannot* be disregarded. Their solid and practical qualities will force themselves upon the notice of every one. The inherent worth of the system is a pledge for its ultimate adoption. The condition of Hindostan will not suffer us to stand still: some movements, if not some progress, must be continually made; and no movements will be safe, and no progress permanent, unless the advice of Bishop Middleton is treated as it deserves. Other schemes may be preferred by the partiality of parents and guardians, other systems may be carried on with more zeal and activity, other speculations may be entertained by speculative men; and each may do some good in its way. But the imperfections of each and all can only be counteracted by submission to the guidance of one master spirit. The confusion resulting from separate and sectarian undertakings will prove the importance of uniformity; the desultory efforts of individuals will seek a connection with some authorised leader; that leader will be discovered in the Church and the Missionary Establishment which she has founded; and then the propagation of the Gospel will cease to be fabulous or transitory. We do not say that all this will take place speedily, but we are confident that it will take place eventually. It may be delayed by the infatuation of the Indian authorities, or accelerated by their prudence and talents; but unless it comes to pass, Christianity will be swept from the face of Hindostan; and believing that such a calamity will not be inflicted, we believe also that events which must conduce to it will be averted. The completion and efficient working of such an institution as Bishop's College, is, humanly speaking, indispensable to the Missionary cause; and therefore, in spite of present appearances to the contrary, we infer, that the College will be eventually supported by its Visitor, and enabled to answer the expectations of its Founders.

The facts upon which this reasoning rests are gathered in great abundance from the various works before us. The letters of the Abbé Dubois have given rise to a controversy from which much may be learned by all parties. The Abbé is a gentleman of great respectability, and his information upon Indian affairs is extensive. The errors of his church have blinded him to many important truths, and a large portion of his argument is sophistical and inconclusive. But there is no reason to doubt the truth of his statements; they

are the result of long personal experience; and they have been encountered by his opponents with more vehemence than discretion.

The first of these opponents, Mr. Hough, has applied himself to one part of the question with success: he has answered the jesuitical portion of the Abbé's Letters, and pointed out the absurdity of saying that the Hindoos are *unconvertible*. But as Mr. Hough undertakes to defend the Church Missionary Society and all its kindred institutions, he exposes himself to the Abbé's best thrusts, and is unable to parry them. The character of the work is in general fair and candid; but the consistent Church Missionary is indifferent to the principles of the Church.

Mr. Townley takes a lower line:—Both in Asia and in Europe he enacts the part of an itinerant preacher; and if his harangues in Hindostan are similar to his harangues in England, he may be expected to produce the same effect among Indians that Captain Gordon is producing among Irishmen. His answer to the Abbé is principally remarkable for undertaking to prove a great deal, and proving in reality very little.

The Persian Controversies, by Professor Lee, are of a very different character from that of any of the foregoing; yet they harmonize remarkably with the other publications, by shewing how strongly Mahometanism is entrenched behind false philosophy and false criticism, and how incompetent our ordinary missionaries must be to cope with those learned doctors of the Koran, over whom the genius and piety of Martyn obtained no victory, and who threaten to stand their ground against the more laboured arguments of Professor Lee.

The Sermons and Charges of Bishop Middleton, with a Memoir of his Life, by Archdeacon Bonney, complete the series of publications to which we are calling the attention of our readers; and if the latter is less minute and satisfactory than we could wish, the former comprise much information in a small compass, and furnish a clue to the labyrinths of Oriental controversy. The scheme so beautifully and distinctly sketched by the first Bishop of Calcutta for evangelising his immense diocese, is not calculated to counteract, but to support similar undertakings. It accords in a remarkable manner with other schemes which are now in progress, and offers to supply their deficiencies, and correct their errors. It neither disbelieves, and desponds with the Abbé Dubois, nor falls into that cant of fanatical assurance by which missionary proclamations are so often disfigured. It grapples both with the Maho-

metan and the Hindoo. It offers to instruct and send forth European missionaries, duly qualified and duly authorized, to preach the Gospel. It provides for the education of native teachers, and the institution of native schools. It proposes to furnish the inhabitants of Asia with genuine translations of the Bible. And it will do all this, not by the instrumentality of a mere voluntary Association, which may cease, or may misconduct itself to-morrow, but through the agency of a corporation, regularly chartered by the King, and governed by the prelates of the Church. These are strong circumstances in favour of the system, and perhaps still stronger may be discovered by attending to the books before us.

To begin with the Abbé Dubois. It is thus that he describes the endeavours of his brethren, the Jesuits, to convey Christianity to the Hindoos:

"The disappointment and want of success of Xavier ought to have been sufficient to damp the most fervent zeal of the persons disposed to enter the same career. When a man of his temper, talents, and virtues, had been baffled in all his endeavours to introduce Christianity into India, his successors could scarcely flatter themselves with the hope of being more fortunate. However, this was not the case. His Jesuit brethren in Europe were not to be deterred by difficulties or contradictions in undertaking, where the cause of religion was at stake. In consequence, Jesuits were sent from every Catholic country to India, to forward the interests of the Gospel.

"By degrees those missionaries introduced themselves into the inland country. They saw that in order to fix the attention of these people, gain their confidence, and get a hearing, it was indispensably necessary to respect their prejudices, and even to conform to their dress, their manner of living, and forms of society; in short, scrupulously to adopt the costumes and practices of the country.

"With this persuasion, they at their first outset announced themselves as European Brahmins come from a distance of five thousand leagues from the western parts of the *Djamboody*, for the double purpose of imparting and receiving knowledge from their brother Brahmins in India. Almost all these first missionaries were more or less acquainted with Astronomy or Medicine; the two sciences best calculated to ingratiate them with the natives of every description.

"After announcing themselves as Brahmins, they made it their study to imitate that tribe: they put on a Hindoo dress of cavy, or yellow colour, the same as that used by the Indian religious teachers and penitents; they made frequent ablutions; whenever they showed themselves in public they applied to their forehead paste, made of sandal wood, as used by the Brahmins. They scrupulously abstained from every kind of animal food, as well as from intoxicating liquors,

entirely faring like Brahmins on vegetables and milk; in a word, after the example of St. Paul (1 *Cor.* ix. 20. 21.) "Unto the Jews, they became as Jews, that they might gain the Jews; to them that were without law, as without law. They were made all things to all men, that they might by all means save some." It was by such a life of almost incredible privations and restraints, that they insinuated themselves among these people.

"Fully aware of the unalterable attachment of the natives to their own usages and practices, they made it their principal study not to hurt their feelings, by attacking all at once the superstitions with which most of their customs are infested: they judged it more prudent at the beginning to overlook many of them, and wait for a more favourable time, to put the converts right on the snbject. Their colour, their talents, their virtues, above all, their perfect disinterestedness, rendered them acceptable even to the Hindoo princes, who, astonished at the novelty and singularity of the circumstance, bestowed their protection on these extraordinary men, and gave them full freedom to preach their religion, and make proselytes to it.

"The Jesuits began their work under these favourable auspices, and made a great number of converts among all castes of Hindoos, in those countries where they were allowed the free exercise of their religious functions. It appears from authentic lists, made up about seventy years ago, which I have seen, that the number of native Christians in these countries was as follows, viz. in the Marawa about 30,000, in the Madura about 100,000, in the Carnatic 80,000, in Mysore 35,000. At the present time hardly a third of this number is to be found in these districts respectively. I have heard that the number of converts was still much more considerable on the other coast, from Goa to Cape Comorin; but of these I never saw authentic lists." P. 4.

At length Pope Benedict XIV. condemned all these superstitious practices, and from that moment *the Christian religion* declined:

"At that very time happened the European invasion, and the bloody contests for dominion between the English and French. The Europeans, till then almost entirely unknown to the natives in the interior, introduced themselves in several ways and under various denominations into every part of the country. The Hindoos soon found that those missionaries, whom their colour, their talents, and other qualities, had induced them to regard as such extraordinary beings, as men coming from another world, were in fact nothing else but disguised *Fringy* (Europeans);* and that their country, their religion, and original education, were the same with those of the vile, the contemptible Fringy, who had of late invaded their country.

* *Fringy*, is the appellation under which the Europeans are designated by the natives of India; it is derived from the term Frank, and has been introduced by the Mahometans.

This event proved the last blow to the interests of the Christian religion. No more conversions were made; apostacy became almost general in several quarters; and Christianity became more and more an object of contempt and aversion, in proportion as the European manners became better known to the Hindoos.

"Nearly at that period the suppression of the order of the jesuits took place in Europe; and there being no longer a sufficient number of missionaries, a national black clergy was formed, and the attendance on the remaining congregations entrusted to their care. Those native missionaries not having the advantage of a proper education, and many amongst them shewing themselves more attached to their own interest than to those of religion, enjoy but little consideration even among their flocks, and none among the natives of any other description.

"Such is the abridged history of the rise, the progress, and the decline of the Christian religion in India. The low state to which it is now reduced, and the contempt in which it is held, cannot be surpassed. There is not at present in the country (as mentioned before) more than a third of the Christians who were to be found in it eighty years ago, and this number diminishes every day by frequent apostacy. It will dwindle to nothing in a short period; and if things continue as they are now going on, within less than fifty years there will, I fear, remain no vestige of Christianity among the natives.

"The Christian religion, which was formerly an object of indifference, or at most of contempt, is at present become, I will venture to say, almost an object of horror. It is certain that during the last sixty years no proselytes, or but a very few, have been made. Those Christians who are still to be met with in several parts of the country, and whose numbers (as I have just mentioned) diminishes every day, are the offspring of the converts made by the jesuits before that period. The very small number of proselytes who are still gained over from time to time, are found among the lowest tribes; so are individuals who, driven out from their castes, on account of their vices or scandalous transgressions of their usages, are shunned afterwards by every body as outlawed men, and have no other resource left than that of turning Christians, in order to form new connexions in society; and you will easily fancy that such an assemblage of the offals and dregs of society only tends to increase the contempt and aversion entertained by the Hindoos against Christianity." P. 11.

This is an outline of the Abbé's work. It is filled up with considerable spirit, and many of his details are lamentably accurate. But the theory by which he would explain what has happened is little less than ludicrous. Because the Jesuitical missionaries failed to convert the Hindoos, the Abbé believes them to be in a state of reprobation! Practices for which there is not the slightest sanction in Scripture; practices which have been condemned by the Catholic church, and forbidden by his own infallible Pope; practices which involved gross deception and fraud, and permitted

superstition and idolatry, have not succeeded in the propagation of the Gospel, and therefore the idolaters are blinded by an irreversible decree, and we must leave them in their ignorance and their sins! Truly the superstructure is worthy of the base! If there is any judicial blindness in the business, it must be imputed to the Abbé, and to those who think and act as he does, rather than to those who, by his own confession, have not yet heard the Gospel preached, and whose errors are for the most part inevitable. The Abbé dwells with evident complacency upon the number of converts added by his predecessors to the church, but not a word is said about their proficiency in Christian knowledge or practice. We are told that the morals of the native Christians in Southern India are now at a low ebb; but we are not told that they were in a different state before the downfal of the Catholic faith. In one word, it is evident that Jesuitical Christianity has been tried, and found wanting; and the inference is, that it never should be resorted to again. It is equally evident, that Protestant Christianity is yet upon its trial, and the result of the experiment remains to be ascertained.

The Abbé indeed contends, in anticipation of the answers, that the Danish and other Protestant missions in the South of India have been unsuccessful, and that consequently Protestantism, as well as Jesuitism, has failed. The argument is plausible, but admits of an easy answer; for, in the first place, until the erection of the see of Calcutta, the Protestant missions were the work of private individuals. The Church of England regarded them as an interesting experiment, but an experiment conducted upon too small a scale, and destitute of the proper superintendence and controul. The entire failure of such an undertaking would furnish no objection to a renewal of our efforts under the sanction of a Protestant bishop. In the second place, no such failure has occurred. Until the breaking out of the last war, both the Danish and the English missions had been blessed with a fair portion of success: that war interrupted the communication between the continents of Europe and Asia. The supply of new missionaries was cut off, and the Protestant congregations dwindled away, not from the invincible prejudices of Hindoos, but from the want of a Protestant clergy. The return of peace, and the presence and encouragement of Bishop Middleton, produced an immediate and an important change. And Mr. Hough, an unprejudiced eye-witness, bears testimony to this effect. If he has any bias upon the subject, it is against the old missions; for the less

they were able to effect, the more must the new missionaries be wanted and praised.

" There is a body of Christians in South India to which I have not referred. They are the fruits of the labours of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, and the German missionaries of the Christian Knowledge Society, and have been converted at different periods during the last century. They occupy eight principal stations—Vepery, Tanjore, Tranquebar, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, Cuddalore, Madura, and Ramnad. They are to be found also, in small numbers, scattered through many of the villages of South India. M. Dubois has some acquaintance with these people; and will, perhaps, know, that when I state them at twenty thousand, I estimate them far below their actual number.

" But he entertains a low opinion of their character: (p. 17—20.) I have visited all these stations, except Cuddalore; and from what I have observed, and the accounts I have received from the missionaries, I know them to be much superior, in a moral point of view, to the description which the Abbé gives of his own people.

" Of a considerable number of these native Christians I can speak more particularly, having lived amongst them for some time, and had the management of their spiritual affairs (under the direction of the Madras District Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society), and not unfrequently the adjustment of their temporal difficulties.

" The Abbé describes these people in the following terms:— ' There are, besides, a few Protestant Christians dispersed chiefly in the Tinnevelly district; but in such small numbers, that they do not deserve the name of congregations:' (p. 19.)

" I cannot reply to this better than by giving a brief description of these people. Their number is about four thousand, and they are scattered through sixty-three villages. Some of the congregations *are* too small ' to deserve the name:' but there are several amounting to near and upwards of one hundred, one of three hundred, and another of four hundred souls! The last two congregations form *two distinct villages: in each is a church, a boys and a girls school, a native priest, catechist, and two schoolmasters. There is not an Idolater or Papist among them; nor is a Popish image, a Heathen idol, or an altar, to be seen in any corner of their streets.* I have addressed them several times, when the churches were always crowded. The transition from the noise and idolatrous symbols of Pagan towns, to these peaceful abodes, was more refreshing to my spirit than any thing I ever remembered to have enjoyed out of my native land.

" Such are the fruits of the missionary Jænické's labours, assisted and succeeded by the country-priest Sattianaden, and other servants of the Christian Knowledge Society!—The reader will now judge of the accuracy or candour of the Abbé's description of these interesting people.

" He will probably ask, ' Are they not of low castes?' Some of them are persons of respectability, but the majority are Shanaars

(cultivators of the palmyra and cocoa-nut trees). But does their humble origin and occupation affect their Christian character? This objection has always been raised against the lowly disciples of Jesus, by those who glory more in secular distinctions, than in the name and service of God. 'The common people' have always heard the Gospel 'gladly:' in every age it has met with a more ready reception from them, than from the mighty, the noble, the learned, and the rich: and the soul of a Shanaar, or even a Pariah, is as precious, in the Redeemer's sight, as that of a Namboory or Poorohita Brahmin.

"But he advances a more serious objection against them: their moral character, he asserts, is worse than that of the Roman Catholic Christians: this, therefore, demands a more particular reply."

"I leave him to extricate himself from these dilemmas as he may, while I proceed to affirm, that his charge is not applicable to the native *Protestants*. I have proved the integrity of some: others I know, who have held places of trust under Europeans, and fulfilled their duties to the satisfaction of their employers: and nothing can be more satisfactory than the testimony borne by the Serampore Missionaries to the character of several in their service*.

"I can give an instance of a Heathen, also, who knew how to appreciate their character. When I was at Tanjore, in 1821, the Rajah† of that fort was gone on a pilgrimage to Benares, attended by a retinue of Brahmins and others.—Whom did he select for his *purse-bearer* on the journey?—I was informed, by a gentleman there, that *a Native Protestant* was appointed by him to this responsible office!

"But, supposing the Protestants, as a body, deserved one-half of the reproach which M. Dubois so unsparingly heaps upon them, they would at least prove this point, in opposition to his assertions, that the Hindoos *may* be weaned from their idolatrous practices. Though he will not allow that the 23,000 Protestants in India have attained to Christian perfection, yet, since not one of them is allowed to retain any Pagan superstitions, he can no longer maintain his position, that their prejudices, &c. are 'insurmountable.'

"If he object to this conclusion, that they are persons from the lowest castes, and that therefore they had less to relinquish than those in the higher ranks of society, I reply, that *many* of them are from the most respectable castes. I myself am acquainted with several *Moodalyars* and *Pillays*, and I know of some *Brahmins*. These, though they form the minority of native Christians, are more than enough to support my argument, in favour of the possibility of converting the Hindoos. But even were the assertion, that all the native Protestants are from the lowest castes, correct, it would not form an objection against my position; for the Abbé himself admits, that 'the low-born Pariah' is tenacious of 'the childish distinction

* Vindiciæ Seramporianæ, pp. 49, 50.—See also pp, 24, 25.

† This is the Heathen Prince who some years ago gave an endowment of land, producing an annual revenue of 500 pagodas, towards the support of the Protestant Mission in his dominions.

of the Right and Left Hand,' lays '*much stress*' upon it, and considers it 'the most honourable distinction of his tribe;' and says, that if you try to persuade him to lay aside that distinction, as 'wholly incompatible with the first duties imposed upon him by the Christian religion,' 'your lectures, your instructions, your expostulations, on such subjects, will be of no avail; and your Christians will continue the slaves of their Anti-Christian prejudices and customs:' (pp. 64, 65.) This, we are to conclude, is the experience of himself and other Jesuit missionaries: and any one who has read with candour the description, given in these pages, of the means which they have employed to convert the Hindoos, or to establish them in the faith, when converted, will not be surprised at their failure. But Protestant missionaries have met with better success. I could have shewn the Abbé, when in India, some devout Pariah Christians, who have entirely renounced 'the childish distinction of Right and Left Hand,' and are leading exemplary lives. Indeed, I know not the Pariah *Protestant* that has *not* renounced that distinction: and though all the 23,000 native Protestants in India were of that low caste—(they form, however, the minority of the 4,000 in Tinnevelly!)—they would still furnish ample grounds for my conclusion, that the Protestants have found it *possible* to convert the Hindoos to the faith of Jesus Christ." P. 190.

This is a triumphant answer, and Mr. Hough is entitled to our warmest thanks for the able manner in which he has brought it forward. His reply to several other parts of the Abbé's letters is equally satisfactory and convincing. He shews that the prejudices of the Hindoos are not invincible, by adducing various instances in which they have been overcome. He very properly ridicules the idea that the Bible must be concealed or misrepresented, lest it should give offence by describing the sacrifices of the Mosaic law, or by the mention of the fatted calf in the parable of the prodigal son. Such objections, and there are many of them in the work before us, savour of that old prejudice which Papists are so unwilling to relinquish—the prejudice which cannot, or will not remember, that the Gospel was preached to the poor. Such arguments may have their effect at Rome, at Madrid, or at Dublin, but it is a waste of powder and shot to point them against the English public. Even Mr. Hough's exposition of their absurdity might have been spared. The very statement of the Abbé is its own refutation.

There is, however, a portion of the field on which he maintains himself with more effect, and on which his opponents are forced to manœuvre, in order to keep their ground and prevent an overthrow. It is the question, not of the Bible, but of the Bible Society; not whether the Hindoos will be hurt by reading the Scripture, but whether Scripture can

be advantageously or safely presented to them in a mutilated condition.

"It is on all hands admitted, that before a translation from one language into another be undertaken, it is absolutely necessary to possess an entire and thoroughly grammatical acquaintance with both. Now, where are the Europeans who possess so perfect a knowledge of the idioms of India? and again, where are the natives who possess the same advantage with respect to the European dialects? if persons of this description are to be found any where in this country, they are in very small numbers indeed.

"Some partial translations of the Scriptures are, it is true, to be found in the country; but in my humble opinion they have entirely missed their object. I have by me a copy of the New Testament, translated into Tamul, executed by the Lutheran missionaries; but the translators, by endeavouring to make it literal, have generally used such low, trivial, and, in many instances, ludicrous expressions, and the style is, besides, so different from that of the Hindoos, that persons unaccustomed to it, cannot (as I have witnessed in repeated instances) read over four verses without laughing at the manner in which the work is executed.

"In my last journey to the coast, I saw a letter on the subject, from a missionary in Travancore, to a person of the same description at Pondicherry, in which were the following expressions:—

"'Many hundred sets of the New Testament, translated into the *Malayan* dialect, have been sent to us (without our asking for them), to be circulated among our Christians. I have perused this performance; the translation is truly piteous, and only worthy of contempt: one cannot peruse four verses without shrugging up the shoulders. This large collection of New Testaments now in our hands places us in a very aukward situation: if we leave them to rot in our apartments, we fear to expose ourselves to the displeasure of those who supplied us with them, who appear anxious to have them circulated, and if we follow their instructions on the subject, we cover ourselves with ridicule.'"

"I remember an instance of the kind, which will not appear foreign to my subject. About twenty-five years ago, the French missionaries, in the province of Sutchuen in China, were earnestly requested by the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* at Rome to translate the Gospel into Chinese, and sent a copy to them. The missionaries answered, that as the Chinese language did not admit of a literal translation, they had, a long time before, compiled a work in Chinese containing the history and moral of the Gospel, for the use of their congregations, and that nothing more could be satisfactorily executed on the subject; yet, as the request was urgent, they prepared, with the assistance of their best informed proselytes, a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, a copy of which they sent to Rome, informing, at the same time, the congregation *De Propaganda*, that the translation of this Gospel alone, obtained with the assistance of many well-educated natives,

had cost them considerable labour and trouble; adding, that this literal translation differed so widely from the Chinese style, that even their converts would hardly refrain from laughing in perusing it.

"Now, it is not a little curious to observe, that what European missionaries, who had passed the greatest part of their lives in China, judged next to impossible to execute, even with the assistance of many well-educated natives, an unassisted Armenian, of the name of *Lassar*, at Serampore, should imagine himself able to perform; and it is not only the translation of a single Gospel he has undertaken,—the whole Bible literally translated by this individual has been emphatically promised by the missionaries to the curiosity of the public.

"Many unprejudiced and unbiassed Europeans, acquainted with the idioms of the country, with whom I have had opportunities of conversing on the subject, and who happened to have perused some parts of the translations of the Scriptures now extant, I am happy to say, perfectly coincided in opinion with me, that such low and vulgar versions of our holy books ought carefully to be concealed from the sight of the Pagans, in order that their aversion to Christianity may not be increased, and the European character injured." P. 38.

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"Nobody is better persuaded than myself of the quite disinterested intentions of the Bible Society. I feel that it would be extremely impertinent in me to make insinuations in the least offensive to that learned body; but I cannot help saying, that their endeavours to enlighten the Hindoos, or to make the least impression on them through the translation of the Holy Scriptures circulated among them, are, in my opinion, quite lost trouble, and will be of no avail. I cannot moreover help declaring, that the money spent for the purpose would be better and more meritoriously employed in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked.

"It is of no utility to distribute Bibles if you have not well-founded hopes that they will be read, and their meaning be understood. Now, I have every reason to apprehend, that as long as they shall be translated into the almost unintelligible style in which we see the versions already executed, there is not the remotest hope of their being of the least utility even to the best disposed persons, and that (as I observed in a foregoing letter) those loose and spurious versions will only tend to increase the contempt of the prejudiced natives against Christianity, and prove on the whole detrimental to its interests.

"In fact, if one of the many proofs of our holy books being of divine origin be derived from their intrinsic worth, from their noble, inimitable, and majestic simplicity, there is, alas! on the other hand, but too much room to fear that the Hindoos will form a directly opposite judgment on the subject, when they behold the quite ludicrous and vulgar style of the versions at present circulated among

them; and that even the most reasonable and best disposed, on perusing the Scriptures under such a contemptible shape, so far from looking upon them as the work of God, will, on the contrary, be strongly impelled to consider them as mere forgeries of some obscure, ignorant, and illiterate individual, and of course as a downright imposture.

"Among many instances which are come within my personal notice of the effects produced on the minds of the natives by the versions of the Holy Scriptures into the idioms of India, I will content myself with relating the following only:—

"Being in a neighbouring village, three or four months ago, I received there the visit of some Christians living in the *Bellary* district, in a place called *Talairu*, where between 30 and 40 *Tilinga* Christian families reside. After the ordinary marks of respect, and the usual compliments, one of my visitors took a book out of a small bag, and without uttering a single word, laid it at my feet. On opening it, I found it was a translation into *Tilinga* of the gospel of St. Matthew; and before saying any thing about it, I wished to be acquainted with the opinion of my visitors on the work. Having interrogated them for the purpose, the person who had delivered it to me began the following curious account, saying, That some months back two Christians of their village went to Bellary on some business, and hearing that a European *gooroo*, or priest, (whom from their account I understood to have been a Protestant missionary,) was living in that place, they went to pay him a visit; that they had been very kindly received by him, and that after a good deal of conversation, chiefly on religious subjects, the gooroo, on dismissing them, had made them a present of the book, strongly recommending them to have a chapter of its contents read every Sunday in their chapel to the assembled congregation; that there being only five or six individuals among the congregation who could write and read, on their return they called on them, and delivered the book to them; that these persons had assembled together for the purpose of reading it, and becoming acquainted with its contents; but that they were unable to understand the meaning of a single chapter; that in their perplexity they had applied to some Pagans living in the same village, to assist them in expounding the book; but no one among them had been able to understand any thing about it; that they were then disposed to believe that the foreign *gooroo*, who was not their own, had given them such a work to make a jest of them, and that in this persuasion, some were of opinion, that it should be thrown into the fire; but the majority wishing to become acquainted at least with the outlines of the work, called for the purpose on a brahmin *poorohita*, or astrologer, living in their neighbourhood (which circumstance of Christians having recourse to a Pagan astrologer, to expound the Gospel to them, is not the least curious); that the poorohita having perused one or two pages in their presence, told them that it appeared to him to be a curious book, but that it was written in so loose and incoherent a style, and in so obscure a manner, that it would require some days to become

acquainted with the whole. He therefore dismissed them, telling them to come back after a few days.

"When the Christians returned, the poorohita gave them the following curious answer, assuring them, in a low tone of voice, that he had thoroughly perused the work with attention, and that it was nothing more or less than a treatise upon *magic*; adding, that it was worked up in obscure and incoherent sentences, quite unintelligible to *sudras*; 'as is always the case,' said he, 'with works treating upon occult and pernicious sciences;' and strongly recommending them to destroy, or otherwise get rid of it, as it was a great sin to keep so pernicious a book in their possession.'

"Such is the account those poor simple fellows gave me of the gospel of St. Matthew. The fact is, that the *poorohita* himself had been unable to understand any thing about it; but as he was unwilling to confess his ignorance before *sudras*, he thought he had better give them this awkward explanation. This anecdote will give you some idea of the versions of the Holy Scriptures now extant in the country, and of their utility." P. 125.

To these forcible objections no answer has been given either by Mr. Hough, or by Mr. Townley; or rather, there is an answer, and that a very unsatisfactory one. They remind us that all first versions must be incorrect. They assure us that great pains are taken in revising the different translations, and they adduce instances in which the attention of the natives has been arrested by a perusal of these works, even in their present imperfect state. There is no disputing such facts, but they bear very slightly upon the question at issue:

"He reprobates, however, in the strongest terms, the character of the Translations hitherto made into the Oriental Languages; and maintains that they are so very imperfect, that they cannot be understood. If that be the fact, he may dissipate his apprehensions of the evil they will do; for it will certainly go far to neutralize his objection, that they will do more harm to Christianity than good. He knows, as well as I do, that the natives are not so industrious, as to toil through a volume which they find it difficult to comprehend. In the event, then, of a stray copy finding its way to a man as unprepared for it as he may suppose him to be, and not familiar with the style in which it is rendered, it cannot do the harm which he pretends to fear." (P. 125.)

This is not much to the purpose. The Abbé's objection is, that the Bible Society's translations of Scripture will prejudice the natives of Hindostan against the reception of Christianity, because those translations are in many instances absurd. To reply that the Hindoos are too lazy to discover these manifest imperfections, seems no trifling mistake upon the part of Mr. Hough. The laziness of the natives affords a strong

presumption against their taking the trouble to separate the sterling ore of the Gospel from the dross and impurities by which it is concealed; but who ever heard of a person being too lazy to take offence at what shocks his ruling prejudices, or that superficial faults will not be detected for want of industry.

If their palliating answer is injudicious, the more direct reply is at least equally unsatisfactory:

"So far, then, as my observation has extended, I affirm that the Abbé Dubois has totally failed in his attempt to fix a stigma upon the operations of the Bible Society in the East.

"I admit that accurate Translations of the Holy Scriptures, into the various languages of India, are difficult to be obtained: but first versions require, and will receive, indulgence from all who candidly consider the great obstacles with which the translators have to contend. It is not necessary for me to reply to M. Dubois insinuations against the Serampore missionaries. Their qualifications for the important task they have undertaken; the vigilance and labour with which they have endeavoured to prevent inaccuracies in every version that has passed through their hands, have been fully, and, to every unbiassed mind, satisfactorily explained.* I feel that it would be degrading those estimable men—men whose talents, and worth, Marquis Wellesley, Lord Minto, and Marquis Hastings, together with a long list of public servants in Bengal, eminent no less for piety than ability, knew how to appreciate—to *intimate* the necessity of advancing one word in their defence against the Abbé's unwarranted attack †. P. 35, &c. &c.

This is no defence of the Bible Society's translation. Their gross inaccuracy is asserted, not only by the Abbé Dubois, but by every person who has written or spoken upon the subject, save and except the Society itself; and Mr. Hough's defence is, that Carey and Ward were men of talent and character, aided by Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, and Lord Hastings; and therefore they have translated the Bible with accuracy!!

Mr. Townley is equally careful not to pledge himself for the correctness of these much debated works:

"I anticipate that now my own opinion of the Indian versions of the Sacred Scriptures may be demanded; and I shall be free, as far as my competency extends, to give it. My testimony must, however, be confined to the versions in the Bengalee language; for,

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* See Ward's Farewell Letters—the whole Series of Memoirs published by themselves upon their Translations—the Eclectic Review for Nov. 1823, &c.

† For a vindication o the Serampore missionaries, see their Vindiciæ Seramporianæ.

except in a very slender degree, I am not acquainted with any other of the Indian dialects.

" There exists two versions of the New Testament in Bengalee; one by Dr. Carey, and the other by the late Mr. Ellerton, of Malda, both of them admirably acquainted with the vernacular idiom of the Hindoos inhabiting Bengal.

" Both of these versions are of great and acknowledged merit, each possessing excellencies peculiar to itself. That by Dr. Carey has more of the attractions resulting from Sanscrit stores, and a learned modification of the sacred page. That by Mr. Ellerton excels in many happy renderings of a familiar and idiomatic kind. Whilst capable of improvement in subsequent editions, they are, in their present state, of incalculable value to the Christian teacher in Bengal. They have been of essential service to myself, and are so to every missionary labouring among the Hindoos of that province. They are perused by many hundreds of Hindoo youths in different schools, and by many adult Hindoos, both converted and unconverted; and they are the means of imparting a variety of important and essential benefits, both temporal and eternal, to Bengal; and if the author should insinuate that they are 'spurious versions,' 'ludicrous, vulgar, and almost unintelligible,' and looking like 'forgeries of some obscure, ignorant, and illiterate individual;' I trust that such insinuation will altogether be deemed unwarranted.

" With respect to the various other versions of the Scriptures which have been made in India, I am, as I have already intimated, unable to give any positive opinion. If I were nevertheless required to state what is my impression as to the probability of the several versions being adequately executed, I should say, that I apprehend all the versions are not of equal merit. The gradations in the experience and skill of the translators, I presume, will naturally lead to gradations in the excellencies and defects of their respective versions. I would add, that I should presume, that in every version in its first stages, there would probably be found many stiff and unidiomatic expressions, and a multitude of renderings capable of much improvement. In this sentiment I am countenanced by one of the Serampore missionaries, the late Mr. Ward, who does not attempt to represent the numerous versions executed by himself and colleagues as having no or few defects. 'Every first version of such a book as the Bible,' says Mr. Ward, 'in any language, will require in future editions many improvements, and all the aids possible to carry those versions to perfection.' I would add, that I apprehend the worst executed version that can be found in India, contains a sufficiency of what is plain and intelligible, to make the Hindoo reader acquainted with the dialect in which it is written, wise unto life eternal. If he be of an humble, teachable disposition, he will, I apprehend, discover enough to guide him to honour, glory, and immortality; and if he be of a proud, supercilious, cavilling turn of mind, then his contempt of an imperfectly executed translation of the word of God, made for his benefit by a benevolent stranger who loves him, and

longs for his felicity, is a fault chargeable, not on the version, but on the proud, ungrateful individual who thus spurns it."

"The Mission College, established by the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in the neighbourhood of that metropolis, may be expected to render very considerable aid towards the accomplishment of the important design. That learned and zealous prelate, in laying down the plan of the institution, has particularly specified the translations of the Sacred Scriptures into the languages of Hindostan, as one principal object which the College would embrace. 'In the third place,' Dr. Middleton states, 'I would make the Mission College subservient to the purpose of translations. Much has been done, or attempted in this way; but by no means, as I have reason to believe, so much and so well, as to make this department of missionary labour superfluous or unimportant. We still want versions, which, instead of being the work of one or two individuals, should be the joint productions of several, taking their allotted portions of Scripture, submitting their tasks to approved examiners, and sending the whole into the world under the sanction of authority.'

"This intimation is greatly calculated to strengthen the expectation of the Christian public, that in due time the Indian translations of the Holy Scriptures will attain a sufficient degrec of accuracy and maturity, to constitute them standard versions of the Sacred Volume."

The last passage is particularly creditable to Mr. Townley's candour; and we trust that such a hint from such a quarter will not be thrown away. A distinguished Baptist missionary looks forward with pleasure to the assistance of Bishop's College in providing *standard versions* of the Sacred Volume, He admits, therefore, that standards are wanting; that is to say, that existing versions are incorrect. And yet it is for asserting this very fact that he quarrels with the Abbé Dubois. Even before Mr. Hough's admission, the point was as certain as such a point could be. "I hope," says a learned correspondent of our's, speaking of a new translation now in some forwardness, "that, *unlike many now in India*, it will neither offend the learned native by its barbarism, nor the biblical critic by its incorrectness." "The Bombay Bible Society," observes another highly esteemed friend, "has assisted the missionaries in translating the Old and New Testament into Guzaratee, and the Gospel into Mahratta. And the fact is remarkable, because the Serampore translators professed to have done the same before. But their translation is almost entirely Sanscrit, and utterly unintelligible to the bulk of the people. If it were otherwise, the Bombay Society would not have been justified in making entirely new translations, without any allusion to those of Serampore." These are the tes-

timonies of most respectable men, who can hardly be mistaken upon the subject in dispute; and if they are not enlisted under the banners of the Bible Society, and are for the present without a name, we may refer the reader to an authority not liable to either of these objections, "For my part," says Dr. Henderson, in the very sensible pamphlet which unanswerably established the *Mahometanism* of the Bible Society's Turkish New Testament, "I cannot help expressing it as my conviction, founded on a knowledge of facts, that a surprising degree of credulity has obtained, and still in part obtains, as to the qualifications of those to whom the overwhelming responsibility has been attached, of providing translations and editions of the Sacred Scriptures."

Adding these assertions to that of the Abbé Dubois, and comparing them with Mr. Hough's very qualificd negative, we rejoice with Mr. Townley at the prospect of obtaining standard versions; and let us not forget that it is Bishop's College from which these versions are expected to emanate.

There is one other portion of the controversy between the Abbé and his correspondents to which we must briefly advert, namely, the degree of success which has attended the labours of the Church Missionary Society, and its kindred associations. The Abbé asserts that it has been much exaggerated.

"I will now close the discussion I have carried on in this and the foregoing letters. When I commenced them, I did not imagine I should go so far into the question. I was induced to enter into so many details by the consideration that elucidations on this interesting subject, by a person of my profession and experience, might prove of some advantage to the public, among whom, it appears, much ignorance and misapprehension prevails, and whose opinion has been in a high degree misled by imperfect, and, in many instances, erroneous statements, published of late, at home, by persons led astray by a misguided religious zeal, and who took upon themselves to treat of matters with which they were scarcely at all, or but very imperfectly acquainted.

"In fact, on perusing the reports of those gentlemen, persons unacquainted with the subject might be induced to suppose, that the Hindoos are a people quite prepared for a revolution in their religious system, and ready to break to pieces and trample upon their gods of stone and brass. One would think, in hearing them, that these fields "*are white already to harvest*," and that it is only necessary to come with sickles and baskets to cut down and gather an abundant crop.

"For my part, as an experienced veteran in this kind of sacred militia, engaged for a long period in the same kind of holy warfare, thoroughly acquainted with the character, the dispositions, and resources of the common foe, and with all the difficulties which are to be met with in the contest, I beg to be allowed to entertain the most serious doubts of the truth of those pompous and all-promising reports, until more unbiassed and more impartial evidence shall have removed my scepticism." P. 139.

When we perceived that both Mr. Hough and Mr. Townley had devoted separate chapters to the "Success of the Protestant Missions," we anticipated a triumphant reply to these serious imputations. The following are the most distinct answers we can find:

"But while I thus explain the *means* which Protestant missionaries employ for the conversion of the natives of Hindostan; and maintain, in opposition to the Abbé Dubois' assertion to the contrary, that they are more likely to accomplish that end than any which the Jesuits have used; I nevertheless beg to state, that, without God's blessing, they do not *depend* upon *any* means for success. Fully do I concur in opinion with him, as he restates his position, 'that, under existing circumstances, there is no *human* possibility of converting the Hindoos:' (p. 2.) I know the difficulties; have grappled with them as well as he; and again and again have been compelled to stand still. But, praised be God! this has not always been the case; and one instance of success has appeared to me an ample remuneration for the labour expended upon twenty failures. P. 183.

"Here I might speak of a catechist of high caste, who, by eating and drinking in my presence what was handed to him by a *pariah servant*, gave incontestable proof of his having renounced caste, and all Pagan distinctions, for the sake of Christ. After this, he continued in my service several months; and I had every reason to be satisfied of his sincerity, and to be thankful to God for the success that attended his labours. I might dwell also with satisfaction upon the character of another catechist, whom I employed about four years in a confidential situation. The humility, piety, zeal, and integrity of this man were as evident fruits of the Spirit as I ever remember to have witnessed. To these I might add several private Christians among the Tinnevelly Protestants, who, I had every reason to believe, were sincere converts: also several priests, catechists, and laymen at Madras, Vepery, Tanjore, Tranquebar, and in North India. But my object is, not so much to count the number of converts upon whose sincerity we may rely, as to shew, *from my own experience, that the work of conversion is actually begun in India.* One instance is sufficient to establish my point, and overturn the whole of the Abbé Dubois' reasoning and conclusions. I have given three cases, at least, of native converts, who have come under my personal observation, and of whose "real" *conversion* I can speak with some confidence." P. 209.

"But to proceed with the main subject of the chapter. When I left Bengal in the month of November, 1822, there was one Hindoo, concerning whom the missionaries in Calcutta had hopes that he was really, from upright motives, seeking admission into the Christian church; these hopes have been subsequently strengthened, and he has been actually baptized. Herein there has been a similarity between the first fruit of missionary exertions reaped by the London Society, and that gathered by the Baptist missionaries. The first Hindoo convert, effected by the instrumentality of the missionaries of the Baptist denomination, was won to the cross of Christ after their society had commenced its operations in India about seven years: the London Society in Calcutta have obtained their first convert after about the same lapse of time.

"It may be added, that the Church Society reaped their first fruits at Burdwan also, after having the faith and patience of their missionaries put to the test during a period of about the same duration." P. 109.

From the caution which they have observed in the works before us, not less than from their general character, these gentlemen are clearly incapable of asserting what they do not suppose to be true. We have no doubt that they believe the reality of the conversion which they report, and we see no reason to differ from them on the subject; but can they possibly imagine that these timid assertions will suffice to rescue "the pompous and all-promising reports of their societies" from the just indignation of the Abbé? Is there not a remarkable difference between the statements of these individual gentlemen, for which they pledge their own word, and the "emblazoned panegyrics of official reports" (as Dr. Henderson calls them) for which no individual is answerable. The reader will not be able to discover a satisfactory answer to these questions in any of the works under review. The charge is, that the general tenor of the reports, the speeches of certain itinerant orators, and the common language of their party, exaggerate the success of the missionaries. Mr. Hough and Mr. Townley reply, that to the best of their belief, ten or twelve real conversions have taken place. Is this the language of Mr. Townley in the sermons which he delights to preach in all the market towns in the kingdom? Is this the language of Mr. Parson, who has harangued so many church missionary meetings in the course of the last summer, and informed them, we presume, of the respect with which he treated Bishop Middleton, and of the reception which he gave to Bishop Heber? We can only say, that if they are, if these gentlemen have used the moderate and qualified language which distinguishes the answerers of Dubois, their hearers must be deaf or stupid;

for we never met with one of them who viewed the business in this light, and we suspect they will be somewhat surprised at the difference between oratorical amplification, and written accuracy and precision. The only success worth mentioning which the missionaries have obtained, or which is claimed by Mr. Hough and Mr. Townley, is the extensive establishment of native schools, and the employment of a few indifferently qualified native teachers. If these advantages are duly improved, they may lead to important results; but those results will not be secured, unless the education of the native teachers is conducted upon sound principles. Mr. Townley deplores the loss of a Brahmin, who had a goodly "gift in prayer;" and Mr. Hough commends the reports of Abdool Messeh, for which it is generally understood that we are indebted to Archdeacon Corry. But whether this be or be not the fact, the judicious, and orthodox, and adequate instruction of such natives as aspire to the rank of teachers, is the point upon which most of what is about to be done must hinge; and what plan that deserves the name has been suggested for such instruction, except that chalked out by the projector and first visitor of Bishop's College?

This question will be put with still more effect when we have attended to the "Persian Controversies." They consist of the tracts on Christianity and Mahometanism, which were composed by the late Mr. Martyn, and his opponents; and we heartily concur with Professor Lee, in his estimate of their importance. It is rumoured, that the highest authorities in British India intend to abstain from all interference with Mahometans. We will not credit so strange a tale; but among many other reasons why it cannot be true, we may notice the progress which has been already made, and the great danger of arresting it. The Mahometans have been attacked with vehemence; and not contented with remaining on the defensive, they have attacked Christianity in return; impeached the authenticity and truth of the Bible, and entered upon an immense field of critical, historical, metaphysical, and sceptical inquiry. To decline the contest therefore, if it were possible, would be in the highest degree impolitic. It would be supposed, and not unreasonably, that Christians were no match for the learned defenders of Islam. It would be said, that we are eager to encounter an ignorant idolatrous Hindoo; but retire, in alarm and disgrace, before the followers of the true prophet. Professor Lee very sensibly observes, that every missionary should be prepared to cope with Mahometan errors; and he gives a gentle hint that it is not commonly the case.

"As the following pages may perhaps be found useful to missionaries and others, who wish to make themselves acquainted with this question, I have thought it might not be amiss to give some notices and extracts from the controversy as it existed prior to the times of Mr. Martyn; especially as that controversy was prosecuted to a much greater length than his, and contains much valuable matter on the subject. It may also be desirable to know where books treating on this question are to be found; because we hear it sometimes affirmed, that a missionary has not the means, in this country, of acquiring a deep and accurate insight into the opinions of the Mohammedans:—that Grotius, Sale, and others, have left us in the dark, as to their metaphysics, mysticism, &c. and therefore, that it is necessary, not only to learn their language in the East, but also their opinions. As far, however, as my knowledge of this subject goes, I must be allowed to express a different opinion, having no doubt, that both the languages and opinions of the Orientals can be learned in this country at as little expense, and in as little time, as they can in the East, and at a much less risk. Our public libraries contain the very best books on every subject connected with grammar, history, ethics, theology, geography, and every other science; and to which, even in the East itself, access is seldom to be had. Valuable as the labours of Mr. Martyn certainly were, yet I have no doubt, that if he had passed a short time in this country in a preparatory course of Oriental reading, he would not only have done more than he has, but he would have done it better, and with far greater comfort to himself." P. i.

The account thus promised is contained in the professor's preface, and is well worth reading; but Mr. Martyn, and his antagonists, have a more immediate claim upon our attention. The professor's account of them is contained in the following passages:—

"It appears from his Memoirs, that he left the Bay of Bengal in January 1811, and arrived at Shiráz in the June following. After disputing several times with the literati of that place, he was informed on July 3, that *Mirza Ibrahim*, the preceptor of all the Moolas, was then writing a book in defence of Mohammedanism; which appeared accordingly on the 26th of the same month. 'A considerable time had been spent,' it is said, 'in its preparation; and, on its seeing the light, it obtained the credit of surpassing all former treatises upon Islam.' The epigraphe to this tract, given in Mr. Martyn's Memoirs, does not occur in the manuscript which has come to my hands; it is this: 'This was finished by Ibraheem ben al Hosyn, after the evening of the second day of the week, the 23d of the month Jemadi the second, in the year 1223 of the Hegira of the prophet. On him who fled be a thousand salutations!'" P. cxv.

"'His answer,' says Mr. Martyn's biographer, (p. 403), 'was divided into two parts: the first was devoted *principally* to an attack upon Mahometanism: the second was intended to display the evi-

dences and establish the authority of the Christian faith. It was written in Persian, and from a translation of the first part, which has been found, we perceive that Mr. Martyn, 'having such hope,' used great plainness of speech, whilst, at the same time, he treated his opponent with meekness and courtesy,' &c.

"This is not quite correct. Mr. Martyn's replies consisted not of two, but of three parts, as the reader will perceive from the following translations. Nor do they treat of the evidences of Christianity, at least in the sense in which that word is usually received. Towards the end of the third tract, indeed, some of the evidences in favour of Christianity are proposed: but with this Mr. Martyn's biographer seems not to have been acquainted." P. cxvi.

The tract of Mirza Ibrahim sets out with asserting the necessity of a miracle to establish the reality of a prophetic mission, and defines a miracle to be, "an effect exceeding common experience, corresponding to a claim of prophecy made, and accompanied by a challenge to produce the like." We are therefore told, that to judge whether an event be miraculous, the person judging must be of the sect or calling to which the miracle naturally attaches itself; as for example, that he be a magician as it respects the miracles of Moses, or a physician with respect to the greater part of the miracles of Jesus. That it is not usual with God to permit the performance of miracles to *absolute sufficiency*, that is to say, in such numbers as to satisfy every scientific person by a reference to his own particular science, but that one set of men are *immediately* convinced, and others may be satisfied through their intervention.

"These things then being premised, we now affirm that there appeared an Arab among us, who, making a claim to prophecy, proposed as his miracle the production of a certain written composition, and then asserted that mankind were unable to produce the like, by any effort of rhetoric, or any thing else. And since we have shewn, that a miracle is not necessarily confined to any one science, to the exclusion of another, provided it be such as comport with the dignity of a prophet, there can be no impropriety in his making this the miracle, upon which he would establish his prophetic mission. And since we have also shewn, that an assurance of the reality of the miracle is to be obtained either from a knowledge of the science, &c. to which the alleged miracle is referrible; or, by the attestation of those skilled in such science, that it is impossible to produce the like. And as we have also shewn that an absolute sufficiency in the assurance of inability is not to be expected, as laid down in the first place; we now affirm, that the mission of Mohammed has been established with the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and the inhabitants of Dailam. With the Arabs, on account of their knowledge of the Arabic language, and of the science of eloquence. Had therefore his production originated in this science, they could have produced

its equal. But they have not, notwithstanding the great numbers of their orators and preachers, and the prevalence of these professions, at that time: to which may be added, the extreme enmity they would exercise towards him, as is always the case, when such claims are advanced. His mission too is established with others, by the confession of the learned among the Arabs (numerous as they were, and extensive as were their territories) of their utter inability to produce the like. So that, in fact, no one of them, during the space of twelve hundred years, has yet produced the like, notwithstanding the continued allegations of the preachers of Islamism, that the Koran holds out a challenge to all. Now, in the matter of a prophetic mission, nothing less than assurance can be admitted as of any weight: and therefore, assurance is of the first importance. But assurance has here been obtained in the most satisfactory manner: namely, from the inability of men to produce the like; just as the claim had been made by Mohammed; his mission has therefore been thus established with those also, who were not Arabs." P. 9.

"This assurance is then to be obtained from an acquaintance with the science of eloquence, which must be founded upon a knowledge of the elements of language, just as it is from the unanimous confession of the learned; viz. that it is a miracle, and not the effect of eloquence alone:—an assurance, in which there can remain no doubt; and no less convincing than that of the miracles of the other prophets. Nay, it is more so; for the impossibility of imitation is now just what it was at the first performance of the miracle, on account of its perpetuity, and its utter incapability of decay. And further, it will for ever remain just what it was at the first propagation of Islamism, contrary to the character of the miracles of other prophets, of which we have now nothing remaining but mere relations, as Moses or Jesus, for instance, did this or that; or it is thus preserved by tradition. But no relation can have the evidence of an eye-witness. The miracles of other prophets, moreover, in addition to their want of evidence, as already noticed, when compared with that of the Koran, will by length of time become less and less convincing; because in process of time any relation must become less impressive. But the miracle of the Koran, on the contrary, will, in process of time, become more so, because the learned who have confessed their inability to produce the like, will have been more numerous, though the miracle itself will remain exactly what it was at the first: and the conviction of its being a miracle will thus become more powerful. Hence will the mystery be explained, why this prophet was, to the exclusion of all others, termed the seal of prophecy: because, as the evidence of their miracles is daily becoming weaker, a time must at last arrive, when it will fail of affording assurance, that they were miracles at all; whence would arise the necessity of the mission of another prophet and other miracles, 'lest men should have an argument of excuse against God after the Apostles had been sent to them:' contrary to what is the fact, as it respects this prophet and his miracles; which will remain to the day of judgment, not only what it was at the first, but more convincing.

And hence there will be no necessity for another prophet, or for other miracles to all eternity." P. 12.

Such is the direct argument for Islamism with which Mirza Ibrahim encountered Mr. Martyn. The ingenuity of the reasoning is indisputable; and if we do not believe that men would embrace Mahometanism on these grounds, still less can we expect them to quit it, while such plausible defenses are unanswered. If Mr. Martyn or professor Lee have furnished a sufficient answer, sufficient not only for the European but for the Asiatic inquirer after truth, they have deserved well of the church of Christ; but with great respect for their talents, we think they have not accomplished this task. Both of them have shewn considerable skill in exposing Mirza Ibrahim's false logic. Mr. Martyn, more especially, meets him on the ground of miracles, and proves the insufficiency of the Mahometan argument.

"It has been said, (p. 10), that the Koran's being a miracle has been established with those who are not Arabs, by the Arabs confession of inability to produce its equal. We reply: that, waving what has already been said, the confession of the Arabs can have no weight with us; because, in this case, they are parties concerned: and no one is absurd enough to make the same party, both opponent and judge. If it be asked, how then can we satisfy ourselves whether the Koran is a miracle or not, if we are not to believe what the Arabs say on that point, ignorant as we are of the peculiarities of the language? We answer: in cases where no judge can be found, decision must necessarily be suspended." P. 87.

"We answer, in the second place, that had not the Arabs a violent motive for what they say, it is probable they would give a different testimony. But the truth is, they have a violent motive, in which is implicated the necessity of changing their religion, of confessing the folly and error of their forefathers, and of denying the truth of what both they and their forefathers have hitherto advanced on the subject of religion. It is possible, therefore, that they may not be very scrupulous as to the truth in these matters. And, if they are conscious of the truth of what has been said, that may perhaps be an additional motive to silence. But supposing the utmost, viz. that some should from time to time have let out the truth; or have produced an equal to the Koran, who, in this case, should have been judge, or have determined that such production was equal to the Koran? If it be said, that this could have been determined by the rules of rhetoric, we answer, first: This would be contrary to the supposition that the Koran's being a miracle is determined from its exceeding the rules hitherto laid down in that science. And, secondly, that as all the rules of rhetoric are taken from the Koran, and every rule in that science is established by a citation from it, it must follow, that the rules of rhetoric are to be tried by the Koran, and not the Koran by the rules of rhetoric; as it there-

fore is agreed among the Arabs, that the Koran possesses the highest degree of elegance, every thing, not perfectly accordant with it, will of course be deemed inelegant.

" If it be said that at the time of Mohammed there were many professors of eloquence, who, notwithstanding their endeavours to produce an equal to the Koran, found it impossible to do so, and that this is proof sufficient for them. We reply; we are not quite satisfied that the professors of eloquence were at all numerous in those times; for it appears from several passages both of the Koran and the traditions, that Mahommed was raised up from among an illiterate nation. And, again, both the commentators and historians call the Arabs an illiterate people in consequence of their ignorance of writing and want of wealth, in those times. And as the learned affirm, that to be illliterate does not necessarily preclude the possility of being eloquent, (it being possible that some one may at the same time be both illiterate and eloquent), upon what principle is it, that they also affirm, that Mohammed's being illiterate constitutes one of the miracles of the Koran, unless they could have first shewn, that to be illiterate necessarily precludes the possibility of being eloquent? And, as to the existence of one or two poets in those times, we affirm, that circumstance can avail but little; according to the adage: " What is rare, is as nothing." Besides, if we even allow that there were many, still we are not prepared also to allow that they did not produce an equal to the Koran; because this wants proof. And again, should we allow that they did not produce an equal, still we do not therefore also allow, that if they had made the attempt they could not have succeeded. Because, as long as Mohammed remains in Mecca, and it was not known how this affair would end, people would not be very anxious on this subject; and particularly the more sober, who saw that his object was to call the Arabs from the worship of idols to that of the true God: and if a few idolaters had really been unable, during so short a period of time, to produce an equal, no very great stress can be laid on that. But after Mohammed got to Medina, and from that day to this, no one among the Arabs had dared to say that he could prove the Koran not to be a miracle, or that Mohammed was not a prophet; or that he could produce, or had produced, an equal to his book. But further, should we allow that the attempt had been made, and failed, still it would not follow that the Koran is miraculous. For, it is well known that ancient books are to be found in some languages, to which no one can now produce equals. Such, for example, as the writings of Homer in the Greek, or those of Virgil in the Latin; or some others in other languages, which might here be mentioned. The same may be said too of many productions of art, which have come down from former times; to which, notwithstanding the efforts of the moderns, no equal has yet been produced: contrary to the case of the Koran, to which, on account either of superstition or fear, few have thought of opposing their skill in composition. Hence it will appear how the repeated challenges in the Koran to produce its equal are to be un-

derstood: and also, that the Koran itself, although no one might have been able to produce its equal, is no miracle." P. 88.

This is better said than any thing else in the volume; and is a proof that much might have been done by Martyn, had his life been spared, and his exertions judiciously directed But it refutes a particular treatise, rather than a general system; and the most that can be expected of it, is to put Mirza Ibrahim to silence. Mr. Martyn's defence of Christianity is liable to many objections. The ground-work of it is the *à priori* necessity of an atonement, a truth which infidels may reasonably dispute. They will contend, that God might have appointed some other method for the pardon and salvation of man; and until they are driven from this post, Mr. Martyn's argument will have no effect. The remainder of it is inferior to many well known tracts upon the evidences; and on the whole, we should rather say, that he wrote a clever pamphlet, than that he gave Mahometanism a heavy blow.

The reply which he called forth, is in one sense heavy enough. It occupies a large portion of the professor's volume, and is written not by the original advocate of Islamism, but by a third person named Mahommed Ruza, who has re-asserted Mirza Ibrahim's principles, and contended, that Mahomet was predicted in the Jewish scriptures, if not in the corrupted copies of them, which are current in Christendom. We cannot now follow the writer through this treatise, but must content ourselves with extracting professor Lee's summary of it, which forms the introduction to his remarks upon the controversy.

"In resuming the question discussed in the preceding tracts, it has not been thought advisable to follow the line of argument adopted either by Mr. Martyn or his opponents; because, however the particular topics discussed by them might be vindicated or refuted, the general question at issue may nevertheless not be advanced by such a method; and the reader, reduced perhaps to the mortifying consideration, that time and pains had been thrown away, may at last ask, To what purpose has been this waste? It is our intention, therefore, to take a different line of argument; and to endeavour to arrive at a conclusion, which will tend to place the subject before us in a profitable point of view, adverting occasionally to the arguments which have been given in the foregoing pages, as the nature of our subject may require.

"Situated as Mr. Martyn was in Persia, with a short Tract on the Mohommedan religion before him, and his health precarious, the course he has taken was perhaps the only one practicable: but, as an elaborate reply to him has now appeared, in which the principal arguments

generally urged in favour of Islamism are to be found, it becomes a duty to examine them at some length, not merely to refute them, but to enable ourselves to propose a more rational and profitable creed, with the greater probability of success.

"It must have appeared from what has already been detailed, that the arguments of a Mohammedan are not quite so easily to be met as it has sometimes been supposed. In addition to the opinion that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted, and, therefore, unworthy of credit, the professor of Islamism has fortified his system by metaphysical disquisitions, difficult to be understood, and more difficult to be refuted; not because they are true, but because a system of erroneous reasoning is also to be set aside, and documents, now believed to be authentic, to be proved unworthy of credit. In addition to this, we have to assail a system of mysticism, of almost too indefinite a nature to be made the subject of analogical enquiry.

"In this, the Deity is not only considered as *one*, in opposition to polytheism, but as the only being in existence, from whom all that is seen, felt, or heard, is but the merely ideal emanation, which in a short time shall again be absorbed in his mysterious essence. Hence pain or pleasure, sin or holiness, action or rest, are looked upon as the mere modes of existence necessarily entailed on all the imaginary characters introduced to this theatre of temporary being; and a state of stupor, which a moderately taught Christian would consider as little short of real madness, is considered as the highest degree of mental perfection to which man can aspire, and from which he shall glide into that union with the Deity, of which he is most desirous. In this state, the devotee considers the voluptuous paradise of his prophet, as pointing out those spiritual provisions for the soul which await him in the higher stages of his progress: that Jesus and all the prophets have trodden this mysterious path:—that idolatry and faith are all but one thing,—all being God, and verging towards that state of union with him, at which, finally, they shall all arrive." P. 451.

It is evident from this passage, that the professor, like ourselves, is dissatisfied with Mr. Martyn's argument. We wish it were equally certain that he has furnished a better. That he has sketched a better we admit, and the reader shall be made acquainted with it directly. It will prove that the professor is not unacquainted with the direction in which Mahometanism may be best assailed.

"In order, therefore, to bring our subject fully before such readers, I have taken the following line of argument as the most suitable to our question; viz. To shew, in the first place, that the principles, by which evidence has been estimated in the preceding Mohammedan Tracts, is not calculated to ascertain the truth in questions relating to religion. And, in the second, to propose others upon which reliance may be placed.

"In the third place, since both parties allow, that a revelation has been made from above, and that the books of the Old and New Testament were originally so revealed, to shew that those books are now mainly the same as they originally were; that is, that no wilful corruption has ever taken place in them, either affecting any point of doctrine, or article of history; although we are disposed to allow, that some variety of reading is found to exist in the different copies.

"Having determined this point, and agreeing with the author of the preceding tract, that all information relating to religion must necessarily be derived from revelation, we propose to enquire, in the fourth place, Whether revelation affords the criteria by which any one laying claim to a divine mission may be known. And, if so, Whether Mohammed's character answer the requirements of such criteria."

If this outline had been vigorously and distinctly filled up, one branch of the Persian controversy would have reached its proper termination. There still would have remained much to do; for the *soofeism* of the learned Mahometans is a gross, if not an Atheistic infidelity; and whenever they are compelled to relinquish the claims of the Koran, they will reject all revelation. They are unwilling to avow the extent of their scepticism, and will defend their prophet as long as they can. We fear that the professor's argument will not shorten that period; it is long, pointless and indistinct; it satisfies himself, and it satisfies us; but we shall be very much surprised if it satisfies an Arab or a Persian. It treats of matters familiar to every theologian, but neither advances new reasonings, nor improves materially upon the old. It shews the futility of Mahometan objections to the Bible, and defends its doctrines with more judgment than Mr. Martyn has done. But it is an instance of the great variety of men's natural talents, and proves, that a successful cultivator of languages may make an indifferent advocate. Thanks are due to professor Lee for the pains which he has bestowed upon these controversial tracts. In their present accessible shape, they will instruct every reader, and be highly useful to those who are engaged in Eastern missions; and they tend more especially to shew, that such missions should be superintended by men of extensive learning; that the exposure of Mahometanism is an arduous task; and that great diligence and great abilities may be devoted to it with indifferent success.

These, however, are points upon which difference of opinion may exist. The labours, both of Mr. Martyn, and of professor Lee, may be more highly esteemed by others than they are by us; and we have no desire no dispute the question with their friends or admirers. We turn to another subject which is calculated to produce more unanimity, and ask whether

it can be doubted, after a perusal of the preceding details, that subordination, superintendence, and system, are necessary for the effectual propagation of Christianity in the East? The selection, instruction and controul, of European missionaries, the education of native priests and catechists, the translation of the Scriptures into foreign tongues, and the conduct of learned and difficult controversies; can these be entrusted to any voluntary association? Unless we have entirely mistaken the effect of the investigation which has now been instituted, there can be no difficulty in returning a proper answer. The authority by which teachers are sent out, should either be that of the whole Church, or of the prelate who presides over a particular diocese. Their qualifications should be ascertained, and their respective posts assigned, not by Baptists or Church Missionary Societies, or even by Societies for promoting Christian Knowledge; but what is required to be done at home should be done by the Supreme Head of the Church, with the concurrence of the Metropolitan; and what remains to be done abroad should be done by the Suffragan Bishops, who are appointed to each separate country. These are general principles, and apply in every case. But in India they are strengthened by local circumstances, and their abandonment will not only make our hopes fallacious, and our endeavours futile, but will expose the Gospel to the contempt of unbelievers. The political as well as the religious consequences of irregular and desultory enterprise, will manifest themselves ere long to the world; and the extinction, not merely of the British power, but of the British name, language, laws, civilization and religion, will be the natural result of uncombined, indiscreet, unauthorized endeavours at conversion.

We are sanguine enough to hope, that the "Sermons and Charges" of Bishop Middleton may assist in convincing all parties of these important truths. The Memoir, as we have already stated, is worthy neither of its subject nor of its author. The great aim throughout its pages is to say nothing which may offend, and the whole is unsatisfactory and meagre. With the exception of the Bishop's two visitations, which are invested with some portion of interest, we learn no more from the Memoir of his Life than had already appeared in the magazines. Little or nothing is disclosed respecting the opposition which he encountered from the Court of Directors, or the feeble support which he received from the India Board. Little or nothing is stated respecting that inveterate presbyterian hostility which would have over-

whelmed a weaker man, and, even to Bishop Middleton, was a constant source of trouble and uneasiness. The reader of Archdeacon Bonney's Memoir will obtain no sufficient knowledge, either of what the Bishop underwent, or of what he achieved; and, in spite of our respect for the worthy memorialist, and our conviction that he intended to do justice to the memory of his friend, we must say that he has not accomplished his purpose, and that the fame of Middleton deserves a better historian.

Still there is much to be expected from the republication of the Sermons and Charges. They have appeared at a favourable season, and may serve to decide the controversy between the Abbé Dubois and his opponents, in a manner of which neither party will altogether approve. We extract a few passages which bear upon this question. The first is taken from "The Manifold Wisdom of God made known by the Church," a sermon preached at the cathedral of Calcutta, in which the Bishop explains his sentiments respecting the conversion of the heathen:

"A zeal, then, for the glory of God, if its lineaments have now been correctly pourtrayed, will be forcibly directed to the state of those nations, in which the Gospel is not merely undervalued, but utterly unknown. Where, for instance, shall its energies be excited, if they are dormant in the land which we now inhabit? In what other region of the known world is the glory of God more effectually obscured, and His truth, to allude to the Apostle's saying, more palpably 'turned into a lie?' (Rom. i. 25.) The case of ruder nations furnishes no answer to this question: refinement, when corrupted, may be worse than barbarism; and system has a power of evil beyond simplicity. Where else too, we may ask, do we find more evident vestiges of that fall from primeval uprightness, which the Gospel was designed to repair? From the dislocated strata and confused position of heterogeneous substances in the bowels of the earth, the geologist attests the breaking up of the vast deep in times remote, if he yield not implicit faith to the Scriptures: and here, in like manner, does the Christian trace indubitable evidence of that wreck and ruin of the moral world, which the same Scriptures record: the best qualities or tendencies of our nature and their opposite defects are found in immediate contact: the fear without the knowledge of God;—courtesy without brotherly love;—profuseness without public spirit;—lowliness without humility;—a consciousness of sin without the want of a Saviour;—fortitude without feeling or resignation;—and a contempt of death without a thought of immortality;—these are among the inconsistencies and perversions of original goodness, which every day's observation may exhibit to our notice: and who can contemplate these appearances, and not lament them?

or who, that laments them, can be backward to employ the remedy? I mean not, of course, in any way but that of affectionate and Christian solicitude, and by teaching and 'persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.'" P. 118.

The following passages occur in the Bishop's second and third Charges:

"That I may not, however, rest a fact of so much importance upon mere assertion, I will state to you very briefly (for briefly it must be) what appears to have been the method in which Christianity was disseminated in the primitive times. I have remarked that early ecclesiastical history, after the apostolic age, is not what, according to modern ideas, we might expect to find it, much engaged in the subject of missions. The command of Christ, 'to baptize all nations,' may be considered as the authority under which Christians are required to be solicitous for the diffusion of the Gospel; the command, however, was given to the eleven, and to those by implication, as well as by the special assurance of divine aid, who might be joined with them, or succeed them in the work; to say nothing of the case of St. Paul, whose commission, though subsequent to that of the twelve, was directly from Christ. By the apostles themselves and their associates, as some have gathered from the apostolic writings, about seventy churches were founded, reaching to Babylon, eastward, and westward, as far as Spain; if indeed St. Paul ever accomplished his meditated journey thither, and if St. Peter, in speaking of the church at Babylon, meant the ancient capital of Chaldea, neither of which seems probable. At any rate, Christianity was planted in the apostolic age in most of the regions subject to the power of Rome, though the converts were almost every where but a small part of the whole population. It does not, however, appear that any churches were planted except by the apostles, or by persons acting in connexion with them: the work of conversion began in unity, whatever were the divisions which arose afterwards; and these divisions were never so great as to obliterate the effects of the order in which conversion commenced. What then was the course pursued? Of the proceedings of the apostles I need not speak; it is sometimes said that they were missionaries, as the name applies: missionaries they were indeed; going forth in the power and the spirit of Christ, and, as was to be expected, teaching the same doctrines, and establishing churches, the members of which could meet in conscientious communion, knowing of no other separation or distinction than that of place. If the apostles, however, required assistance, as we know that they did, still more would their successors: something analagous to a missionary system was indispensable, and this was supplied, partly by the persons denominated evangelists, and partly by catechists. Evangelists were missionaries in the strictest sense; their business was, as we learn from Eusebius, to preach Christ to those who had not heard of his name, and deliver to them to the Gospels. It is asserted, however, on the same authority, that these men were disciples of the apostles;

that they laboured not merely to found new churches, but to confirm and consolidate those which were already planted; and that even at the time of which the historian is speaking, the reign of Trajan, the Holy Spirit still wrought mighty works by their hands: of course they were under His especial guidance, and thus was the original purpose of edification and unity, and a knowledge of the truth, fulfilled; for St. Paul declares, that all offices in the church, including that of evangelists, were designed 'for the edification (the building up) of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God under a perfect man.' These evangelists, therefore, though they seem not to have been confined in their mission to any certain spot longer than the occasion required, were yet recognised members of the church, and amenable to its discipline. Upon this subject *Mosheim*, a Lutheran, and not a strenuous asserter of episcopacy, has remarked, that 'in early times it was undoubtedly the custom for such members of any church as might be desirous of imitating the example of the apostles, and propagating the Gospel among the heathen, to apply to the bishop for his 'license, and to enter on their travels under his sanction.' Order, it seems, was not then thought incompatible with enterprise or with holy influences, but rather, perhaps, to have been among rhe tests and evidences of a commission from God.

"The other provision to which I alluded for the extension of the Gospel, was in the appointment of catechists. As the evangelists were sent among barbarians, to whom possibly the name of Christ was unknown, the catechists were to bring into the fold of Christ the heathen who resided in the neighbourhood of any Christian church: the conversion of these was an object contemplated in every Christian establishment: all who expressed a desire to be acquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel, were considered as standing in a certain relation to the church; not a close one indeed, till they had given evidence of their being in earnest, but yet one which was publicly avowed: places contiguous to the church were set apart for their instruction; catechisms were compiled for their use; catechumens were allowed to be present in the church during the sermon, and while certain prayers were offered for their illumination, in which they were required to join; and, if I mistake not, even the heathen who had not openly professed a desire to be instructed in our faith, were not altogether excluded.

"These then appear to have been the missionary proceedings of the first ages; but all antiquity abounds with circumstances tending to show, that the propagation of the Gospel was in close connexion with order and discipline. Churches were built under the bishop's sanction, signified by his visiting the spot and affixing a cross; no clergyman could be ordained but with a specific and local charge; a convert could not be admitted to the orders either of priest or deacon, till he had brought over his whole family, whether infidels or heretics, to the catholic church; and one of the canons of the council of Chalcedon provides for the consecration

and subordination of bishops in foreign parts. Regulations such as these may be thought trivial in the laxity of modern times, still this was the system under which our faith was disseminated, and which had manifestly the blessing of God." P. 216.

"Still it may be asked, is there no way in which the different sects, now unhappily dividing the Christian world, may essentially and unexceptionably contribute to the propagation of the Gospel? I should shrink from such a conclusion, however legitimate were the process, by which it might seem to be deduced: I should hesitate to believe for a moment, that laborious and pious and benevolent men, of any religious denomination, could be altogether disqualified for furthering such a work: if they would turn their attention chiefly to the elementary instruction of youth,—to the dissemination of European knowledge and arts,—to the improvement of morals,—to facilitating the acquisition of languages,—to bringing us acquainted with the opinions, and habits, and literature of those whom we wish to convert, and generally to breaking up and preparing the soil for the seed of the Gospel, they would indeed be valuable auxiliaries in the Christian cause; and the most inconsiderable sect might thus attain a degree of usefulness, if not of worldly renown, which the most prominent cannot hope for in the present state of things." P. 221.

"Upon the course of proceeding in this great question in the primitive ages, I took occasion to speak at some length when I last addressed you; and if I mistake not, I showed distinctly that the diffusion of Christianity was not effected so much by independent efforts, and unauthorised experiments, as by the gradual expansion of the Catholic church. It was thus that the work began: 'As they went through the cities they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders, which were at Jerusalem: and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily.' It may, therefore, be expected that nothing would more effectually contribute to the object in question than a considerable church establishment among us, which should at least make our religion conspicuous and procure for it respect, while it countenanced the operations and gave a character to the labours of those who should be employed in the work of conversion. I am not, I need hardly observe, supposing the regular clergy to be missionaries; they have other duties to perform, and almost every where, if they be performed with diligence, sufficient to occupy their time, though no reason can be given why they should not avail themselves of their Christian opportunities to receive converts within the pale of their respective congregations: nor can there be any thing more Christian in its aspect than the spectacle which, I am told, may be seen, of a number of native converts joining with our own people in the service of the church. Missionaries, therefore, acting under proper authority, and subject to control, as in the primitive times, must be employed; and schools in connexion with our missions must be maintained, in which elementary knowledge shall

be taught preparatory to the sowing of the seed of the Gospel. Still the prevailing sentiment among the established clergy, in questions of this kind, will always have great weight: missionaries will effect comparatively little if it be not seen with what they are connected, or whence they are sent; and any enormous disproportion between the provision which may be made for the maintenance of religion among ourselves, and for the teaching of it to the heathen, will carry upon the very face of it a confession, that the subject altogether is of less importance in the judgment of some among us than of others. It is, in truth, a question in which much, in the commencement at least, must depend upon externals: as the minds of these people are constituted, and perhaps most minds not habituated to abstraction, they must see before they can understand, or will even enquire. If we err it should not be on the side of simplicity. In the early times, as we learn from Origen, the heathen would ask the Christians, where were their temples? which were comparatively few and mean. The answer might have been, that the Christians then were poor. Whatever has been done among ourselves in this way, has undoubtedly contributed to the change of sentiment among the heathen; and a proportionate effect may be expected from what may be done hereafter. The Christian measures of Constantine, on his conversion, may be ascribed to the influence of his adviser Eusebius; they were, therefore, such as the judgment and extensive experience of that great man recommended, and they were principally the building of churches, and a provision for the better observance of the Lord's day." P. 242.

Our limits will not suffer us to make any further use of these admirable charges. A careful consideration of them is indispensably necessary to such as would understand the missionary question. Bishop Middleton treats it not as a subject for the exercise of mere zeal and good intention, but rather of zeal regulated by learning, and expecting no great results from hasty and unconnected measures. He recommends us to propagate Christianity by extending the church; and he reminds the church that her ancient instruments of conversion must be resorted to, before the days of her increase can return. These principles are developed both in the works which we have already quoted, and in his lordship's admirable letter to the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, which is reprinted in the present work; and, after looking through a mass of unsubstantiated statements, and inconclusive arguments, it is no slight gratification to meet with Bishop Middleton at the end of our journey. He explains the principal advantages to be derived from Bishop's College, in a note to the sermon from which our first extract was taken; and those portions of it which relate to missionaries, scholarships, translations and schools, cannot be too extensively known:

"The intention is to make the discipline and studies established in our English universities, with so much benefit to the cause of true religion and sound learning, the basis of the constitution of the college near Calcutta; and to raise upon them such a superstructure, as the circumstances of this country and the particular destination of the students may require. The site of the college ensures seclusion and freedom from interruption: the students will be constantly within their own walls or grounds, except by special permission, and be subject to a system of order and restraint; and the chapel, the hall, and the lecture rooms, will claim their regular attendance at specified hours. In their studies, theology, with all that is subsidiary to it, will form the prominent employment of those who are designed for the ministry; combining with the study of the Holy Scriptures, Hebrew and the learned languages, ecclesiastical and profane history, the elements of natural philosophy, and so much of mathematical knowledge as may tend to invigorate their minds and facilitate all other acquirements. They who shall be destined to be schoolmasters, will have their studies in like manner directed to their future efficiency: they will be well grounded in classical learning, and be furnished with all those branches of knowledge which may conduce to open the minds and dissipate the prejudices of the native population of India. By both classes of students, however, the Oriental languages, those especially used in the districts, which may be expected to become the scene of their future labours, will be cultivated with the greatest application; and all will be familiarised with the principles which attach British subjects to their national establishments, and be trained in feelings of respect and deference for the constituted authorities in India: and it is hoped, that with the divine blessing, early habits of piety and industry, and self-control, combined with an affectionate remembrance of the place of their education, will give to the students a character of mind and sentiment which they will never lose, and by which they shall be marked and known in all future life." P. 131.

"The society for founding the college, contemplates the establishment of missionary stations, wherever an opening shall seem to present itself for accomplishing their benevolent purposes. To supply such stations with missionaries and their proper assistants, and to keep up a never-failing succession of them, is their primary object; to which every thing else is collateral and subsidiary. But before this can be effected, it is obvious that students must be maintained in the college and duly prepared for their allotted labours. It may seem, therefore, that the question of supplying stations is posterior to that of maintaining students, and may thus be for the present postponed; it must be considered, however, that the admission of students into the college must in a great measure be regulated by the prospect of a provision for them afterwards; and such provision will be generally (although not invariably in respect of schoolmasters,) by their appointment to some missionary station. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance, that the public benevolence as applicable to this head, should shew itself early, and in truth it is the point, to which above

all others, the society may be presumed to wish, that attention should be directed: benefactions, therefore, made specially applicable to this department will be suffered to accumulate, until such stations can be actually formed.

"The foundation of scholarships is only second in importance to the preceding head, and even prior to it in actual operation. A scholarship, it is computed, taking the average on the difference of expence in maintaining European students, (or those of European habits,) and natives, and reckoning on a moderate rate of interest, may be founded and endowed for 5,000 sicca rupees. On the interest of this sum one student at a time may be constantly educated in the college, free of every charge: and every scholarship so endowed will, as in our English universities, be for ever denominated from the name of the founder, who moreover will have the privilege of recommending the first scholar, being a youth duly qualified according to the statutes, and to be subject in all respects to their operation. Other sums, however small, being directed to be appropriated to this object, will be applied to the maintenance of a student, when the aggregate shall be found sufficient." P. 134.

"The college press will, is is hoped, embrace an important and efficient department of the college labours. For the expence of printing versions of the Holy Scriptures, if a statement already alluded to may be credited, provision for some time will probably have been made; but for printing versions of the liturgy, of short religious treatises and tracts, such as those of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, of elementary books of science, and of school books, a considerable fund will in time be required; and from the very commencement of the college labours, something may be attempted in this way.

"Both Christian and native schools are within the contemplation of the society. One of the former kind will be indispensable to every missionary station, and such might be established to great advantage in some instances, where no missionary station could conveniently be formed. In native schools the elements of useful knowledge and the English language will be taught, wherever it may seem desirable, without any immediate reference to Christianity. In either case, it will be among the objects of the college to supply masters well qualified for the undertaking. The provision for such while they remain in college, will fall under the second head of expenditure; and for those who should be attached to stations, under the first head: all other schools would form a distinct concern." P. 135.

After a mature examination of this plan, are we not justified in saying that it must be adopted? Is it possible, not merely that any Churchman, but that any Dissenter, except he be under the influence of an all-powerful fanaticism, can wish to see Bishop Middleton's schemes defeated, or believe they can be abandoned without injury to the

common cause of Christianity? Present appearances, we have admitted, are against us; but we feel convinced that Bishop Heber will not return from his visitation without having discovered that his predecessor was in the right. Whatever he may have been told to the contrary, he will see that Bishop's College is not calculated to check any missionary exertions. He will see that it offers a better education to the European clergy than they can obtain elsewhere. Its scholarships are not limited to this or that institution, but are so arranged that all charitable persons may contribute to them. The translation department will enable the Bishops of Calcutta to rescue the sacred volume from that patched and party-coloured dress which it now wears in Hindostan; and the native preachers and native schools may not only do as much good as those which are patronised in other quarters, but they may do a great deal more; they may become models for the rest. Instituted by a chartered corporation, and controlled by episcopal authority, they may give a guarantee for orthodoxy of doctrine, and general propriety of conduct, which no agents of an association can furnish; they may raise the tone, and improve the utility of other teachers, in the same manner as the regular clergy at home have diminished the natural bad consequences of sectarian preaching. And when additional sees shall be erected in India, additional colleges will follow in their train. Additional missionary stations will be chosen; additional schools will be opened, and there will be a great body of European and Asiatic clergy; and it may be hoped also, a great body of European and Asiatic laymen, attached to the Established Church, superintended by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, and united by many strong ties to an institution which derives its existence from the supreme power of the Crown. We are most ready to admit, that no system, as such, can prevent the failure of missionary undertakings; but, if conformity to the Scripture model, purity of intention, and a due submission to constituted authorities; if a careful use of all natural means of success, and an humble reliance upon Him who can furnish supernatural assistance; if these are good grounds for confidence in a religious undertaking, we are confident that the Church of England, if duly directed and encouraged, may be the blessed instrument of adding Hindostan to the spiritual dominions of our Redeemer.

ART. II. *An Essay on Instinct, and its Physical and Moral Relations. By Thomas Hancock, M.D. London. Phillips.* 1824. 8vo. pp. 550.

DR. HANCOCK has here presented us with a book, whose title properly belongs to about one-third of it only. The first part, comprising about that proportion, treats of the power of instinct in Animals;—a highly curious topic of enquiry, and one on which a good work is much wanted. The second relates to what is termed instinct in Man, which the author understands to be a sort of light within; so that this part seems to us to apply chiefly to the Society of Friends. This the author considers by far the most important part, to which the other is merely an inroduction, put in to please "a certain class of readers;"—that is, we presume, the profane world. As we shall probably be included in this class, we shall confine our remarks chiefly to the first part.

In endeavouring to lay before our readers a brief outline of that part of the work before us, which treats more immediately of the subject proposed, we shall not follow exactly the author's arrangement, for though it may be better suited for introducing his theory of human instinct or internal illumination, we conceive the instincts of inferior beings, might have been traced out in a more natural and more instructive course. We shall begin with our author's sixth chapter, where we are presented with many highly curious facts respecting the organic functions of those classes, which stand lowest in the scale, or what we may call by analogy, the instinct of plants.

We need not here particularize the apparent instinctive propensity to turn to the light, that and many similar phenomena being, doubtless, owing to the chemical influence of the sun's rays. The following facts are less easily explicable.

"If a vessel of water be placed within six inches of a growing cucumber, in twenty-four hours the cucumber alters the direction of its branches, and never stops till it comes into contact with the water. When a pole is placed at a considerable distance from an unsupported vine, the branches of which are proceeding a contrary direction from that towards the pole, in a short time it alters its course, and stops not till it clings round the pole. But the same vine will carefully avoid attaching itself to low vegetables nearer to it, as the cabbage; hence Pliny and Cicero remark, that the vine hates the colewort and cabbage: as if it possessed the faculty of perception and the power of choosing."

Instances are next adduced of roots, which have been observed to change their direction in order to avoid noxious, and approach salubrious, objects. These instances appear more like the result of some internal impulse, than of the action of an external cause. What this is, or how it acts, we may in vain attempt to enquire. But applying it to our present purpose we may observe, that it bears the closest *analogy* to some of the lowest manifestations of animal vitality in the class of zoophytes. Many other facts, such as the sensitiveness of some plants, &c. bear an equally close resemblance to the power of muscular irritability.

This last term, we must observe by the way, is one very badly calculated to convey its meaning. It conveys an idea of sensation, which is in fact meant to be wholly excluded. It means the power inherent in animal muscle to contract when touched or excited, which it possesses quite independently of the nerves, or of sensation, and which it retains when the animal is dead. Our author has given a very good and clear account of this power; which is in fact very essential to be understood in reference to the present enquiry. We shall content ourselves by referring our readers to p. 122, *et seq.* and shall only mention the general conclusion, which the united labours of many distinguished physiologists have concurred to establish, viz. that *muscular irritability* is possessed in the greatest perfection by those animals which are the lowest in the scale of *nervous* structure, in the perfection of sensation and in the developement of the brain. Such phenomena of vegetables as are analogous in any degree to those of vitality, resemble the effects of irritability; and they are always directed to the attainment of certain ends necessary to the well being of the plant. Each plant displays its peculiar faculty in the preservation of its seeds and the selection of nutriment. Dr. H. observes,

"Plants imbibe food by the roots, (this has been controverted) the trunk, and the branches; and in the opinion of some also, by the leaves and flowers. The plant is compensated for every thing it has been denied, by the intensity of the single power that operates in it. It neither requires the faculty of loco-motion, nor the knowledge of other plants around it. But it attracts and enjoys after the manner of plants, heat, light, air, and the juices that nourish it: and the propensity to grow, to bloom, and to multiply its species, it exercises more truly and incessantly than any other creature." P. 132.

Out of all the various influences which may be in action, and the various objects which may be present, around it, the plant receives and is affected by only those which promote the continuance and the purposes of its existence; it

imbibes those supplies which are requisite, because its organs are solely adapted to imbibing these and no others. It avoids certain evils and attains certain advantages, by a peculiar and mysterious power of its faculties, which they possess in regard to no other objects.

The transition from plants to zoophytes is almost insensible. Many of these are fixed by roots, and multiply life in their branches, giving out deciduous buds, which again take root. The polypus possesses astonishing powers of reproduction, and displays that degree of vitality which consists in *irritability* to a great degree; however divided, this power remains in each part, which becomes a separate animal. These creatures may also be grafted upon one another; their powers of nutrition are confined to distinct organs; their selection of nutriment limited to certain kinds, but not much more like choice than that of vegetables.

In the order testacea, a rather higher range of vital powers are observable; the snail, for example, possesses sensibility in its tentaculæ; traces of nerves are found. What are called its eyes have been shewn very recently, by Sir E. Home, not to be so; its power of reproduction is great, proportioned to its irritability and small degree of nervous sensibility.

If we rise to insects, we find a much more perfect structure. They possess something like a brain, which, however, is but one of several nervous ganglia; they have no circulation; their irritability is very great; their muscular powers astonishing: but this muscular vitality is not as in the preceding classes, sufficient to reproduce lost limbs. Yet, a separated limb retains motion for a considerable time, owing to this power.

The term *instinct* is of very undefined meaning. We believe it is not usually applied to the impulse by which the testacea and the polypi are urged to obtain nutriment, and to propagate their species; to many of the habits of insects, it is, however, very commonly applied. As we know nothing of the ultimate principle upon which it depends, it is perhaps wrong to carry this distinction to so great an extent, as to imply any real difference between the power or principle in the two cases. It is certainly much more remarkably displayed by insects, in proportion to their more perfect organization. Their organization is such as to give them the means of performing a certain set of actions, and no others; they have also some sort of susceptibility to impulses, from whatever source, leading them constantly to that particular set of actions. Beyond this we know nothing. We may use the

term instinct to cover our ignorance, as meaning the unknown impelling power; but strictly speaking, we must not (like Dr. Hancock) attribute to it any other meaning than what is implied in the facts above adverted to; and by keeping to this very simple definition, we see that it may, without any impropriety, apply to the lower creatures also. We cannot, by any analogy, describe the *origin* of this power; but its *continuance* is closely similar to the power of habit.

That species of instinct, which impels the insect tribes to seek appropriate food, is perhaps the lowest in rank; it is displayed by those classes of insects which seem the lowest in the scale of organization: the caterpillar, for example, when shaken off the leaves of a tree, returns and crawls up the trunk, and along the branches, till it regains the situation best fitted for its present support and future transformation. This degree of instinct differs by only one step from that of the sea anemone. It will perhaps be admitted, that the primary impulse on the caterpillar is the sensation of hunger; but this may urge it to ascend the tree, without its employing any distinct process analogous to reasoning, to lead it from that sensation to the consideration of moving in a particular direction, and in the end finding food.

The wonderful instincts of the ant are familiarly known. The following facts, recorded by Dr. Hancock, are extremely curious:—

"The principal resource of the ant, is the honey of another insect called the aphis, an insect which abounds on the plants that are usually found in the vicinity of ant-hills. This honey is an exudation from the body of the aphis, and is absorbed greedily by the ants, without any detriment to the insect that yields it. It is voluntarily given out by the aphis, when solicited to do so by the ant. A single aphis supplies many ants with a plentiful meal. Some species of ants, we are told, bring the aphides to their own nests, instead of seeking them, when the cold is excessive, and lodge them near the vegetables on which they feed; while the domestic ants prevent them stirring out, guarding them with great care, and defending them as their own young; they even collect the eggs of the aphis, and superintend their hatching, continually moistening them with their tongue, and preserving them till the proper season for their exclusion; and in a word, bestow all the attention which they give to the eggs of their own species. The ants defend them from the ants of other societies. That they have some notions of property in these insects, would appear from their occasionally having establishments for their aphides, at a distance from the city, in fortified buildings, which they construct for this purpose alone, in places which are secure from invasion. Here the aphides are

confined as cows in a dairy, to supply the wants of the metropolis." P. 30.

We have selected this, among numerous instances of the extraordinary sagacity displayed by the ant, because it is perhaps less generally known than some others: it serves to illustrate a progressive elevation in intelligence; but it is not necessary in explaining it, to suppose that the ants act upon a distinct process of reasoning and calculation, and this observation we conceive to be of some importance towards acquiring our only definite ideas of the distinction between instinct and reason. It is clearly *possible* to explain these instances, without supposing a distinct putting together of separate ideas; but we will now advert to a very important instance, which, to our apprehension, carries the argument one step further, and shews that there are cases in which we *cannot* admit the exercise of *reason*, as just described; the case we allude to is that of the cells of bees, the structure of which our author has noticed briefly, and perhaps without giving his argument all the advantages it might have had. We shall not pretend to enter into the details, but shall endeavour to state those points on which the argument depends in the most simple manner. The fact then is this: it may be shewn, by mathematical investigation, that there are particular ways in which a set of contiguous cells may be constructed, so as to require less labour and materials, and to unite this saving with strength and security, in a greater degree than by any other construction; moreover, by the aid of the fluxionary method, it is possible to determine, with the utmost exactness, the precise form required, and the exact angles at which the planes terminating the figure must be inclined to each other. All this, it is important to observe, cannot be done without the application of very extended geometrical and analytical knowledge, and depends on truths which, at no very remote period, were unknown to mankind; some of them, even as late as the age of Newton. Several distinguished men have solved the problem; to give an idea of it, we may mention, that in a recent work by Dr. Cresswell, the investigation occupies 20 octavo pages.

Now, on examining the cells of the honeycomb, we find the bees have adopted precisely the figure and mode of construction which the mathematician has shewn to be the best; have selected, out of all the various forms which might have been employed, that alone in which all the advantages of economy of time, labour and materials are gained, united with greater strength and security; and not only is this rule fol-

lowed *nearly*, but upon the most *accurate* measurement to which the angles can be subjected, they have been invariably found, by several observers, to be *precisely* those determined by calculation.

Upon considering all these circumstances, the question we would ask as this;—is it possible to suppose that the bee proceeds to its work, upon a distinct apprehension that it is desirable to save labour and materials; upon an enquiry, whether, by adopting one particular construction, such a saving would be effected; upon a regular deduction from the first principles of geometry, up to the application of fluxionary calculation, whereby it learns that those advantages may be obtained, and what is the best construction for obtaining them? We think no one would maintain such a view of the subject; and if so, it follows that the bee must arrive at its practical directions by some shorter mode; by some other way than the process of putting together distinct ideas, till we form a connected chain of reasoning; by something analogous to an intuitive perception or feeling that the construction adopted is the right.

If then, in this case, we are sure that the animal does not proceed by regular steps of reasoning, we must by analogy extend the conclusion to the cases of other animals, such as those already spoken of.

Insects are, perhaps, the lowest class which display any *accommodating* power of instinct to particular circumstances; its ordinary manifestations are invariably confined to one regular routine: but sometimes the animal will shew a difference in its habits, according to a change in situation. Dr. Hancock (p. 103) illustrates this in insects by several differences observable in bees and wasps; their precautions being different according to the difference of climate.

Following the progress of organization to its higher classes, if we take the order of Amphibia, we find a structure in which *irritability* still predominates. Owing to this power, a tortoise has lived twenty-three days after losing its head; the jaws of a dead crocodile pulled asunder, can inflict a severe bite; and those of a viper, a mortal wound eight or ten days after death; but the *nervous* system begins to assume a more perfect character: the excess of vitality is not so great as to give the power of reproducing lost parts; but in proportion to the more perfect nervous organization, there is a greater degree of sensibility, and a higher range of *instinct*. The habits then which these classes of animals display, are of a nature approaching somewhat more to those of intelligence, and susceptible of more diversity than in

the instances hitherto considered. That most extraordinary faculty of finding their way from an amazing distance to the place they have been accustomed to inhabit, which many animals possess, has been observed in a tame serpent, as our author has related from Lord Monboddo. (P. 76.)

The remarks above made may be continued to the next class, the fishes. One remarkable instance of their instinct is the power of migration for the purpose of spawning. It is probable, that if we were not precluded from an intimate acquaintance with their habits, we should observe many other curious manifestations of instinct.

It is probably owing to their coming more within our familiar observation, that the classes of birds and quadrupeds, though decidedly superior in instinct to those below them, yet appear separated by a greater interval than perhaps is really the case.

Among birds, it will not need many instances to shew the superior degree of intuitive intelligence they possess in the regular discharge of the functions proper to their nature. Among these, there is none in which more remarkable sagacity is shewn, than in their care for their young.

The preliminary operation of building the nest, is conducted in a different manner exactly suited to its peculiar wants by each species. It is not by traditional instruction that this art is learnt, because a crow hatched by a hen, and having no communication with its species, has been observed to build with exactly the same materials, and in the same manner as the rest of its tribe. Were this faculty the result of reasoning, we should see deviations according to the peculiar wants or conveniences of each bird, as among the buildings of men. The work is perfect in its kind; we never see imperfect attempts abandoned for want of skill to complete them, or any thing like progressive improvement in the course of years or ages.

But though this faculty seems so entirely confined to one routine, yet there are cases in which instinct appears to accommodate itself to circumstances. For example,

"In countries infested with monkies, birds which in other climates build in bushes and clefts of trees, suspend their nests on slender twigs, and thus elude their enemies. The same species of birds build their nests differently, when climate and circumstances require it. Dr. Darwin has collected many facts to show, that the cuckoo in some places hatches and educates her own young; while in others she builds no nest, but uses that of some lesser bird, as the wagtail or hedge sparrow, and depositing one egg in it, takes no further care of her progeny." P. 104.

Our author then proceeds to the very remarkable phenomenon of migration. We are somewhat surprized, considering the time which has now elapsed since Dr. Jenner's researches on this subject have been made public, and the very decisive character of his conclusions, that our author should not only not allude to them, but even continue in the obscure, inconsistent and unfounded opinion which previously prevailed. We shall not here advert any further to this curious topic; but for a full display of this and many other equally wonderful instincts in birds, refer our readers to the late Dr. Jenner's paper in the Philos. Trans. 1824. Part I. (*See* B. C. September 1824.)

Thus far we may safely apply to the case of birds, the same doctrine which we before applied to that of lower animals, viz.; that the course of actions which they pursue in obedience to what we call instinct, are not the result of a comparison of distinct ideas, however few or simple; but of a sort of conviction arrived at directly without any intermediate steps. The power of apprehension from which this practical result springs, is open only to the perception of those particular objects which are connected with the well-being and wants of the animal; and the number of such objects is extremely limited beyond those limits, though hundreds of other objects affect the external senses, yet none excite that peculiar faculty by which the bird arrives instantaneously at practical conclusions.

But here we come to a new class of facts; to apparent deviations from the ordinary routine of instinct; to certain instances in which upon a particular emergency, the animal has adopted a particular and appropriate resource.

One of the most remarkable *ordinary* instincts of crows, is observable in the way they contrive to get at oysters and other shell fish. viz; by carrying them to a great height in the air, and then dropping them upon the stones, so as to break the shell. This, however curious, being a regular habit, comes under the class of instinct already spoken of. But what shall we say to the following application of the same method, for a purpose quite different:—

"In the spring of 1791, a pair of crows made their nest on a tree in a gentleman's garden; and in his morning walks he had frequently been amused by witnessing furious combats between them and a cat. One morning the battle raged more fiercely than usual, till at last the cat gave way, and took shelter under a hedge, as if to wait a more favourable opportunity of retreating to the house. The crows continued for a short time to make a threatening noise; but perceiving that on the ground they could do nothing more than

threaten, one of them lifted a stone from the middle of the garden, and perched with it on a tree planted in the hedge, where she sat watching the motions of the enemy of her young. As the cat crept along under the hedge, the crow accompanied her by flying from branch to branch, and from tree to tree; and when at last puss ventured to quit her hiding place, the crow leaving the trees, and hovering over her in the air, let the stone drop from on high on her back." P. 81.

Another instance of the same description, is as follows:—

"Linnæus informs us, that the martin dwells on the outside of houses in Europe under the eaves; and that when it has built its nest, the sparrow frequently takes possession of it. The martin, unable to dislodge his intruding enemy, convokes his companions, some of whom guard the captive, whilst others bring clay, completely close up the entrance of the nest, then fly away, leaving the sparrow to be suffocated." P. 79.

We shall not detail the account of the mocking bird, nor give the story quoted from Locke, of the Brazilian parrot, who is said to have given rational answers to some questions put by a person who had never before seen him. This person, however, did not understand the language in which the bird spoke, and not only might there be a collusion between the interpreters employed, but the same answers might have been returned, for any thing that appears to the contrary, to a very different set of questions.

We shall reserve our remarks upon these extraordinary applications of instinct, till we have briefly traced its powers in the class of quadrupeds.

Of the ordinary instinct displayed by quadrupeds, there are so many instances familiar to our daily observation, that it is unnecessary here to quote any of them, except perhaps one or two, which are too singular to be passed over, and which bear upon the comparison between ordinary and extraordinary instinct.

We cannot fail to observe in general both the higher degree of ordinary instinct, as well as the greater variety of objects to which it is directed in this class of animals, in proportion to their less irritability, their more perfect nervous sensibility, and the greater number and complication of their organs. The beautiful adaptation of habit and disposition to structure, is well illustrated by Dr. H. in the instances of the elephant, the lion, the sloth, and the mole. We observe an undeviating instinct in animals while in their natural state; we find also the effects of difference of situation, and particularly human intercourse, in materially altering their instinctive habits; and beyond this, we find them, in extra-

ordinary emergencies, deviating still more from their regular course. In proportion, however, as the ordinary instinct is of a higher kind, those occasional deviations appear less extraordinary, and more approaching the natural order. But whatever such alterations may take place, there is never a total change; there is always a similarity preserved to the original character. It is not the loss of one sort of instinct, and the substitution of another, but always a modification of that already possessed. These points of resemblance are highly curious and deserving attention. To observe, collect, classify and combine these points of resemblance and difference, is the only inductive path by which we can pursue our enquiries respecting instinct. We think, therefore, that Dr. Hancock would have been much better employed in making such deductions from the accumulation of facts, than in occupying two-thirds of his book, as he has done, in metaphysical and theological reveries, about the internal illumination of man.

Many instances are adduced to shew the exquisite and almost inconceivable perfection in which some animals enjoy particular senses. This the author is very careful to distinguish from the power of instinct. But there are extraordinary instances of particular actions in animals which seem hardly capable of being referred to an extraordinary perfection in any of the known senses, however exquisite. For example, the power by which animals will find their way from an incredible distance through an unknown country to their home. Instances are familiar in the dog and the horse; similar stories are here related of the ass and the sheep. Some persons have attributed this power to a sixth sense; which has also been the case in regard to some instances related of human beings, who have, in some manner not accounted for, been able to feel the presence of certain objects not perceptible to any of the ordinary senses. Whatever may be the real cause, it is clearly a case in which reasoning is not concerned.

Considering these instances either as referable to some hidden physical influence, or as at least belonging to natural instinct, we have to observe in general, that its *ordinary* display is always found in exact proportion to the perfection of the animal's organization, as well as confined to those particular objects which are connected with its well-being: never directed to the attainment of any end beyond these, and never exercised by any other means than those which are afforded by the peculiar organization of the animal, and the habits which are naturally characteristic of its kind.

With respect to the effects of human intercourse on the lower animals, we may cite the case of oxen. These, when wild, possess a spirit and fierceness which render them extremely formidable. They possess, also, such acuteness of smell as to trace the footsteps of men over the grass, at which they always display peculiar symptoms of rage and horror. However different this is from the domestic state of cattle, it is still more so from the state to which they are brought in some countries by education. Among the Hottentots they are trained to a variety of useful domestic labours; and not only this, but are made use of in war: at a signal they fall upon the enemy, striking with their horns and hoofs, overturn and trample upon whatever resists them, and thus completely break the ranks, and pave the way for an easy victory to their masters. They are also instructed to guard the flocks, and defend them from beasts of prey, and from robbers, whom they distinguish from the keepers, or other persons.

Now, from this instance, we may take occasion to observe, that the effect of intercourse with man, and education, does not take away the natural instinct, and substitute an acquired one, but only modifies and extends the powers already possessed by the animals. They still make use of those powers alone which constitute the distinguished feature in their character in all conditions.

Many other instances of this kind are recorded in the work before us; but we must now proceed to the last and highest manifestation of instinct, if so it can be called, in sudden emergencies, and on extraordinary occasions, where something much more like a power of reasoning is displayed. Of this, we have mentioned some instances in birds; those related of quadrupeds are yet more astonishing. In dogs, we have many examples of extraordinary sagacity, in perceiving the approach of danger to their masters, such as the concealment of a robber or assassin, a leak on board a vessel, and other like occurrences; but in such cases there is always room to suppose their superior power of smell, or other senses, may have guided them. In other cases the power of habit is clearly discernible. In others again, a dog feeling for his master in danger, would naturally so express it, as to communicate the intelligence to others, and thus be the means of saving him. All these cases, though extremely interesting, do not positively require the supposition, that the animal put together distinct ideas, and acted upon the conclusion. Of the astonishing intelligence of the elephant, several instances are mentioned; his management in pushing a carriage up hill, his amazing docility, his recollection of

persons and places from favours bestowed, and his care of children, are truly wonderful, but may be explained by a sort of indefinite feeling, without distinct reasoning. A well-known anecdote is introduced from Pliny, of a number of these animals, who, when they found themselves condemned to death in the sanguinary games of the circus, by their gestures and cries seemed to implore the compassion of the spectators to a degree which was quite effectual.

To pass over many other instances, which do not appear to us to prove any thing with respect to a reasoning power in animals, we will cite two, which are, perhaps, the strongest on record, and seem to be regarded by our author as decisive proofs.

"Two goats, grazing about the ramparts of Plymouth citadel, got down upon the narrow ledge of the rock, and one of them advancing before the other till it came to an angle was enabled to return: but in its way back, met its companion, which produced a most perplexing dilemma, as it was impossible for them to get past each other. Many persons saw them, without being able to lend any assistance. After a considerable time, one of the goats was observed to kneel down with great caution, and crouch as close as it could lie; which was no sooner done, than the other, with great dexterity, walked over him, and they both returned the way they came in perfect safety. And at Ardinglass, near Glenarm, in Ireland, two goats, moving towards each other over a precipice 1,000 feet high, on a narrow ledge of the rock, were seen to extricate themselves from danger by a similar expedient. In both these instances the animals looked at each other for some time, as if they were considering their situation, and deliberating what was best to be done in the emergency. I apprehend that mere instinct would have prompted them immediately to act, instead of thus comparing and judging by their outward senses of danger and expedients." P. 80.

The other case, which we must quote, is this:—

"A lady had a tame bird, which she used to let out of its cage every day. One morning, as it was picking up crumbs from the carpet, her cat, who had always before shewn great kindness to the bird, seized it on a sudden, and jumped with it in her mouth upon a table. The lady, alarmed for the fate of her favourite, on turning about, observed that a strange cat had just come into the room. After turning it out, her own cat came down from her place of safety, and dropped the bird, without inflicting the least injury. Now, it seems very clear, on considering this act, that various circumstances must have influenced this sagacious animal. She must have known that the bird was in danger from this intruder, and must have reflected on the best means of rescue: and we may take it for granted, that instinct could not, on the same principle, have prompted the one cat to destroy, and the other cat to save, at the same moment of time; but the manner in which the preservation was effected

is instructive, and affords a very striking example of reasoning in the brute, the more striking, as cats are not remarkable for sagacity." P. 84.

These facts are certainly extremely curious and interesting; but in our author's reasoning upon them, we can by no means wholly coincide. The two goats might have stopped for some time before they contrived to pass, without doing so for the purpose of reflection. The cat, we observe, acted instantaneously; but there is one observation which we think important, and which applies also to the instances before mentioned of birds. It is this, that in every case the expedient adopted was one exactly in accordance with the ordinary habits of the animal: it made use of precisely those resources which it was in the habit of ordinarily employing. Thus, the goat is naturally a climber; he, therefore, walked over his companion: had they been cats or hares, one would probably have taken a spring over the other: rabbits or dogs might have tried to widen the path by scratching, &c.: in the same way the martin is by trade a plasterer; he therefore plastered up his enemy. The crow was in the habit of dropping bodies from a height: to the cat, it was natural to seize a bird in its mouth, but not to kill it immediately. In the instance alluded to, there was the counteracting feeling of affection for the bird, which prevented the cat from even injuring it; and its seizing the bird the moment a strange cat appeared, need not necessarily be ascribed to a reflection on the danger of the bird, but might merely have been the excitement of the natural disposition of the cat to seize the bird, in order to secure the prey from the rival. Or, if this were not the case, an undefined sensation of the danger, united with its affection for the bird, suddenly affecting the cat, might have urged it, by instantaneous impulse, to the instinctive action of seizing the bird in its mouth. Had it been a dog, it would have attacked the strange cat, and driven it away.

Upon the whole, we are inclined to be very doubtful of the propriety of ascribing to such instances the character of reasoning. It appears to us much more likely, from every thing we know both of inferior animals and of man, in sudden emergencies, to suppose a sort of undefined intuitive feeling, upon the impulse of which the requisite steps are taken, and this we believe to arise entirely from the peculiar mental habits of the individual. We believe it to be precisely the same sort of impulse which made Charles the 12th put his hand to his sword, when he received the shot which killed him.

But it may be said, that all this is a mere dispute about words, and that we gain nothing by the enquiry, as to the distinction between instinct and reason. It may be said, that if we will not ascribe these latter instances to reason, we must, in consistency, ascribe half the conclusions of man to instinct: and, in fact, we perfectly agree with Dr. Hancock, in considering man to be under the dominion of instinct as well as the inferior animals, though not perhaps exactly in the sense in which he means it. We are of opinion, that the greater part perhaps of the practical conclusions, on which we every day act, are not the result of reasoning. We think, moreover, that a very large portion of mankind hardly ever reason at all: it is true, we have no very adequate term to describe the sort of influence which this sort of principle has upon us. We believe it to arise chiefly from education, organization, and resulting intellectual habit. And the distinction we make is precisely this; *reasoning* is the putting together, by two and two successively connected, distinct ideas, so as to perceive their agreement or disagreement, till we arrive at the connection between two ideas, which form the respective terminations of a long chain. When the conclusion is not obtained by this intermediate process, but depends upon the putting together of the first and last idea, and supposing them to agree or disagree, we know not why, but because experience has in no instance shewn the contrary; this, we say, is not reasoning, but is of the same kind exactly as *instinct*. The association may have been implanted in the mind, or a tendency to act upon it in the faculties or organs, from a great variety of supposable causes. Where then is the distinction between man and the lower creatures? We believe it to consist in this, that man has the *faculty* of reasoning, though it be not always employed; and that the beast has it not: and this power is associated with the use of articulate symbols; without which, perhaps, there could be no distinction between definite and indefinite ideas.

We think Dr. Hancock's distinction, between reason and instinct, is far from clear, and, perhaps, to this cause a great part of his book may owe its existence. We shall not pretend to wade into the mystico-metaphysico-theological part of the work; but shall content ourselves with observing, that the whole seems to be founded upon the supposition of the existence of certain innate practical principles, and the author is in consequence extremely anxious to refute Locke: his success in this attempt appears to us very questionable. We, like Dr. Hancock, believe in original genius, in natural difference of disposition, &c.; but we can believe all this

without the least impugning Locke's doctrine. What may be the precise nature of Dr. H.'s "moral seeds," we do not pretend to understand; but we are inclined to think that the earliest impressions which the mind receives are of an entirely indefinite description, consisting, in fact, of associations of ideas, constituting vague feelings, rather than clear apprehensions, and that it is not till a considerable time after that clear and definite ideas are formed, or that consequently reasoning takes place. By those early associations, if such they may be termed, feelings of pleasure or pain are connected with other ideas and sets of ideas, the whole dependent on the bodily constitution. As we think Locke has unanswerably disproved the existence of *innate* ideas, or principles, (which are, perhaps, indefinite associations of ideas,) and that peculiarities of mind and disposition may be explained without them, we shall be excused, if we doubt the truth of a system which, according to the author's method of stating it, requires us to believe in innate ideas.

ART. III. *Original Letters, illustrative of English History; including numerous Royal Letters; from Autographs in the British Museum, and one or two other Collections. With Notes and Illustrations by Henry Ellis, F. R. S. Sec. S. A. Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. In three vols.* 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.* Harding, Triphook and Lepard. 1824.

A GREAT change is taking place in our general knowledge of English history. The last generation was contented with Rapin and Hume, and did not trouble itself about the discovery of new facts, or the verification of old ones. Chronicles and manuscripts were studied by the antiquary only; and the result of such studies was seldom communicated to the public. At present the monkish historians are in request; the Museum is open; gentlemen and ladies read by the index, and transcribe by the hour, and we are inundated with memoirs and narratives, and biographies from the gossiping tittle-tattle of an Aikin, to the ponderous volumes of a Turner and a Lingard.

There is no reason to fear the ultimate consequence of such proceedings. Eventually truth will be more fully ascertained, and more generally known and remembered. But while the process is going on, it is attended with serious in-

convenience. There are no such things as standard books. The History of England is set adrift, and no one can determine what course it will take. Every party has its own historian, who writes to please the palate of his readers, and succeeds as a writer in proportion as he is useful as a partizan. One class of authors inform us, that Hume wrote the early history of his country with carelesness, and the latter part with partiality. Another, object to the great length and tediousness of Rapin, Echard and Carte. A third have studied the original authorities for themselves, and are prepared to furnish authentic works. The result is, that there are no undisputed facts, and few unquestionable characters. The politician appeals to some important circumstance, and is told that he has been misinformed respecting its material points. The orator refers to some popular or odious personage, and is answered by an assurance that hitherto posterity has decided ignorantly and unjustly. Turner becomes the advocate of King Richard the Third, Lingard represents Cranmer as a hypocrite, and Queen Elizabeth as a coward, and Godwin has discovered that Laud was a fool. And these additions to the stock of knowledge are not suffered to remain in their native seed-beds, but are transplanted with care into magazines and newspapers. Cobbett's infamous History of the Reformation is an abridgment of Lingard, and Mr. O'Connell's club has undertaken to circulate this compound of jesuitical falsehood, and radical impudence. A similar use will be made of other improvements, when opportunity offers, and the cause of mischief may be served. The Jeremy Benthamites will shew that our constitution is absurd, by the same argument which convinces Cobbett that the Reformation was a curse. The Whigs are on the look-out for Sir James Mackintosh's history, and expect to date the recovery of their popularity from the day of its publication. And if the borough-mongers know their business, they will engage an adept in antient charters, to vindicate the privileges of Winchelsea and Knaresborough, and establish the merits of virtual representation by an appeal to King Alfred and King John.

But while the study of records and manuscripts is pursued in some instances for such purposes as these, there are many men who, like Mr. Ellis, have better objects in view, who seek knowledge for its own sake, and endeavour to correct errors, confirm truth, and illustrate history, in the hope that their labours may prove serviceable to the world. And the work before us is a very favourable specimen of the manner in which a learned and accurate antiquarian may convey in-

struction and amusement to the general reader, while at the same time he provides materials for the future historian, and for the philosophical observer of men and manners. We can hardly possess too many documents upon such a subject as the history of our country. And when they are selected with judgment, and explained by one who is fully qualified for the task, they form an important addition to the stock of national literature. We shall therefore request Mr. Ellis to explain the nature of his undertaking in his own words.

"To remove doubts, to verify facts, and to form a clear conception of particular events, the reader must seek subsidiary aid, in the dispersed materials of history; of which, ORIGINAL LETTERS *of* EMINENT PERSONS IN THE STATE form both the largest and the most important portion: and they exist in this country, in an uninterrupted succession, for more than five centuries.

"These bear the impress of their respective times: and, whilst many of them regard affairs in which the writers were actively engaged, all afford a closer and more familiar view of characters, manners, and events, than the pen of the most accomplished compiler of regular history, even if he might be trusted, could supply.

"They unravel causes of action which without their aid would be impenetrable; and even throw new light upon parts of history which superficial readers suppose to be exhausted.

"How far the present selection of letters may deserve so good a character, the reader must determine for himself.

"The Editor has been desirous of producing a work, which, while it exhibited within reasonable limits a series of historical pictures, might be considered as a SUPPLEMENT TO OUR HISTORIES. To render it more acceptable, he has, here and there, prefixed introductions to particular letters, in which numerous traits and minute anecdotes bearing upon detached topics of history have been compacted and condensed. In the execution of this design the illustration of historical truth has been his sole object: and he believes it will be found that these introductions, as well as the letters themselves, throw new light on various passages of our history." Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.

The series begin with a letter from King Henry Vth; but this and about ten others, written before the accession of Henry VIIth, are curious rather than instructive. In the latter reign we learn little respecting the state of the country, but have a glimpse at the intrigues of the French and Scotch courts, and a specimen of the political cunning of the first of the Tudors. It is under 'bluff King Hal' that the work commences in good earnest, and is carried on with more than usual success. The early disputes with Scotland; the state of the Scotch court under James IV; the border wars, ennobled by the battle of Flodden, and protracted throughout half a

century; Wolsey's administration and fall; the death of Anne Boleyn, and the suppression of the monasteries, are illustrated by numerous letters from the principal personages of the age. Many minor points are alluded to, and there is no important event in the civil history of the reign which is not considered; the ecclesiastical are passed over slightly. We extract a letter from Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, written at a time when the communication between the king and his minister appears to have been carried on entirely through their celebrated secretary. The correspondence is extensive, and shews how much the king attended to his own business. We are surprised to find that Mr. Ellis thinks this a new fact.

"Hit may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that I have received your Graces lettres directed to my selfe dated the last day of Auguste, with the lettres of my Lord Admirall to your Grace, sent in post, and copies of lettres sent bytwene the Quene of Scotts and his Lordshipp concernyng the maters and affeires of Scotland, with the prudent answeris of your Grace as well to my said Lord in your awne name, as in the name of the Kings Highnes to the said Quene of Scotts. All which lettres and copies I have distinctely redde unto his Grace, who hath in the reding therof substancially considered as well the Quene his sisters lettre with the lettres agaynward devised and sent by my lord Admirall to her, and his lettres of advertisement to your Grace, as your moost politique devises and answeres un to all the same; among which the lettre which your Grace devised in the name of his Highnes to the Quene his sister, his Grace so well lyked that I never saw him lyke thing bettre; and as help me God in my pore fantasie, not causeles, for hit is for the quantite one of the best made lettres for wordis, mater, sentence, and cowching that ever I redde in my life.

"His Highnes, in your Graces lettre directed to my Lord Admirall, marked and well lyked that your Grace towched my said Lord and my Lord Dacres, in that that theire opinions had bene to the lett of the great roode which if hit had bene ere this tyme made in to Scotland, as by your prudent advice hit had if theyre opinions with other had not bene to the contrarie, hit shold, as by the Quenes lettre appereth, have bene th' occasion of some great and good effecte.

"His Highnes also well allowed that your Grace noteth not onely remisse dealing, but also some suspitione in that the Lord Dacre so litle estemede the mynde and opinion of the Kings sister, wherof he had by his servant so perfait knowledge.

"Finally his Highnes is of the mynde of your Grace, and singularly commendeth your policie in that your Grace determineth for a finall way that my Lord Admirall shall sett forth his entreprises without eny longer tracte of tyme, not ceacing to preace theym with all the annoyance possible till they fall ernestely and effectually to some

bettre trayne and conformitie. And veryly his Highnes thinketh as your Grace writeth, that for eny lakke of those things which as he wryteth are not yet cummen to hym, he shold not have neded to forbore to have done theym with smaller roods, at the lest way some annoyauns in the meane season.

" I redde also to his Highnes the lettre of Mr. Doctor Knyght written un to your Grace, with your Grace's lettres written to my selfe, by the tenor wherof his Grace well perceiveth your moost prudent answere devised and made as well to his said embassiator as to thembassiator of themperor, concernyng the disbursyng of such money as his Highnes shold lay owte for th'entretenement of the x m. lance knights wherin his Grace highly well approveth, as well your moost politique foresight, so wisely dowting leste this delay of the declaration myht happen to be a device wherby th'emperor myght spare his awne charge and entreteign th'almaignes with th'only cost of the Kings Grace, as also your moost prudent ordre taken therin, by which his Highnes shalbe bounden to no charge excepte the Duke first passe the articles sent by Sir John Russll, and that the x m almaynes be levied and joyned with the Duke and he dedeclared enemy to the French King.

" I red also to his Highnes the copie of your Graces lettres devised to M. Doctor Sampson and M. Jernyngham, wherin his Highnes well perceived and marked what labor and payn your Grace had taken as well in substantiall advertising his said embassiators at length of all occurraunts here, with the goodly rehersall of the valiaunt acquitall of his army on the See not onely there done, but also descending on the land with all his preparations and armyes sett forth and furnyshed as well toward France as Scotland, as also in your good and substantiall instructions geven un to theym for the semblable advauncyng of th'emperors army and actuall invasion to be made on that side for his part.

" His Highnes hath also seen and signed the lettres by your Grace devised in his name, as well to Don Ferdinando and to the Duke of Mechelberge in answere of their late lettres sent un to his Grace, as also to the Duke of Ferrare in commendation of the Kings orators in case the Duke accepte the ordre.

" In the reding and advising of all which things, his Highnes saied that he perceived well what labor, studie, payn, and travaile your Grace had taken in the device and pennyng of so many, so greate things, so high well dispached in so brief tyme, whan the onely redyng therof held hym above twoo howres. His Highnes therfore commaunded me to write un to your Grace that, for your labor, travaile, study, paine, and diligens he geveth your Grace his moost harty, and not more harty than highly well-deserved thanks. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. At Okyng the first day of Septembre.

" Your humble orator and moost
" bounden beedman
" THOMAS MORE." Vol. I. p. 203.

In these days of rampant Popery, it may not be amiss to direct attention to several letters from Sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the tower, to secretary Cromwell, respecting the conduct of Queen Anne Boleyn, during her imprisonment. Lingard has treated this unfortunate woman with his usual unfairness; and Cobbett is a greater brute than her husband. But they have little to say against her, except that she did not profess her innocence on the scaffold. It is evident, however, from the fragments of a letter from Sir William (Vol. II. p. 64), that she "sent for him, that he might be with her at the celebration of the sacrament, and hear her declaration touching her innocency." The conclusion is remarkable. I have seen men and also women executed, and they have been in great grief. "*Thys ladye hass meche joy and plesur in dethe.*" Is not such a fact worth a hundred declarations on the scaffold? Although for the absence of them, Mr. Ellis offers a satisfactory reason, viz. that the queen was anxious for the safety of her daughter.

The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary add little to Mr. Ellis's collection. Elizabeth is a larger contributor, and there are several disputed points upon which he adduces new evidence; but not having time to meddle with Elizabethan politics, we shall content ourselves with extracting a letter from Mr. Recorder Fleetwood to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, on the police of London. It proves that the vices of the metropolis are not of recent date. A subsequent part of the same correspondence gives us a list of reputed thieves and *flash houses*, the number of the latter being eighteen.

"Right honorable and my verie good Lord, uppon Thursdaye laste beinge the crastinn of Trinitie Terme, we kepte a sessions of inquyrie in London in the forenone, and in the afternone we kepte the lyke att Fynsburie for Middlesex, in which two severall sessionses all such as were so be arrayegned for felonye at the gaole deliverye were indyted. Uppon Frydaie last we sate at the Justice hall att Newgate from vij in the morninge untill vij att night, where were condempned certen horstealers, cutpurses, and such lyke, to the number of x., whereof ix. were executed, and the tenthe stayed by a meanes from the courte. These were executed uppon Saterdaye in the morninge. There was a showmaker also condempned for wyllfull murder commytted in the Blacke ffryers, who was executed uppon Mondaie in the morninge. The same daye my Lord Maior beinge absent abowte the goods of the Spannyards, and also all my Lords the justices of the benches beinge also awaye, we fewe that were there did spend the same daie abowte the searchinge out of sundrye that were receptors of ffelons, where we fownd a greate manye aswell in London, Westminster, Sowthwarke, as in all other places abowte the same. Amongest our travells this one matter

tumbled owt by the waye, that one Wotton a gentilman borne, and sometyme a marchauntt man of good credyte, who fallinge by tyme into decaye, kepte an alehowse att Smarts keye neere Byllingesgate, and after, for some mysdemeanor beinge put downe, he reared upp a newe trade of lyffe, and in the same howse he procured all the cuttpurses abowt this cittie to repaire to his said howse. There, was a schole howse set upp to learne younge boyes to cutt purses. There were hung up two devises, the one was a pockett, the other was a purse. The pockett had in yt certain cownters and was hunge abowte with hawkes bells, and over the toppe did hannge a litle sacring bell; and he that could take owt a cownter without any noyse, was allowed to be *publique ffoyster*; and he that could take a peece of sylver owt of the purse without the noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged *a judiciall nypper*. Nota that a ffoister is a pick-pockett, and a nypper is termed a pickepurse, or a cutpurse. And as concerninge this matter, I will sett downe noe more in this place, but referr your Lordship to the paper herein enclosed.

"Saterdaye and Sondaie beinge paste, uppon Mondaie my Lord Maior, my Lord Buckhurste, the M^{r} of the Rooles, my Lord Anderson, Mr Sackford Master of the Requests, S^{r}. Rowland Hayward, my selffe, M^{r}. Owen, and M^{r}. Younge, with the assystaunce of M^{r}. Attorney and M^{r}. Solicitor, did arraigne one Awfeild, Webley, and Crabbe, for sparcinge abrood certen lewed, sedicious, and traytorous bookes; Awfeild did most trayterously maynteyne the booke, with longe tedious and frivolous wordes and speaches. Webley did affirme as much as Awfeild had uttered. They are both executed thorough Gods goodnes and yor Lordshipps good helpe, as M^{r}. Younge told me. There came a letter to reprive Awfeild, yt was not well digested of as many as knewe of yt, but after all was well taken. When he was executed, his bodye was brought into S^{t}. Pulchers to be buried, but the parishioners would not suffer a traytor's corpes to be layed in the earthe where theire parents, wyeffs, chyldren, kynred, maisters, and old neighbors did rest: and so his carcase was retourned to the buryall grounde neere Tyborne, and there I leave yt. Crabbe surelye did renownce the Pope, and my Lords and the rest of the benche moved M^{r}. Attorney and M^{r}. Solicitor to be a meane to her Maiestie for him, and for that cause he was stayed. Trewelye my Lord it is nothinge needfull to wrytte for the staye of any to be repryved, for there is not any in our commyssion of London or Middlesex but we are desirous to save or staye any poore wretche, yf by color of any lawe or reason we maye doe ytt. My singler good Lord my Lord William of Wynchester was wonte to saye, "when the courte is furthest from London, then is there the best justice done in all England." I once hard as great a parsonage in office and authoritye as ever he was, and yett lyvinge, saye the same wordes. Yt is growen for a trade nowe in the courte to make meanes for repryves, twentie pownd for a reprive is nothinge, although it be but for bare tenn daies. I see it will not be holpen onles one honored gentilman, who many tymes is abused by wronge informacion (and suerlie uppon my sowle, not uppon any evill mean-

inge) do staye his penn. I have not one letter for the staye of a theiffe from your Lordshippe. Fearinge that I trouble your Lordship with my-tedious lettres I end, this vijth of Julie 1585.

"Your good Lordships moste humbly bownden,

"W. FLETEWOODE." Vol. II. p. 296.

The accession of James I. his journey to London, and the circumstances connected with it, are described in some interesting letters; and an admonitory epistle from the king to his eldest son is deserving of notice.

"My sonne, that I see you not before my pairting impute it to this great occasion quhairin tyme is sa preciouse; but that shall by Goddis grace shortlie be recompencid by youre cumming to me shortlie, and continuall residence with me ever after. Lett not this newis make you proude, or insolent, for a kings sonne and heire was ye before, and na maire ar ye yett. The augmentation that is heirby lyke to fall unto you, is but in caires and heavie burthens. Be thairfor merrie, but not insolent; keepe a greatnes, but *sine fastu*; be resolute but not willfull; keepe your kyndnes, but in honorable sorte; choose nane to be youre play fellowis but thame that are well borne; and above all things give never goode countenance to any but according as ye shall be informed that they are in æstimation with me. Looke upon all Englishe men that shall cum to visite you as upon youre loving subjectis, not with that ceremonie as towardis straingeris, and yett with such hartlines as at this tyme they deserve. This gentleman quhom this bearare accumpanies is worthie, and of guide ranke, and nou my familiare servitoure; use him thairfore in a maire hamelie loving sorte nor otheris. I sende you herewith my booke latelie prentid: studdie and profite in it as ye wolde deserve my blessing; and as thaire can na thing happen unto you quhairof ye will not finde the generall grounde thairin, if not the verrie particulaire pointe touched, sa mon ye levell everie mannis opinions or advyces unto you as ye finde thaime agree or discorde with the reulis thaire sett doun, allouing and following thaire advyces that agrees with the same, mistrusting and frouning upon thaime that advyses you to the contraire. Be diligent and earnist in your studdies, that at your meiting with me, I maye praise you for youre progresse in learning. Be obedient to youre maister, for youre awin weill, and to procure my thankis; for in reverencing him ye obeye me, and honoure yourselfe. Fairuell.

"Your loving Father,

"JAMES R." Vol. III. P. 78.

The most voluminous correspondent during the reigns of James and Charles is the celebrated Joseph Meade, who resided at that time at Cambridge, and appears to have been a diligent collector and disseminator of news. His letters are entertaining; but we cannot look upon them in the same light as the contents of former volumes. Sir Thomas More and Lord Burleigh could not have been ignorant of the

affairs which they describe. A Cambridge student is in a very different predicament, and his communications are not entitled to the name of authentic political information.

The two Charles's and James II. have contributed very little; and Mr. Ellis will do good service if, on some future occasion, he can supply the deficiency. A letter, describing the death of the second Charles, has led Mr. Ellis into one of the greatest errors in his work. It is written, as he supposes, by a chaplain of Dr. Turner, bishop of Ely; and he speaks of it as conclusive evidence against Burnet's account of the same transaction. When the reader has perused the first sentence, he will hesitate at condemning Burnet upon the chaplain's evidence. "Yesterday evening, I do believe the most lamented prince that ever satt upon a throne, one of the best of kings, left this world, translated *doubtless* to a much more glorious kingdom than all those which he has left behind him, none bewailing of their losse."

The last portion of the work is principally occupied by letters from Bishop Nicholson to Archbishop Wake. Nicholson was Bishop of Carlisle in the year 1715, and gives a good account of the rebellion that happened at that time, and of the proceedings for high treason at Carlisle; but we have by no means so high an opinion of him as Mr. Ellis appears to entertain. The Scotch bishops are spoken of in these letters in very disrespectful terms, and considering what they had undergone for conscience sake, they were entitled to better treatment from an English prelate. But there is stronger evidence against Bishop Nicholson in other parts of this same correspondence. His letters to Wake, after he had been promoted to the see of Derry, were printed some years ago in the Christian Remembrancer, and from them he appears to have been much more attached to his own interest, than "to the civil and ecclesiastical government of his country." In fact, he was one of a bad school, from which the church both in England and Ireland has severely suffered.

We take leave of Mr. Ellis, with many thanks for his valuable publication. The Manuscripts, of which he is keeper, are of much importance, and could not be placed in better hands. The interesting selection from them which he has now made creates a demand for more, and we shall hail the appearance of another portion with great pleasure and sincerity.

ART. IV. *Historical Notes, respecting the Indians of North America; with Remarks on the Attempts made to convert and civilize them. By John Halkett, Esq.* Hurst, Robinson & Co. 1825.

THIS is the work, we perceive, of a mere fireside traveller. The object of it is good, and the execution respectable, but it bears no proof of a personal acquaintance with the various matters which it contains. Mr. Halkett, it should seem, has studied the Indians of America in the libraries of Europe, rather than in their native forests; and his "Historical Notes," accordingly, have a closer reference to times that have long gone by, than to the actual condition of the "red children" of the woods at the present moment.

The annals of the white men on the great western continent are, we must confess, deeply stained with the misery and oppression which they have inflicted upon the Indians, since the first day that a European ship touched the trans-atlantic shores. The Spaniards, the French and the Dutch, have respectively much to answer for in regard to the mode in which they planted their several colonies in that part of the world; and we wish we could assert, that our own countrymen had no arrear of guilt chargeable upon their memories, and that no compensation were due at our hands to the unfortunate tenants of the American wilderness. Fraud and cruelty marked too long all the intercourse of the Europeans with the simple Indian; and, in order to justify their worst actions, they propagated every where the groundless calumny that the aboriginal inhabitants of the extensive countries to which their cupidity had directed them, were not superior in intellect to brute beasts, but were stupid, ungrateful and ferocious. The reports of interested traders and inhuman commanders were at length made the foundation of a theory by a certain class of philosophers at home; who, as is amply proved by the writings of Buffon and De Pauw, took pleasure in representing the natives of the New World as vicious, despicable and brutish, and far inferior to those of the Old, in mental as well as in corporeal qualities.

The good missionary, Le pere Lafitau, in his work entitled "*Mœurs des Sauvages Americains comparés aux mœurs des premiers Temps*," was among the first who boldly opposed the calumnies of his countrymen, in relation to the character of the Indians. In the face of the impudent statements made by several of his contemporaries, he maintained that the na-

tives of America were possessed of sound judgment, lively imagination, ready conception, and wonderful memory. All the tribes, he adds, retain at least some trace of an ancient religion, handed down to them from their ancestors, as also a form of government. They reflect justly upon their affairs; they prosecute their ends by sure means; they evince a degree of coolness and composure which would exceed our patience; they never permit themselves to indulge in passion, but always, from a high sense of honour and greatness of soul, appear masters of themselves. They are high-minded and proud; possess a courage equal to every trial; an intrepid valour; the most heroic constancy under torments; and an equanimity which neither reverses nor misfortunes can shake. Towards each other they behave with a natural politeness and attention, entertaining a high respect for the aged, and a consideration for their equals, which appears scarcely reconcilable with that freedom and independence of which they are so jealous. They make few professions of kindness, but yet are affable and generous. Towards strangers and the unfortunate, they exercise a degree of hospitality and charity which might put the inhabitants of Europe to the blush.

In those extensive regions, bounded by the lakes and the river St. Lawrence, the French, as is well known, exercised a severe and treacherous rule over the native inhabitants; imitating the latter in the most barbarous acts of revenge, in torture, and cruel deaths. This policy was strongly reprobated by the more judicious of the missionaries, who were soon made to feel the terrible effects of such an ill-timed retaliation. But our limits prevent us from entering into details on this early period of American colonization; suffice it to say, that the reader will find in Mr. Halkett's historical notes a valuable selection of most important information on that head, drawn from very authentic and impartial sources. We pass over, in like manner, the transactions of the Dutch in their infant establishment at New York, and proceed to give some account of the English settlers in America, whose descendants have made greater encroachments upon the birthright of the Indian, than all the other nations of Europe beside.

There is a romantic story, connected with the name of Captain John Smith, which gives a view of the state of society among the natives, as well as a striking picture of female generosity, and which on these accounts, cannot fail, we think, to engage the attention of the reader. Captain Smith was a hero by nature. Granger says that he "deserves to be ranked with the greatest travellers and adventurers of this

age." He was some time in the service of the Emperor and the Prince of Transylvania, against the Grand Seignor, when he distinguished himself by challenging three Turks of quality to single combat, and cutting off their heads; for which heroic exploit he wore a chevron between three Turks heads on his arms. He afterwards went to America, where he was taken by the savage Indians, from whom he found means to escape. He often hazarded his life in naval engagements with pirates, Spanish men of war, and in other adventures, and had a considerable hand in reducing New England to the obedience of Great Britain, and in reclaiming the inhabitants from barbarism."

It was while exploring the country, and examining some of the principal rivers, that Captain Smith was taken prisoner by the Indians. Having resolved to put him to death, his savage enemies were already in the act of fastening him to a tree, that they might shoot him with arrows, when he, with great presence of mind, pulled out a pocket compass, and presented it to their chief. The astonishment felt by the Indians at the movements of the needle, and the extraordinary appearance of the whole instrument, induced them to postpone his execution. They probably looked upon Smith as a magician; at all events they determined forthwith to carry him to their king, whose name was Powhatan.

This prince, at that period, ruled over a vast extent of country, and mustered under his banners from two to three thousand warriors. The appearance of his court is thus described by the Captain, in the simple style of his age, now fast becoming obsolete. "Here were more than two hundred of these grim courtiers who stood wondering as he had been a monster, till Pohatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire, upon a seate like a bedsteade, hee sat covered with a great robe of rarowcan (racoon) skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either side did sit a young wench, of about sixteen or eighteen years, and along on each side the house as many women, with all theyre heades and shoulders painted red; manie of theyre heades bedecked with white down of birdes, but everie one with something, and a greate chayne of white beades about theyre necks."

At his entrance before the king, all the people gave a great shout. The queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers instead of a towel, to dry them. After these and other Indian ceremonies, Captain Smith was invited to partake of an entertainment, and a council being

now held, it was determined that he should be immediately put to death. He was accordingly dragged forward before the king, and his head placed on a large stone which rested on the ground, in order to have his brains beaten out by two men armed with clubs. This sentence was on the point of being executed, when to the astonishment of the whole assembly, the king's favourite daughter Pocahontas, then about twelve or thirteen years of age, rushed forward, and throwing herself down, folded her arms round the head of the captive, to save him from the blows of his fierce executioners. Such was her generous and persevering resolution, that Powhatan at length ordered the Captain to be released. From that time he was treated with distinguished regard by the king, as well as by his sons, and was soon afterwards sent back to the settlement at Jamestown, under an escort of twelve trusty Indians. Peace, too, was immediately established between Powhatan and the English; and the young princess, having become their avowed friend and patron, was allowed to visit the colony with her attendants, and to carry provisions and presents to them whenever they were in want.

Nor were her services confined to mere civilities. On the contrary, when war was unhappily renewed, and a stratagem formed for surprising Captain Smith and his party, she made her way through the forest in the dead of the night, gave him notice of the designs which were about to be put in operation against him, and thereby enabled him to provide for his safety. The Captain meeting with an accident from the explosion of gunpowder, returned soon after to England: and Pocahontas, unable to preserve peace between the white strangers and her father's subjects, lived with some trusty friends, in a state of concealment, on the banks of the Potowmac.

Captain Argale, who commanded an English ship on that station, hearing that the girl was in the neighbourhood, contrived to seize her person and carry her on board, with the view, it is said, either of procuring from Powhatan, more advantageous terms of peace, or of compelling him to pay a high ransom for his daughter. A negociation ensued under the auspices of Sir Thomas Dale, who was at that time entrusted with the government of the Virginian colony; but the Indian monarch, not finding it expedient to comply with the terms which were proposed to him, the treaty broke off, and the princess was detained two years in the English settlement.

It was during this very questionable captivity, that a young Englishman, named Rolfe, formed an attachment to Poca-

hontas; and the affection proving mutual, Sir Thomas Dayle found no difficulty in giving his consent to their union. Information of this event was also conveyed to her father, who sent one of his brothers and his two sons to make known his acquiescence, and to witness the ceremony of his daughter's marriage. This new relationship with the English, fortunately led to a peace, the conditions of which the Indian faithfully observed during the remainder of his life.

After the lapse of little more than a year, the Governor of Virginia returned to England, and with him, Mr. Rolfe, the wife of this gentleman, and their only son. Pocahontas had been some time baptised, and had made considerable progress in the English language. Purchas in his Pilgrimes, thus describes the occurrence. "Sir Thomas Dayle having thus established things as you have heard, returned thence, and arrived at Plymouth in May or June 1616, to advance the good of the plantation. Master Rolfe, also, with Rebecca, his new convert and consort, and Uttamatomakin, one of Powhatan's counsellors, came over at the same time. With this savage I have often conversed at my good friend's, Master Doctor Goldstone, where he was a frequent guest, and where I have both seen him sing and dance his diabolicall measures, and heard him discourse of his countrie and religion, Sir Thomas Dayle's man being the interpretour as I have elsewhere shewed. Master Rolfe lent me a discourse which he had written of the estate of Virginia at that time, out of which I collected those things which I have in my Pilgrimage delivered. And his wife did not only accustome herselfe to civilitie, but still carried herselfe as the daughter of a king: and was accordingly respected, not onely by the company, which allowed provision for herselfe and her sonne, but of divers particular persons of honor, in their hopeful zeale by her to advance Christianitie. I was present when my honourable and reverend patron, the Bishop of London, Doctor King, entertained her with festivall pompe, beyonde what I have seene in his great hospitalitie to other ladies."

At the moment Pocahontas arrived in England, Captain Smith, who had recovered from the effects of the accident which befell him abroad, was preparing to set out once more for his American plantation. He resolved, however, not to leave his native land until he had laid before the queen, the consort of James the First, an account of this Indian visitor, and entreated the royal protection in her favour. He accordingly wrote a "little book," setting forth to her Majesty the services and generosity of Rebecca Rolfe; for an abstract of which we must content ourselves, with referring to the

Generall Historie of Virginia, by Captain John Smith, or to the historical notes, from which we have abridged the above narrative.

The interview which he had with Pocahontas previous to his departure, deserves to be related in his own words. She had heard that he was dead, a circumstance which probably accounts for the agitation which she betrayed at their first meeting.

"Being about this time preparing to set saile for New Englande, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and shee well deserved; but hearing she was at Brandford with divers of my friendes, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, shee turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, wee all left her two or three houres, repenting myself to have writ she could speak English. But not long after shee began to talk, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done, saying, 'You did promise Powhatan, what was your's should be his, and hee the like to you. You called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason must I doe you.' Which, though I could have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because shee was a king's daughter. With a well set countenance she said, 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's countrie, and caused fear in him and all his people but mee; and fear you that I should call you father? I tell you then that I will, and you shall call me childe, and so I will be for ever and ever your countrieman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakin to seek you, and know the truth, because your countriemen will lie much.'"

In England Pocahontas was well received and kindly treated. She was presented at court, and met with the most affectionate attention from persons of the first rank and station. But she was not long to remain the object either of curiosity or regard. Her husband had been appointed to an official situation in Virginia, and had even proceeded as far as Gravesend, with the intention of embarking with his family for America, when she was suddenly seized with the small-pox, and, after a few days illness died at that place, in the twenty-second year of her age. The fate of this young woman called forth in England the sympathy of all who knew how much she had done to support the cause and to save the lives of the British settlers in America. Her death was also deeply regretted by the old king her father, who continued faithfully to keep his promise of peace and friendship

to the English. He expressed much joy that her son lived, and hoped that, after the boy should grow up and become strong, he would return from beyond the great salt lake, and visit him. The boy remained in England under the care of an uncle, until his education was completed; after which he settled in Virginia, where he rose to considerable affluence and distinction, and in due time laid the foundation of several respectable families in that division of the American plantations.

There is another Indian heroine, whose fame indeed rests on a different ground, but who, in the character of a nun and a convert to the christian faith, fills a much larger space in the annals of American colonization. Tegahkouita was born in the country of the Mohawks, and was left an orphan at a very early age. Her aunts, to whose care she had been committed, were amazed to find that she entertained an insuperable repugnance to matrimony; not knowing that the superstitious spirit of Jesuit monachism had already counteracted in her one of the most natural sentiments of the human heart. To avoid the importunities of her relations she took refuge with the mission at Sault St. Louis; at which place, in consequence of her anxious and constant entreaties, the church admitted her into its bosom as a nun. She was the first of her nation, says Charlevoix, who entered into vows of perpetual virginity.

"Tegahkouita now began to prescribe for herself the most rigid penance. She strewed her bed with thorns, rolled herself among briers and prickles, mixed up earth and ashes with her food, travelled amid ice and snow, with her feet naked, and then scorched them in the flames. Under this regimen, her health, as might naturally have been expected, rapidly declined, and she died at the early age of twenty-four, to the inexpressible sorrow of the college of Jesuits at Quebec. These, however, found some consolation in knowing, that the effects of her virtue survived her. 'It was the Mohawk tribe,' exclaims Charlevoix, 'who gave to New France this Geneviève of North America, the illustrious Catherine Tegahkouita, whom Heaven has continued for almost seventy years to render celebrated by the performance of miracles, the authenticity of which will stand the proof of the most rigid enquiry.'"

A long account follows, in the shape of an epistle to the superior of the mission, containing a number of wonderful cures, attested, it is said, by persons whose power and judgment cannot be suspected. As a proof of the efficacy attending the intercession of the "holy girl," we shall transcribe

a certificate furnished by the Abbé de la Colombière, who was restored to health in the manner therein described.

"Having been ill at Quebec last year, from January to June, of a slow fever, against which all the usual remedies proved ineffectual, and also attacked with a flux, which ipecacuanha itself could not cure, it was thought advisable I should make a vow that in case it pleased Heaven to put a stop to my malady, I should go to the mission of St. François Xavier, in order to offer up my prayers at the tomb of Catherine Tegahkouita. From that day the fever ceased, and the flux became also much diminished; I embarked some days afterwards to acquit myself of my vow, and scarcely had I proceeded a third part on my journey, when I found myself perfectly cured. I therefore feel, that it would be unjust in me not to ascribe to the mission of Canada the glory which is their due; and to testify, as I now do, that I am indebted for my cure to the Iroquois virgin. I accordingly make the present attestation, not only to evince the sentiments of gratitude which I entertain, but also to express as much as in my power the confidence to be reposed upon the intercession of my benefactress, and thus incite others to imitate her virtues. Done at Villa Marie, this 14th September 1696. J. De La Colombiere.

Another certificate was given by the Capitaine de Luth, 'one of the bravest officers,' says Charlevoix, 'that the king has ever had in this colony.'

"I, the undersigned, certify to all whom it may concern, that having, for three-and-twenty years, been tormented by the gout, and suffering such pain as to have been deprived of rest for three months together, I addressed myself to Catherine Tegahkouita, the Iroquois virgin, who died in odour of sanctity, at the Sault St. Louis, and I promised to visit her tomb, if Heaven should please to remove my malady through her intercession. At the end of a nine days fasting and devotion, which I performed to her honour, I was so completely cured, that for the last fifteen months I have not the slightest fit of the gout." Done at Fort Frontenac, this 15th day of August 1696. J. De Luth, Capitaine, &c.

As a check upon the scepticism of the heretical reader, it seems expedient that he should be supplied with the following warning, extracted from the history of New France, a work of the good father Charlevoix:—"On every anniversary of the death of La bonne Catherine—for that is the name by which, in deference to the Holy See, she is honoured in Canada—the neighbouring parishes were in the habit of repairing to the church at the Sault St. Louis, near Montreal,

to perform a solemn mass. The curate of La Chine, M. Remy, who had recently arrived from France, having been apprized of this custom, and that his predecessors had always conformed to it, declared that he did not think himself authorized to sanction by his presence, a public religious solemnity not ordained by the church. Those of his parishioners who heard him make this remark, foretold that it would not be long before their new curate would be punished for his refusal; and in fact, from that day M. Remy fell dangerously ill. But the worthy curate, perceiving at once the cause of his sudden malady, made a vow to follow the pious example of his predecessors; upon which he was immediately restored to health."

Under the auspices of such men, it was not to be expected that the progress of Christianity among the Indians could be either rapid or secure. In fact, they accomplished nothing. The two great orders of missionaries, the Jesuits and the Recollets, after manifesting the utmost resolution, and undergoing the severest privations, returned home with no other reward but the consciousness of having acted under the influence of benevolent motives, and the pleasant conviction that they ensured, by a seasonable baptism, the eternal salvation of some thousands of dying infants. At the present day, no other record can be discovered in the Indian wilderness, that the ministry of the Gospel had ever been exercised among its inhabitants, than the appearance of a few silver crosses, which are worn round the neck by way of ornament or charm, and probably answer the same purpose with the *fetiche*, which is seen in possession of all the tribes which wander over the deserts of Africa. The Romish missionaries sowed the seed before they prepared the soil; and hence all their labour was lost, and their means thrown away. They attempted to engraft Christianity upon the habits of savage life, and to communicate the profoundest mysteries of our holy faith to minds which had never been accustomed to exercise reflection, or to analyse the elements of thought; it ought not, therefore, to excite the smallest surprise, that their hopes were disappointed, their endeavours opposed and rendered useless, and all their pious schemes limited to the imaginary benefit of securing a passport into bliss for such infants as they were permitted to baptize, or for a few aged persons on their death-beds, who had no longer the power of refusing their services.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie remarks, in his American travels, respecting the early French missionaries, that there is

hardly a trace to be found of their meritorious function. The cause of their failure, he adds, must be attributed to a want of due consideration in the mode employed by them to propagate the religion of which they were the zealous ministers. They habituated themselves to the savage life, and naturalized themselves to the savage manners; and by thus becoming dependent, as it were, on the natives, they acquired their contempt rather than their veneration.

Many of the missionaries, it is well known, fell victims to the revenge or superstition of the natives; while such of them as were permitted to live in the wilds, endured every species of suffering which can arise from cold, hunger and fatigue. But the principal cause of failure in their pious labours is to be traced, not to the circumstance of their becoming as savage as the Indians, and of rendering themselves dependent upon them for food and clothing; it is to be discovered in the vain attempt already mentioned, of conveying to uncultivated minds the abstruse learning of systematic theology, and of founding upon that learning a reverence for ceremonies, which otherwise could not fail to appear ridiculous. The Indian listened, but received no impression. The rites of the Roman Catholic seemed good enough for the white man; but as the Great Spirit had given to his red children a more simple and rational religion, they would not accept of the former, except in so far as they were bound by complaisance and decorum. The Indians, says Charlevoix, have been seen to attend our churches for years together, with an assiduity and solemnity which made it be supposed they entertained a sincere desire to learn and embrace the truths of Christianity; but they would suddenly refrain from coming to church, saying coolly to the missionary, 'You had no one to pray with you; I took compassion upon you in your solitude, and kept you company; others, at present, are willing to render you the same service; I therefore take my leave.' The same writer tells us, that several of the Indians had carried their complaisance so far, as to request and receive the rites of baptism, performing for some time the christian duties; after which they declared they had done all this only to please the priest, who was pressing them to change their religion.

The father Hennepin likewise observes, that the Indians reckon it highly improper to contradict any thing that is said; and they will not dissent from you, even if you make the most absurd assertions. They always answer, "Brother, you are right—it is well." Yet, in private, they only believe what

they please, and shew the greatest indifference even for the great truths of the Christian religion. It is this, he adds, which forms the principal obstacle to their conversion.

"The Tonicas were visited by Charlevoix, and, bating always their dislike to conversion, he found them a well disposed and hospitable nation. In the year 1718, when M. Du Pratz travelled up the Mississippi, he also paid a visit to them, and found the missionary Davion then residing amongst them. 'I asked him,' says Du Pratz, 'if his great zeal for the salvation of the Indians was attended with success?' He answered, with tears in his eyes, 'that notwithstanding the great respect they shewed him, it was with difficulty he could get leave to baptize a few children at the point of death; that those who were grown up excused themselves from embracing our holy religion, saying, they were too old to accustom themselves to rules so difficult to be observed; that their grand chief, since he had put to death the physician who had attended his only son in a distemper of which he died, had taken a resolution, in consequence of Davion's reproaches, to fast every Friday during his life; that this old chief attended at church both morning and evening, the women and children likewise assisting; but as to the men, they did not come often, and when they did, they took more pleasure in ringing the church bell.'"

The Baron de la Hontan remarks, that almost all the conquests gained to Christianity by the Jesuits, are those infants who have received the rites of baptism, and those old men who, at the point of death, find no inconvenience in being baptized. Pere Lallemant, in the account of his early mission among the Hurons, states nearly the same thing. "We have this year baptized more than a thousand, most of them afflicted with the small-pox, of whom a large proportion have died with every mark of having been received among the elect. Of these there are more than three hundred and sixty infants under seven years of age, without counting upwards of a hundred other little children, who having been baptized before, were cut off by the same malady, and gathered by the angels as flowers in paradise. With respect to adult persons in good health, there is little apparent success; on the contrary, there have been nothing but storms and whirlwinds in that quarter."

The storms here alluded to respected the dissatisfaction of the Indians on the subject of matrimony; the missionaries insisting upon curtailing their wonted privileges in regard to the number and succession of wives. On this head too, as on many others, the practice of the Europeans was utterly opposed to their doctrines. The planters and traders ob-

served no other limits than their own convenience in the amount of their domestic establishment; a fact upon which the natives did not shut their eyes, nor allowed to pass unnoticed in their disputes with the christian teachers.

No one who has read with candour the history of the French missions in Canada, has ever found any other thing to blame besides the injudicious attempt to teach savages the mysteries of our holy religion. The zeal, devotedness, and perseverances of the missionaries are worthy of all praise. It is gratifying to find, that the same good spirit continues to actuate the Roman Catholic clergy in the endeavours which they are making, at the present day, to instruct the Indians, and eventually to bring them within the pale of the church. So far as benevolence, charity and paternal care, can afford comfort to the Indian, he receives it at their hands; and to any one, says Mr. Halkett, "who feels an interest in the fate of that race, it must be satisfactory to observe the kindness of their Catholic teachers in Canada, and painful to contrast it with the barbarous conduct of the Spanish North American missions bordering upon the shores of the Pacific ocean."

Since we have alluded to the conduct of the Spaniards, we shall transcribe a paragraph from the voyages of La Perouse, who visited California in 1786. At that period, there were in the country twenty-five missions labouring among about fifty thousand Indians, of whom about a fifth part were said to have embraced Christianity. In one of these missions, Perouse thus notices the usual occupation of the converted Indians: "Every day they have seven hours of labour, two of prayers, and four or five on Sundays and feast days, which are set apart for repose and divine worship. Corporal punishment is inflicted upon the Indians of both sexes who fail in their religious exercises; and several offences, for which in Europe the punishment is left to the hand of divine justice, are punished here with irons. From the moment that a neophyte is baptized, it is the same as if he had taken perpetual vows; and if he should escape from the mission, and take refuge among his relations in their Indian villages, he is summoned three times to return. If he refuses, the missionary applies for the authority of the governor, who dispatches soldiers to drag him from the bosom of his family, and take him back to the missions, where he is sentenced to receive so many lashes. These Indians are of so timid a character, that they never make any opposition to those who thus violate every human right. And this practice, against which reason cries aloud, is maintained, because

theologians have decided, that the rite of baptism ought not in conscience to be administered to men of so inconstant a turn of mind; for whom the government must, therefore, in some degree act as sponsors, and answer for their perseverance in the faith.

It is painful to reflect, that after the experience of so many years, the Spaniards have not yet resorted to more lenient and liberal means for propagating the Gospel. Kotzebue, the latest voyager to that part of the American continent, informs us, that he landed at California a short time before the festival in honour of that saint was to be celebrated. Upon entering the church, which is spacious and handsomely fitted up, he found several hundred half-naked Indians kneeling, who were never permitted, after their conversion, to absent themselves from mass, although they understand neither Latin nor Spanish. As the missionaries, he adds, do not trouble themselves to learn the language of the Indians, he cannot conceive in what manner they have been instructed in the Christion religion. "Twice in the year they receive permission to return to their native homes. This short time is the happiest of their existence, and I myself have seen them going home in crowds, with loud rejoicings. The sick, who cannot undertake the journey, at least accompany their happy countrymen to the shore where they embark, and then sit for days together, mournfully gazing at the distant summits of the mountains which surround their homes. They often sit in this situation several days, without taking any food; so much does the sight of their lost home affect these new Christians. Every time some of those who have the permission to visit their homes, run away; and they would probably all do it, were they not deterred by their fears of the soldiers, who catch them, and bring them back to the mission as criminals. Langsdorff, who had visited the mission of San Francisco a few years before, made a similar observation. 'When the Indian is retaken, he is brought back to the mission, where he is bastinadoed, and an iron rod is fastened to one of his feet, which has the double use of preventing him from repeating the attempt, and of frightening others from imitating his example.' The timidity of those runaway convicts is so great, says Kotzebue, that seven or eight dragoons are sufficient to overpower several hundred Indians."

This mode of dragooning the American heathen into Christianity, and that too in the nineteenth century, is, as Mr. Halkett remarks, scarcely to be credited; and yet the circumstance is confirmed by the united testimony of witnesses of various

countries, and professing different religions;—by French, Russian and British travellers; by members of the Roman, Greek and English church. It was observed by the celebrated Eliot, known in New England as the apostle of the Indians, that "in order to christianize the savages, it was necessary at the same time to civilize and make men of them;" but the priests at San Francisco seem to have thought it more consonant with the mild precepts of Christianity, that they should begin by enslaving them. "The savage, says Kotzebue, comes unthinkingly into the mission, receives the food which is willingly offered to him, and listens to their instructions. He is still free; but as soon as he is baptized he belongs to the church; and hence he looks with pain and longing to his native mountains."

But still we repeat, that the main error among the Romanists was their constant practice of identifying baptism with Christianity;—the substitution of the *opus operatum* for improvement of the understanding, change of habits, and extension of useful knowledge. It was no matter to the Jesuit, whether his convert continued to live like a savage, and feel like a barbarian, if he kneeled the stated time during mass, and crossed himself at the proper intervals. Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, informs us, that in the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the sacrament of baptism was administered to more than four millions. Proselytes, he justly remarks, adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given their assent, nor taught the absurdities of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rights with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they had acquired.

The absurdity of such conduct, as pursued by the French in the upper provinces, at length provoked the interference of the learned doctors of the Sorbonne. After some discussion on the point, it was determined, that "with respect to dying infants and adults, the missionaries might risk the sacrament of baptism when asked for; presuming that God would give to the adults some ray of light, such as it was believed had already occurred in several instances: that as to the other savages, it ought not to be administered, unless where, by a long trial, it appeared that they were instructed, and detached from their own barbarous customs, or where they had habituated themselves to the manners of the

French; and the same with respect to their children. A formulary and species of canon was composed for the regulation and guidance of the missionaries on this subject."

We cannot enter at any length into the history of the Protestant missions, which, in proportion as the English extended their territory, and hemmed in the French, gradually succeeded those of the Jesuits and the Recollets. It gives us pain to observe, that the zeal of our countrymen was not accompanied with richer fruits than such as were gathered by their predecessors in that arduous field. If, indeed, we may believe the earliest of our missionaries, their failure was owing, in no small degree, to the deceptions practised by the Romanists. One of the converts assured a Protestant minister, that the Jesuits taught his countrymen that the Lord Jesus Christ was of the French nation; that his mother, the Virgin Mary, was a French lady; that it was the English who murdered him; and that all who would recommend themselves unto his favour, must avenge his quarrel upon the English as far as they could.

A greater obstacle to success in spreading the Gospel, was created by the English themselves, who soon brought their motives into discredit, by employing the tomahawks of one tribe against another. The morals, too, of the soldiers and traders, strongly prepossessed the natives against their religion. Nor were the measures of the local government at all times consistent either with the spirit of Christianity, or with sound political wisdom. An Indian chief very indignantly asked a missionary, why he pressed his countrymen to become Christians, seeing that the Christians were so much worse than they? The Christians, said he, will lie, steal, and drink worse than the Indians. It was they who first taught the Indians to be drunk; and they stole from one another to that degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it; but that was not sufficient to deter others from it: and he supposed that if the Indians were to become Christians, they would then be as bad as these.

The speech of Red Jacket to the representative of the United States, in the year 1820, touches on another topic which is closely connected with the success of missionary exertion. "Another thing recommended to us, said he, has created great confusion amongst us, and is making us a quarrelsome and divided people; and that is the introduction of preachers into our nation. These black robes contrive to get consent of some of the Indians to preach among us; and whenever this is the case, confusion and disorder are sure to follow, and the encroachment of the whites upon our land is

the invariable consequence. The governor must not think hard of me for speaking thus of the preachers. I have observed their progress, and when I look back to see what has taken place of old, I perceive that wherever they came among the Indians, they were forerunners of their dispersion; that they introduced the white people on their lands, by whom they were robbed and plundered of their property; and that the Indians were sure to dwindle and decrease, and be driven back, in proportion to the number of preachers that came among them."

When Mr. Mahew asked permission of a sachem to preach to his Indians, the chief replied, "Go, and teach the English to be good first." A distrust relative to the character and motives of the whites, pervades every portion of the Indian population. Two missionaries were furnished by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and sent among the Delawere tribes with a letter containing much pious compliment and friendly promise. When the two Christians arrived at their destination, the chiefs assembled, and said they would take the subject into consideration; that in the mean time they might instruct the women, but were not to speak to the men. Fourteen days were spent in council, after which the leading individuals made known the result of their deliberation, which was as follows. They very courteously dismissed the two strangers, with an answer to those by whom they had been sent; assuring us, says Dr. Boudinot, that they owed us "great acknowledgments for the favours we had done them. They rejoiced exceedingly at our happiness in thus being favoured by the Great Spirit, and felt very grateful that we had condescended to remember our red brethren in the wilderness; but they could not help recollecting, that we had a people among us, who, because they differed from us in colour, we had made slaves of, causing them to suffer great hardships, and lead miserable lives. Nor they could not see any reason if a people being black, entitled us to deal with them, why a red colour would not equally justify the same treatment. They therefore had determined to wait and see whether all the black people among us were made thus happy and joyful, before they could put confidence in our promises; for they thought a people who had suffered so much and so long by our means, should be entitled to our first attention; that therefore they had sent back the two missionaries, with many thanks, promising, that when they saw the black people among us restored to freedom and happiness, they would gladly receive our missionaries.—This, adds the Doctor, is what in

any other case would be called *close reasoning*, and is too mortifying a fact to make farther observations upon."

The contamination produced by the fur-traders, who have demoralized one-half of the Indian tribes, by means of ardent spirits and European vices, renders conversion more difficult, and less effectual than ever. Various methods have been suggested to the government of Washington for reclaiming the inhabitants of the western forests; but every effort will prove abortive, while the off-scourings of their population are allowed to carry among them the example of every wickedness, and the means of gratifying their worst passions. The red children, we fear, will add, at no distant period, another example of the melancholy fact, that the colonization of a polished people, in a land inhabited by savages, leads not to the improvement of the latter, but to their final extirpation. The President of the United States has proposed the division and appropriation of the land which they yet possess, hoping that they may be induced to practice agriculture, and remain in fixed habitations. But the Indian cannot be confined either to place or occupation. He will retreat into the woods farther and farther, till he reach the rocky mountains, seeing his numbers diminish and his resources gradually decrease, until at length the remains of the copper-coloured race will be sought for in vain, or mingling with the kindred tribes on the western declivity of the Andes.

Mr. Halkett's book contains a good deal of interesting matter, and at the same time opens up many sources of valuable information in regard to the early history of North America. On this account, chiefly, we venture to recommend it to the curious reader.

ART. V. *A brief Narrative of an unsuccessful Attempt to reach Repulse Bay, through Sir Thomas Rowe's "Welcome," in His Majesty's ship Griper, in the year* 1824. *By Captain G. F. Lyon, R.N. With a Chart and Engravings.* 8vo. 199 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.* Murray. 1825.

EVERY body who could read must have felt pain in taking up the Newspaper which announced Captain Lyon's disappointment; and this regret, we think, will be increased a hundred-fold after the perusal of this short and unpretending narrative, which has since been offered to the public. In a voyage barren of all incident, except that of the storms which

occasioned the ship's return, we did not think it possible that our attention could have been arrested as forcibly as we have found it to be; for it is scarcely exaggerated praise to add, that we do not recollect in the whole circle of literature, a passage of profounder interest, than the few simple pages in which Captain Lyon recounts the perils which he twice so providentially escaped.

Our readers will doubtless bear in mind, that from the discoveries in Captain Parry's second voyage, there appeared a very strong probability, that a western portion of the Polar Sea would be found at no great distance from Repulse Bay, across Melville Peninsula; that is at about three days journey, according to the Esquimaux calculation. To determine this question, and then to examine the eastern part of the North coast of North America, from the western shore of Melville Peninsula, to the point at which Captain Franklin's journey terminated, was the service in which the Griper was employed. For these purposes, Captain Lyon was instructed to winter in Repulse Bay, and in the spring of 1825, to proceed across the Peninsula.

The Griper was a gun brig of 180 tons burden, strengthened and raised for the particular service to which she was destined. Her crew, inclusive of officers, amounted to 41 persons. She was plentifully stored with all necessaries, and for the land-journey various instruments and sledges were provided; and two boats to be covered with water-proof canvass, were carried out in frame. The Snap surveying vessel was to accompany Captain Lyon, until he entered the ice, and then, having put her cargo on board the Griper, was to make for Newfoundland.

On the 10th of June 1824, Captain Lyon was towed from Deptford; on the following day Professor Barlow came on board at Greenhithe to adjust his plate for the correction of the compasses from the effects of local attraction. The Griper on entering the salt water, drew 16 feet 1 inch abaft, and 15 feet 10 inches forward: and from her great depth and sharpness abreast, she was found to pitch very deeply. The first berg, a piece of ice about 70 feet, was seen on the 1st of August, and by the sudden smoothness and change of temperature in the water, (32° while the air was 31°,) Captain Parry confirmed his former observation, that an approach to the ice from an open sea, may always be ascertained by the variation of the thermometer. On the 4th of August the Snap parted company, having previously delivered all her stores, under weather so adverse, that during the whole time that the boats were passing between the two vessels, which were

entirely hidden from each other by the density of the fog, they were guided backwards and forwards through loose ice by the sound of bells.*

"When our stores were all on board, we found our narrow decks completely crowded by them. The gangways, forecastle, and abaft the mizen-mast, were filled with casks, hawsers, whale-lines, and stream-cables, while on our straightened lower deck we were obliged to place casks and other stores, in every part but that allotted to the ship's company's mess tables; and even my cabin had a quantity of things stowed away in it. The launch was filled high above her gunwales with various articles, and our chains and waste were lumbered with spars, spare plank, sledges, wheels, &c. Our draught of water aft was now sixteen feet one inch, and forward fifteen feet ten inches.

"This account of our crowded state may lead to a supposition, that I carried out a larger portion of stores than was absolutely requisite; but I may in a few words explain my reasons for having endeavoured to carry all the supplies which the Snap brought across the Atlantic for us.

"Our stay in the Polar regions must of necessity have been above one year and a half, even supposing that my journey to Point Turnagain had been performed with the greatest expedition; but had I encountered difficulties, and experienced those delays on my return to the Griper, which are unavoidable in this desolate country, I might not have reached her until she was again frozen in, and two years and a half would then have been her shortest stay; in which case it was indispensably requisite that provisions for that time should be carried out, and these it was that now so much incommoded us. On the Griper's former expedition with Captain Parry, she was only able to carry one year's provisions, and was supplied from the Hecla at the expiration of that time; and on her recent voyage with Captain Clavering, up a wide and open sea, she only carried an eighteen month's supply, as it was not intended she should winter in the country.

"The difference in the quantity of stores may therefore account, in some degree, for the ship's being so hampered; and I have trespassed thus far on the patience of my readers, in consequence of an

* "Although the Fogs in the Polar regions are so frequently mentioned in the course of the recent Narratives which have been published, I believe they are generally understood as resembling our English fogs; which is not, in fact, the case, in the northern seas these vapours rarely rise to above a hundred feet from the sea, and a sky of most provoking brilliancy is frequently seen over head. The view from the deck is bounded to about a hundred yards, and such is the rapid formation of the icicles on the rigging, that it is actually possible, when the temperature is low, to see them grow beneath the eye. Yet chilling as this may appear, the sudden clearing of the fog no sooner permits the sun to break forth in its full vigour, than the ship and rigging glisten in the most brilliant manner, as if they were of glass, and a rapid thaw quickly restores every thing to its original colour." P. 43.

idea which has been adopted by some persons unacquainted with naval affairs, that I had uselessly lumbered my ship; when, in fact, had I succeeded in reaching Repulse Bay with less stores than I now carried, certain starvation would have attended us all, if we were detained, as might have happened, a second winter. It may also be proper to mention, that the Fury and Hecla, which were enabled to stow *three* years provisions, were each exactly *double* the size of the Griper." P. 20.

The want of an accompanying ship, "if not to help, at least to break the deathlike stillness of the scene," could not but be strongly impressed upon all minds at their parting. It was in some measure relieved by the affectionate confidence mutually subsisting among the crew. They already arranged their little places of study and amusement, and "looked forward with pleasure to the approach of winter."

The strong north-easterly gales prevalent all July and August, had very materially altered the usual trending of the ice in Davis's Strait, and the tunnel-shaped entrance to Hudson's Strait, afforded it an easy reception. Owing to this circumstance, even before the 10th of August, when barely within the mouth of the Strait, Captain Lyon had already encountered more ice (always excepting the Strait of the Fury and the Hecla) than in the whole of his last outward voyage. No water was seen in any direction; the sea was crowded, and in many places closely *packed*, so far as the eye could reach.

On the 12th the first Esquimaux made their appearance, about sixty in number, speaking the same language as those of Igloolik. Little that was new occurred in this interview. The two first hours of introduction were spent in raving and screaming. Some of the natives attempted their usual thefts, and were reduced to honesty by being knocked down or thrown overboard. The few animals in the ship excited more fear than admiration. For two Shetland ponies they entertained a profound and distant reverence; and when they had overcome the first alarm excited by the squeaking of some pigs, they expressed great satisfaction, by a loud laugh and general shout, at having seen what they considered to be two new species of rein deer (*Tooktoo.*) The customary barterings concluded the visit; and here, for the first time, Captain Lyon states, that the ladies, with a violation of decorum hitherto unknown, were by no means unwilling to dispose of their breeches for knives and tenpenny nails.

As the ice thickened, the sluggishness of the compasses increased rapidly. Gilbert's, which had hitherto been fully

corrected for the local attraction of the ship, by Professor Barlow's plate, on the 15th, on a still day, under the broad glare of the sun, whenever the ship's head was eastward, began to shew as much deviation as the others. Off Southampton Island on the 23d, when the ship's head was southward, they were all quite useless; that in particular to which the plate was fitted, was so powerless that the north point stood wherever it was placed by the finger. With the head northward they all traversed again; but this was of little benefit, for as the course lay south-west, they had no other sure guidance but the celestial bearings which could not always be obtained. Captain Lyon particularly marks the defects of the old charts, respecting the coast of Southampton Island. It is laid down as a bold precipitous shore, having from 90 to 130 fathoms. On almost every part which Captain Lyon coasted, the hand leads were going, at from five to ten miles from the beach, (which no where could be approached within a mile by the ships) at from 35 to 50 fathoms.

To the south of Cape Pembroke more Esquimaux were met with. The first who came off as the herald of his tribe, floated on three inflated seals-skins instead of a canoe. Across one of these he sat astride, and his legs protected by seal-skin boots dangled almost to the knee below the water. He guided himself by a whalebone paddle, secured by a thong to his float. A friendly intercourse was soon established. This tribe appeared in greater destitution than any others which had been seen. They were less clamorous than the generality of their countrymen, and even when the officers shot several birds before their eyes, they expressed neither fear nor curiosity at the report or the effect of the gun. Contrary to usual custom, they did not lick any article which was given them. Captain Lyon visited their tents about two miles distant from his landing place. He found them very small and full of holes, every where giving admission to wind and rain. The floors, excepting a small place assigned for sleep, were strewed with salmon and its offal. They had no lamps, no sledges, and only one miserably constructed cooking-pot; so that their fish, agreeably to Captain Cochrane's taste, were generally to be eaten raw. None of those little domestic toys were seen, which graced the tents in Winter Island. The women possessed two iron-needles made from nails, not much reduced in size, and with such diminutive eyes that they must have been useless, and a few others constructed of the pinion-bones of birds. These ladies were slightly tattoed on the face, and each wore her hair twisted into a strait club hanging over the temples. The gloves of the men were made of

the reversed skin of the dovekie, dried without further preparation, so that the long stiffened neck-part pointed forward, and was always in the way. Each had an immense ball of hair projecting from the rise of his forehead; one of which was opened before Captain Lyon; it was bound tightly at the base, measured above four feet, and consisted of six long strips of hair, originally plaited, and afterwards matted into greater consistency by dirt and tufts of deer's skin. From their total want of iron, their extreme poverty, their good behaviour, and their simplicity, Captain Lyon thinks it probable they had never before seen Europeans.

In the course of the 31st, from the extraordinary change in the deviation of the needle, and from the erroneous manner in which the land was laid down in his charts, Captain Lyon found himself entirely at a loss as to his relative position to the shore on either side of him. During the night he steered N.W. by the polar star, and ran under easy sail, his soundings varying from 28 to 30 fathoms, till about half-past two, on the morning of the 1st of September, he shoaled suddenly to 19.

"Fearing danger, I turned the hands up, but having shortly deepened to twenty-seven and twenty-five, again sent them below. At six A.M. having quickly shoaled to nineteen, running N.N.W. from midnight, I shortened sail, but came to seventeen at dawn, when we discovered land bearing N.N.W. and apparently not continuous to the right, but a thick fog which hung over the horizon limited our view. As our run had been about fifty miles N.N.W., and as I expected to find the American shore east of its position in the charts, I conceived that this would be Cape Fullerton of Middleton, and therefore kept it on our larboard hand, intending to run past it at five or six miles, which was its distance at this time. We soon, however, came to fifteen fathoms, and I kept right away, but had then only ten; when being unable to see far around us, and observing from the whiteness of the water that we were on a bank, I rounded to at seven A.M., and tried to bring up with the starboard anchor, and seventy fathoms chain, but the stiff breeze and heavy sea caused this to part in half an hour, and we again made sail to the north-eastward; but finding we came suddenly to seven fathoms, and that the ship could not possibly work out again, as she would not face the sea or keep steerage way on her, I most reluctantly brought her up with three bowers and a stream in succession, yet not before we had shoaled to five and a half. This was between eight and nine A.M. The ship pitching bows under, and a tremendous sea running. At noon the starboard bower anchor parted, but the others held.

"As there was every reason to fear the falling of the tide, which we knew to be from twelve to fifteen feet on this coast, and in that case the total destruction of the ship, I caused the long-boat to be hoisted out, and with the four smaller ones, to be stored to a certain

content with arms and provisions. The officers drew lots for their respective boats, and the ship's company were stationed to them. The long-boat having been filled full of stores which could not be put below, it became requisite to throw them overboard, as there was no room for them on our very small and crowded decks, over which heavy seas were constantly sweeping. In making these preparations for taking to the boats, it was evident to all, that the long-boat was the only one which had the slightest chance of living under the lee of the ship, should she be wrecked, but every officer and man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of our boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered. Yet such was the noble feeling of those around me, that it was evident that had I ordered the boats in question to be manned, their crews would have entered them without a murmur. In the afternoon, on the weather clearing a little, we discovered a low beach all around astern of us, on which the surf was running to an awful height, and it appeared evident that no human powers could save us. At three P.M. the tide had fallen to twenty-two feet, (only six more than we drew,) and the ship having been lifted by a tremendous sea, struck with great violence the whole length of her keel. This we naturally conceived was the forerunner of her total wreck, and we stood in readiness to take the boats, and endeavour to hang under her lee. She continued to strike with sufficient force to have burst any less-fortified vessel, at intervals of a few minutes, whenever an unusually heavy sea passed us. And, as the water was so shallow, these might almost be called breakers rather than waves, for each in passing, burst with great force over our gangways, and as every sea "topped," our decks were continually, and frequently deeply, flooded. All hands took a little refreshment, for some had scarcely been below for twenty-four hours, and I had not been in bed for three nights. Although few or none of us had any idea that we should survive the gale, we did not think that our comforts should be entirely neglected, and an order was therefore given to the men to put on their best and warmest clothing, to enable them to support life as long as possible. Every man, therefore, brought his bag on deck and dressed himself, and in the fine athletic forms which stood exposed before me, I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. The officers each secured some useful instrument about them for the purposes of observation, although it was acknowledged by all that not the slightest hope remained. And now that every thing in our power had been done, I called all hands aft, and to a merciful God offered prayers for our preservation. I thanked every one for their excellent conduct, and cautioned them, as we should, in all probability, soon appear before our Maker, to enter his presence as men resigned to their fate. We then all sat down in groups, and, sheltered from the wash of the sea by whatever we could find, many of us endeavoured to obtain a little sleep. Never, perhaps, was witnessed a finer scene than on the deck of my little ship, when all hope of life had left us. Noble as the character of the British sailor is always allowed to be in cases of danger, yet I did not believe it to be possible, that amongst forty-

one persons not one repining word should have been uttered. The officers sat about, wherever they could find shelter from the sea, and the men lay down conversing with each other with the most perfect calmness. Each was at peace with his neighbour and all the world, and I am firmly persuaded that the resignation which was then shewn to the will of the Almighty, was the means of obtaining his mercy. At about six P.M. the rudder, which had already received some very heavy blows, rose, and broke up the after-lockers, and this was the last severe shock which the ship received. We found by the well that she made no water, and by dark she struck no more. God was merciful to us, and the tide, almost miraculously, fell no lower. At dark, heavy rain fell, but was borne with patience, for it beat down the gale, and brought with it a light air from the northward. At nine P.M. the water had deepened to five fathoms. The ship kept off the ground all night, and our exhausted crew obtained some broken rest.

"At four A.M. on the 2d, on weighing the best bower, we found it had lost a fluke, and by eight we had weighed the two other anchors and the stream, which were found uninjured. The land was now more clearly visible, and the highest surf I ever saw still breaking on it, and on some shoals about half a mile from the shore. Not a single green patch could be seen on the flat shingle beach, and our sense of deliverance was doubly felt from the conviction that if any of us should have lived to reach the shore, the most wretched death by starvation would have been inevitable. In standing out from our anchorage, which in humble gratitude for our delivery, I named the 'Bay of God's Mercy,' we saw the buoy of the anchor we had lost in ten fathoms, and weighed it by the buoy rope, losing therefore only one bower anchor. We now hoisted the long boat in, and an occasional glimpse of the sun enabled us to determine the situation of our recent anchorage, which was in lat. 63° 35′ 48″; long. 86° 32′ 00″. The land all round it was so low that it was scarcely visible from the deck at five miles distance, while the point which I had taken for Cape Fullerton, and which I named after Mr. Kendall, (assistant surveyor,) was higher than the coast of Southampton hitherto seen, although still low land. The extreme of the right side of the bay was named after Lieutenant Manico. Keeping abreast of Cape Kendall, and steering west in from ten to thirteen fathoms, at six or eight miles off, at seven P.M. we anchored in thirteen fathoms. The weather was calm, with a heavy ground-swell setting for the shore. The ship being now somewhat to rights, I called the hands aft, and we offered up our thanks and praises to God, for the mercy he had shewn to us. All hands then turned in, and the ship lay quiet for the night." P. 76.

We will not injure the effect of this simple and sublime picture, by a single comment of our own; nor will we deprive our readers of the satisfaction of appreciating for themselves the high-minded courage and the genuine piety which it so forcibly exhibits.

It was now plain, that although Southampton Island was laid down with a continuous outline in the charts, it had in fact never been seen, except at its southern extremity. This discovery could not but be the source of intense anxiety; it prevented the ship from running, unless by day, and even then only while the sky remained clear; for as the compasses were of no use, no course could be ascertained when the sun was clouded. Besides this, it had been proved that the Griper was unable to work off a lee-shore; it thus became necessary to keep the leads going both day and night, to the great fatigue and exhaustion of the men. The temperature was 28°, and rain fell heavily for a great part of the time.

Little, even of nautical interest, occurred till the night of the 12th, when the Griper was to the north of Wager river:

"The night was piercingly cold, and the sea continued to wash fore and aft the decks, while constant snow fell. As the lower deck was afloat, our people and all their hammocks thoroughly soaked, no rest could be obtained.

"Never shall I forget the dreariness of this most anxious night. Our ship pitched at such a rate, that it was not possible to stand even below, while on deck we were unable to move without holding by ropes which were stretched from side to side. The drift snow flew in such sharp heavy flakes, that we could not look to windward, and it froze on deck to above a foot in depth. The sea made incessant breaches quite fore and aft the ship, and the temporary warmth it gave while it washed over us, was most painfully checked by its almost immediately freezing on our clothes. To these discomforts were added the horrible uncertainty as to whether the cables would hold until day-light, and the conviction also that if they failed us, we should instantly be dashed to pieces; the wind blowing directly to the quarter in which we knew the shore must lie. Again, should they continue to hold us, we feared by the ship's complaining so much forward, that the bitts would be torn up, or that she would settle down at her anchors, overpowered by some of the tremendous seas which burst over her.

"During the whole of this time, streams of heavy ice continued to drive down upon us, any of which, had it hung for a moment against the cables, would have broken them, and at the same time have allowed the bowsprit to pitch on it and be destroyed. The masts would have followed this, for we were all so exhausted, and the ship was so coated with ice, that nothing could have been done to save them.

"We all lay down at times during the night; for to have remained constantly on deck would have quite overpowered us; I constantly went up, and shall never forget the desolate picture which was always before us.

"The hurricane blew with such violence as to be perfectly deafen-

ing; and the heavy wash of the sea made it difficult to reach the main-mast, where the officer of the watch and his people sat shivering, completely cased in frozen snow, under a small tarpaulin, before which ropes were stretched to preserve them in their places. I never beheld a darker night, and its gloom was increased by the rays of a small horn lantern, which was suspended from the mizen stay to shew where the people sat.

"At dawn on the 13th, thirty minutes after four, A. M., we found that the best bower cable had parted, and as the gale now blew with terrific violence from the north, there was little reason to expect that the other anchors would hold long; or if they did, we pitched so deeply, and lifted so great a body of water each time, that it was feared the windlass and forecastle would be torn up, or she must go down at her anchors; although the ports were knocked out, and a considerable portion of the bulwark cut away, she could scarcely discharge one sea before shipping another, and the decks were frequently flooded to an alarming depth.

"At six A. M., all farther doubts on this particular account were at an end; for, having received two overwhelming seas, both the other cables went at the same moment, and we were left helpless, without anchors, or any means of saving ourselves, should the shore, as we had every reason to expect, be close astern. And here again I had the happiness of witnessing the same general tranquillity as was shewn on the 1st of September. There was no outcry that the cables were gone, but my friend Mr. Manico, with Mr. Carr the gunner, came aft as soon as they recovered their legs, and in the lowest whisper, informed me that the cables had all parted. The ship, in trending to the wind, lay quite down on her broadside, and as it then became evident that nothing held her, and that she was quite helpless, each man instinctively took his station, while the seamen at the leads, having secured themselves as well as was in their power, repeated their soundings, on which our preservation depended, with as much composure as if we had been entering a friendly port. Here again that Almighty Power which had before so mercifully preserved us, granted us his protection, for it so happened that it was slackwater when we parted, the wind had come round to N.N.W. (*along* the land,) and our head fell off to north-east, or seaward; we set two try-sails, for the ship would bear no more, and even with that lay her lee gunwale in the water. In a quarter of an hour we were in seventeen fathoms. Still expecting every moment to strike, from having no idea where we had anchored, I ordered the few remaining casks of the provisions received from the Snap, to be hove overboard, for being stowed round the capstan and abaft the mizen-mast, I feared their fetching way should we take the ground. At eight the fore trysail gaff went in the slings, but we were unable to lower it, on account of the amazing force of the wind, and every rope being encrusted with a thick coating of ice. The decks were now so deeply covered with frozen snow and freezing sea-water, that it was scarcely possible, while we lay over so much,

to stand on them; and all hands being wet and half frozen, without having had any refreshment for so many hours, our situation was rendered miserable in the extreme." P. 100.

After this second escape, in which all the bower anchors and chains were lost, so that it was impossible to bring up in any part of the *Welcome*, exposed to a sweeping tideway and constant heavy gales, being yet 80 miles distant from Repulse Bay, with the shores leading to which he was wholly unacquainted, with the compasses useless, and the ship scarcely manageable, even in moderate weather, it is no matter of surprise that Captain Lyon determined to make a southing to the narrows of the *Welcome*, and then to decide on his future operations. On addressing a letter to his officers, requesting their respective opinions, without stating his own, each individual advised (in coincidence with the judgment which Captain Lyon himself had already formed) a return to England without delay.

Even this, however, was not to be accomplished without difficulty; hard labour, cold and wet had affected many of the ship's company with rheumatism; the weather was still boisterous; and, in each succeeding gale, the ship's decks became more leaky. The strains which she had suffered in the two storms had loosened her upper works considerably, and the opening of the seams allowed the water to find its way to the cork lining, whence it dropped for many hours after seas had ceased to be shipped. The lower deck had not been dry for three weeks, and was in a most unwholesome state, nor could any remedy be applied; for the hatches of necessity were always obliged to be battened down, and in that case the galley fire would not draw. The allowance of water was reduced to a quart *per diem*; as they were unable to anchor, none could be procured from shore; and, to add to their distress, no ice was visible in seas which at other times were constantly filled by it. Even the small portion which they continued to obtain was procured by the uncertain supply of distillation.

Happily, however, they made the entrance of Hudson's Strait, and here they obtained sufficient water from ice-blocks on Nottingham and Salisbury islands. They were here visited by some more Esquimaux of a widely different character from the last. Our new guests, says Captain Lyon, had scarcely a single virtue left, owing to the roguery they had learned from their annual visits to the Hudson's Bay ship, "yet I saw not," he continues, "why I should constitute myself the censor of these poor savages, and our barter was accordingly conducted in such a manner as to

enrich them very considerably." Some articles of no small curiosity, considering the rudeness both of the artists and their tools, were here procured: one, a figure of a dog lying down and gnawing a bone, about an inch in length, of admirable spirit and expression, carved from the grinder of a walrus. The others were ivory bears of the same description.

On the evening of the 2d of October the Griper ran into the Atlantic with a fair and moderate breeze. Never were happier countenances seen on deck. For the first time for five weeks, Captain Lyon enjoyed a night of uninterrupted repose. Still he had to weather some heavy gales; and all the whalers whom he met in the remainder of his passage agreed in representing the past season as the worst they had ever known, though one of them spoke from the experience of 34 years. On the 10th of November the Griper ran into Portsmouth harbour; and Captain Lyon takes leave of his readers, with the following deserved tribute to his shipmates:

"I may with truth assert, that there never was a happier little community than that assembled on board the Griper. Each succeeding day, and each escape from difficulties seemed to bind us more strongly together; and I am proud to say, that during the whole of our voyage, neither punishment, complaint, nor even a dispute of any kind, occurred amongst us." P. 144.

To this little volume Professor Barlow has annexed an interesting paper on the magnetic errors observed in the compasses, and Dr. Hooker a notice of the few plants procured in the three short visits which Captain Lyon was able to make on shore during his expedition.

ART. VI. *Queen Hynde. A Poem, in Six Books. By James Hogg, Author of the Queen's Wake; Poetic Mirror; Pilgrims of the Sun, &c. &c.* 8vo. 443. pp. Longman & Co. London, Blackwood, Edinburgh. 1825.

WE cannot help feeling compassion for James Hogg. As a descriptive poet he possesses considerable powers. The features of his native mountains, and the occupations of his pastoral associates have been painted by his muse with freshness and truth; and the Doric reed breathes not unmusically under his hand. But Hogg aspires to greater things. He has claimed a place among the children of ima-

gination and fancy, and not consenting to be warned by the failure of his efforts, he has produced, upon the present occasion, an epic poem. The scene is antient Caledonia. The action is a descent of the Norwegian host. The manners are a grotesque and ludicrous mixture of monkery, chivalry, and barbarism; the characters are vague and uninteresting, and the event is lame and common place. There are many pretty passages scattered over the poem, which would have adorned a volume of sonnets. When Mr. Hogg describes land, or air, or ocean, running or wrestling, boating or boxing, he talks of what he understands, and talks to the purpose. When he places Queen Hynde on the throne of her ancestors, covers her from head to foot with diamonds and gold, and paints the "blooming bevy" of her attendant nymphs, the reader may fancy himself in the Arabian Nights, or in a Byronian Eastern harem; but can hardly believe that he is located in the opulent towns of Scotland. The narrative is miserably managed; as witness the following transcendent specimens of the doggrel:—

"King Eric came over, a conqueror proved;
A kingdom he wanted, a kingdom beloved:
The queen was an item he did not imply,
But the conqueror fell at the glance of her eye.
His proffer was made as a lure to the land,
For woman he loved not, nor woman's command:
The name of a hero was all his delight;
His soul was a meteor unmatch'd in the fight;
The north he had conquer'd, and govern'd the whole,
From Dwina's dark flood to the waves of the pole;
And ne'er in his course had he vanquished been,
Till now, by a young Caledonian queen.
But thou, gentle maiden, to whom I appeal,
Who never has felt, what thou could'st not conceal,
Love's dearest remembrance, that brought with the sigh
The stound to the heart, and the tear to the eye—
O, ill canst thou judge of the mighty turmoil
In the warrior's bosom, thus caught in the toil!" P. 188.

Where the metre refuses to jingle, Mr. Hogg allows it to croak.

"Now, two to one, the flying Dane
In gnashing terror scower'd the plain;
His king and his companion gone,
A madness seized the knight upon;
He tried to leap the circling piles,
For shelter 'mid the Danish files,
But was repulsed with fierce disdain,
And thrown back headlong on the plain

No hope thus left him in the strife,
He kneel'd to Gaul, and begg'd for life.—
" ' No,' said the chief; ' it may not be!
The devil waits dinner for the three!
Henceforth with earth thou hast no tie,
The man is damn'd that dreads to die:
But one relief for thee is left,
And, here it is.'—With that he cleft
The stalvart craven to the brow,
Severing his ample brain in two.—
" ' Beshrew thee for a bloody Scot,
If thou'st not done what I could not!'
Saith Sutherland, as turning by,—
But seeing the tear in Ross's eye,
And sorrow on his nut-brown cheek
So deep that word he could not speak,
The burly chief he kindly press'd
Unto his bold and kindred breast." P. 402.

A large proportion of the poem is written in this d style; and however Mr. Hogg may protest agains reviewers, and other destroyers of vermin, we must liberty to tell him that every body will laugh at such these. To shew him however, that we speak in sorro than in anger, and to substantiate our assertion re the occasional brightness of his poetry, we extract the boat race, and the invocation to the Fairy Quee allusion to Spenser, Shakspeare and Milton, is mod epithet which seems inseparably attached to Sc whether poets or prosers, whether tories or whigs, quidnuncs or philosophers. Mr. Hogg enjoys his f of the national property, and long may he preserve i

" Around an isle the race was set,
A nameless isle, and nameless yet;
And when they turn'd its southern mull,
The wind and tide were fair and full;
Then 'twas a cheering sight to view
How swift they skimm'd the ocean blue,
How lightly o'er the wave they scoop'd,
Then down into the hollow swoop'd;
Like flock of sea-birds gliding home,
They scarcely touch'd the floating foam,
But like dim shadows through the rain,
They swept across the heaving main;
While in the spray, that flurr'd and gleam'd,
A thousand little rainbows beam'd.
" King Eric's bark, like pilot swan,
Aright before the centre ran,

Stemming the current and the wind
For all his cygnet fleet behind,
And proudly looked he back the while,
With lofty and imperial smile.
O mariners! why all that strife?
Why plash and plunge 'twixt death and life?
When 'tis as plain as plain can be,
That barge is mistress of the sea." P. 329.

" O come to my bower, here deep in the dell,
Thou Queen of the land 'twixt heaven and hell;
Even now thou seest, and smilest to see,
A shepherd kneel on his sward to thee:
But sure thou wilt come with thy gleesome train,
To assist in his last and lingering strain:
O come from thy halls of the emerald bright,
Thy bowers of the green and the mellow light,
That shrink from the blaze of the summer noon,
And ope to the light of the modest moon!
O well I know the enchanting mien
Of my loved muse, my Fairy Queen!
Her rokelay of green, with its sparry hue,
Its warp of the moonbeam and weft of the dew;
Her smile, where a thousand witcheries play,
And her eye, that steals the soul away;
The strains that tell they were never mundane;
And the bells of her palfrey's flowing mane;
For oft have I heard their tinklings light,
And oft have I seen her at noon of the night,
With her beauteous elves in the pale moonlight.

" Then, thou who raised'st old Edmund's lay
Above the strains of the olden day;
And waked'st the bard of Avon's theme
To the visions of his Midnight Dream—
Yea, even the harp that rang abroad
Through all the paradise of God,
And the sons of the morning with it drew,
By thee was remodell'd, and strung anew—
O come on thy path of the starry ray,
Thou Queen of the land of the gloaming grey,
And the dawning's mild and pallid hue,
From thy valleys beyond the land of the dew,
The realm of a thousand gilded domes,
The richest region that fancy roams!

" I have sought for thee in the blue hare-bell,
And deep in the fox-glove's silken cell;
For I fear'd thou had'st drunk of its potion deep,
And the breeze of the world had rock'd thee asleep;

Then into the wild-rose I cast mine eye,
And trembled because the prickles were nigh,
And deem'd the specks on its foliage green,
Might be the blood of my Fairy Queen;
Then gazing, wonder'd if blood might be
In an immortal thing like thee!
I have open'd the woodbine's velvet vest,
And sought the hyacinth's virgin breast;
Then anxious lain on the dewy lea,
And look'd to a twinkling star for thee,
That nightly mounted the orient sheen,
Streaming in purple and glowing in green;
And thought, as I eyed its changing sphere,
My Fairy Queen might sojourn there.

" Then would I sigh and turn me around,
And lay my ear to the hollow ground,
To the little air-springs of central birth,
That bring low murmurs out of the earth;
And there would I listen, in breathless way,
Till I heard the worm creep through the clay,
And the little blackamoor pioneer
A-grubbing his way in darkness drear;
Nought cheer'd me on which the daylight shone,
For the children of darkness moved alone!
Yet neither in field, nor in flowery heath,
In heaven above, nor in earth beneath,
In star, nor in moon, nor in midnight wind,
His elvish Queen could her minstrel find.

" But now I have found thee, thou vagrant thing,
Though where I neither dare say nor sing;
For it was in a home, so passing fair,
That an angel of light might have linger'd there:
I found thee playing thy freakish spell
Where the sun never shone, and the rain never fell,
Where the ruddy cheek of youth ne'er lay,
And never was kiss'd by the breeze of day;—
It was sweet as the woodland breeze of even,
And pure as the star of the western heaven,
As fair as the dawn of the sunny east,
And soft as the down of the solan's breast." P. 362.

These are pretty verses, and Queen Hynde must be quitted for their sake.

ART. VII. *Letters from the Irish Highlands.* 8vo. 359 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.* Murray. 1825.

THERE is matter of all sorts in this little volume, good, bad, and indifferent. The author or authors pretend to be resident Irishmen, but we suspect that they are only visitors. If the suspicion is unjust, they might have guarded against it by favouring the public with their names. The masquerading fashion which prevails among Hibernian writers, not only subjects their readers to much perplexity, but will occasionally prove troublesome to themselves: and we sincerely wish, that this or any other circumstance would induce them to throw aside their *alias* domino, and appear at Albemarle-street in their proper persons.

The errors which disfigure the work are, a recommendation to introduce the poor rates into Ireland, a notion that small farms do no mischief, and that the existing misery is owing to the increased value of the currency. The best portions are, those which recommend the strict administration of impartial justice, the encouragement of fisheries and manufactures, the legalisation of private distilleries, and the extinction of jobbing in all its branches. Those which describe the religious condition of the cottages, and the conduct of their priests, are likewise well worthy of attention. The indifferent parts are occupied with delineations of mountain scenery and Irish character. In the former, the authors do not excel; in the latter, they are very inferior to the writer of "Captain Rock Detected." Presuming that our readers have made up their minds respecting the necessity of some amendment in the conduct of Irish landlords, and trusting that Government will settle the stills and the fisheries, we shall confine ourselves principally to the subjects of religion and education; and it will be seen, that our authors bear very strong testimony in favour of the opinion expressed in our last Number. They are no great friends to the established clergy, and their evidence therefore is doubly valuable.

"One of the inspectors from 'The Kildare Street Society for promoting the Education of the Poor,' hearing by accident of the girls school which is established here, he called to see it, and gave us an opportunity of understanding fully the views and principles of the society. They profess to be upon the liberal plan of educating the poor without any interference with their religious opinions; but whether the standing rule, that every school in their connexion must place the Scriptures in the hands of the children, is not as contrary to this principle as it is to the practice of the Romish church, seems to me very doubtful. That the Bible is to be read 'without note or

comment verbal or oral,' appears but a still wider departure from the principles of the Roman Catholic Church.

" The very different situation in which the English and Irish poor are placed, makes a line of conduct commendable, and, indeed, necessary here, which would be cowardly and dangerous with you. In Ireland, the Protestants, generally speaking, are called upon to educate their Catholic dependants. Are they to do it in the true spirit of Christian benevolence, by enlightening their understandings, and inculcating those principles of morality and religion, which are common to both parties? or are they to violate the plain dictates of justice, and entrench on the natural bounds of parental authority, making use of their power, as landlords, in compelling the tenants to sacrifice to temporal interest what they believe to be the spiritual welfare of their children?" P. 88.

" The Roman Catholic faith is, in Cunnemarra, so predominant, that no Protestants are to be met with, except in the families of the two or three resident gentlemen, and some of their immediate dependants, as farm servants, mechanics, &c. On this estate, I do not suppose that a single Protestant was to be found, till within the last seven years. Of course, the children who attend the school, with scarcely an exception, are Catholics; yet, although the mistress is a Protestant, and it is in the hands of a Protestant landlord, it has been established these five years, with very little opposition from the parish priest. Indeed, I cannot help thinking that if a due mixture of firmness and toleration were at all times shewn, we should not so often hear of those acts of violence which must alike disgrace the professors of all religions. In some places, I have heard of the priest inflicting corporal punishment on those children who attended the schools, in defiance of his authority; and the tremendous sentence of excommunication is the threat commonly held out to the parents: 'the very ground whereon he treads is cursed.' Where a spirit of proselytism exists among the Protestants, and where conversions are, directly or indirectly, attempted, a priest, who acts from conscientious motives, must certainly exert himself to prevent the attendance of the children; and this he will of course endeavour to effect, either by secret persuasion or open violence, according to the bent of his own character and temper. In other cases, the opposition of the parish priest is, I believe not unfrequently, contrary to his own inclination, in consequence of the peremptory orders of his bishop; who, in case of disobedience, as one of them said, 'has power to command me to the deserts of Africa, or the wilds of America, for the remainder of my days.'"

" An instance of this kind was mentioned to us the other day, by a clergyman, who some years ago held a curacy in one of the northern counties of Connaught. He was on very friendly terms with the priest, who, nevertheless, was desired by his bishop strenuously to oppose the school established by the Protestants. This order he obeyed, by occasionally fulminating the thunders of the church against the unfortunate little scholars, giving however

a previous friendly notice to the clergyman; 'I am going to curse the children to-morrow, but just never mind it a bit; go on your own way, and, after a day or two, they will all come to school again.'" P. 90.

The influence and general conduct of the Catholic priests are described in plain language:

"What will you say if, after having already disputed so many of the positions generally laid down with respect to the state of this country, I proceed even to doubt whether the influence of the priests is, by any means, so overwhelming and irresistible as you have been led to imagine? As they are supported by the voluntary contributions of their flocks, you naturally enough suppose the case to be somewhat parallel with that of the dissenters in England; whereas it is, in fact, altogether different. Regularly appointed by the titular bishop of the diocese, and removable at his pleasure, the people have no voice in the appointment of their pastors; but, like dutiful sons of the church, must submit to superior authorities, and, instead of contributing merely in what proportions they please, must pay the dues which are demanded of every householder, year by year, besides the fees upon the administration of the sacraments. The former here are at the rate of 20*d.* from the head of each family; the latter (varying however in different parts of the country) are 2*s.* 6*d.* for anointing, *i. e.* the sacrament of extreme unction, 3*s.* 4*d.* for churching, and from a guinea to 30*s.* for the celebration of marriage. As it is upon the payment of these that the priest depends for his stipend, they are exacted from the very poorest of the people; sometimes, in cases truly distressing, even to the uttermost farthing. There being no separate fee for the performance of baptism, this more essential ceremony is often very long delayed, until the fee for the less important one of churching the mother can be ready prepared. An instance lately occurred, where the priest, on going into a house in which the woman had been confined, and finding that no money was forthcoming, merely looked at the infant, said that it was likely to do well, and, although living himself at the distance of six or seven miles, declined christening it until he could also church the mother. At another time, the priest refused to christen a child, although he was offered within twopence of the stipulated sum; even, when this was afterwards procured, grumbling, because tea and sugar had not been provided for his breakfast. In the case of another poor woman, it was not until after the birth of a second child that she was churched, although the superstitious notion, that if a woman leave the house before the ceremony is performed the grass will never grow where she treads, might seem to ensure their utmost exertions." P. 96.

"Nor would it, I believe, be going too far to say, that the influence of private character is as much felt by the one, in the collection of these supposed voluntary offerings, as by the other, in the legal receipt of tithes; and I have heard our poor neighbours com-

pare the disposition of their present priest with that of his predecessor, much in the same way that they are accustomed to speak of the Protestant incumbent. "Oh! sure it wasn't that way with Father Tom at all: it isn't he that would be taking the bit out of the poor *widdee* and orphan's mouth; but Father Dennis says, that where he comes from, the *widdees* were always the best rent; and he's a good warrant sure to take it from them. Didn't I go supperless the last time I carried him a tenpenny? so because I had got the money with me, I felt quite bold like; and, 'Father Dennis,' says I, 'you'd be having some pity of the poor cratur, who has six weak childer, and no father to help them with his little earnings:' with that he just beckons me to hand him the money." As the woman concluded with the account of her reluctant compliance, her countenance assumed very much the same expression which it would have done, under similar circumstances, with a tithe proctor.

"Nor are these regular demands their only, or even their worst grievance. They consider as a heavy additional tax the necessity of providing luxuries, which they never taste themselves, in order to regale his reverence, when he performs mass, or any other ceremony, in a private house. Perhaps you are not aware, that the rites of the Roman Catholic church, in Ireland at least, are all performed at home; except indeed the marriage ceremony, which occasionally takes place in the priest's house. Twice a year he comes round the parish, for the purpose of confession; and, in the different villages, takes up his station in some snug cabin, where he expects to be treated with white bread, tea, sugar and whiskey. Those who, in more prosperous times, probably esteemed the entertainment of this reverend guest as an honour, now frequently complain of it as a burden. A poor woman who, on the last of these occasions, walked four miles in search of a teapot, gave as her reason, that neither bread, butter, nor milk, would be considered acceptable, without the addition of tea and spirits. Nay, it is a fact, that a priest, on the Sunday previous to commencing his rounds, gave public notice after mass, that as tea, sugar, and flour were to be had in the neighbourhood, there would be no excuse for those who were not prepared.

"It is however certain, that nothing of affluence or luxury is to be remarked, either in the dwellings or manner of living, among the priests in this part of the country. The poverty of their flocks must render their income both low and uncertain; and the extent of their parishes obliges them to make frequent journeys over bog and mountain, at all hours of the day and night, exposed to the changes of this most changeable climate, besides the contagion of many a fatal disease. In fact, although my experience will by no means justify the representations which have been held out, and which I had myself, at one time, been led to believe, of their being a most laborious, zealous, self-denying body of men; yet, I will readily acknowledge them to be (some gross instances of drunkenness excepted) of decent, moral character; ignorant and bigotted, indeed, but apparently bent rather on preserving inviolate the pale of

their own communion, than on bringing over any large accession of converts from the outposts of heresy." P. 99.

"The magnitude of the dues of the church, and the severity with which they are exacted, is a topic on which they do not scruple to express their sentiments. The difficulty of paying these is still further increased, as no credit is generally allowed. The money must be collected to the utmost farthing before the service is performed. It is scarcely possible to blame the priest, who depends on these fees for his maintenance, and who is too well acquainted with the character of his flock to put any faith in their promises of future payment; yet, the consequences of such severity are sometimes very distressing. An instance of this has lately occurred on the borders of Cunnemarra.

"The son of a man, who had once known better days, being on his death-bed, the priest of the parish was requested to administer the holy viaticum; but his last dues were unpaid, and he positively refused. The anxious father spread the contents of his purse upon the table, and—'Plaze your reverence, take what you will;'—but in vain—the priest was inexorable, and the poor young man died without the last important sacrament, indispensably necessary, as every true Catholic believes, to the salvation of the parting soul.

"Three years ago, when ribandism flourished in the county of Galway, these dues formed the subject of a clause in the petition of grievances; and to reduce them one half was reported to be the intention of the insurgents. They remain, however, in full force, even in the present times of distress." P. 103.

These, be it remembered, are not our statements. They are made by men who have no predilection for the established church, and say little in her favour. Such statements must be received, at least, as *primâ facie* evidence; and what opinion will they induce us to form of the Irish Catholic priests? Are they men whom Government ought to trust? Have they either the disposition or the ability to instruct and humanize their flocks? What results may be expected from the triumph of a party, which is governed by O'Connell and a radical parliament, and contains, among its active subaltern members, such men as are described in the Letters from the Highlands?

Mr. Dominic Browne made a serious proposal to Parliament to establish the Roman Catholic religion, and gave notice of his intention to renew the subject this session. The scheme was of itself absurd; but the quarter from which it proceeds renders it entertaining and instructive. Mr. Browne is only an under conjuror in the business; his prompter is an avowed and notorious infidel, who shews his contempt for Christianity by patronizing the worst description of it. The example has been nobly imitated by Cobbett;

and the Papists, many of whom, both in this country and in Ireland, are men of the best intentions, have the mortification to find that their most zealous supporters are the open enemies of religion. The respectable Catholics disown the connection; but, after what has passed in Dublin, Cobbett cannot be disowned by the Catholic Association or its friends. And the circumstance of enlisting such a man in its service, is a proof that the club will hesitate at nothing which may increase its popularity and power. What avails it to disavow the circulation of *Pastorini*'s prophecies, the work of a respectable Irish bishop, highly esteemed by Catholic theologians, while Cobbett is openly patronized? To believe that Pastorini has been distributed by the Protestants, is to believe them guilty of diabolical wickedness, without a shadow of proof. To believe that he has been distributed by the factious incendiaries of Rome, by the men who engage an English radical to abuse the Reformation, and assure him that he shall reap the full reward of his labours, what is there unreasonable or uncharitable in this? It is merely supposing, that those who stimulate the Papists by an historical lye, will stimulate them also by a prophetical dream. While Cobbett persuades the Irish peasant that Cranmer was a villain, and Bonner a saint, Pastorini keeps up the chaunt, and tells him, that in the year 1825 Magee and Mant shall be swept with the locusts into the pit, and the Pope and Bishop Doyle be exalted. There is no inconsistency here. The prophecies, which fix upon the year 1825 as the time at which Protestantism shall fall, are in the hands of the Irish peasantry. Superstitious men, believers in Prince Hohenlohe, believers in the Pope, believers in their own ignorant and bigotted priests, are believers in Pastorini. Thus much is certain. The point in dispute is, how did they become so? If we attribute the event to Protestant interference, we are bound to substantiate so extraordinary a fact. If we attribute it to Papists, the presumption is strongly in our favour. The circumstance tallies with other parts of their conduct. It explains why they have so long kept the people in darkness, and particularly why they prohibit the general reading of the Bible. In a word, we may not be able to bring the fact home; it may be impossible to *prove* that the Association incendiaries are the men who have printed and circulated the Prophecies; but, until they have renounced their alliance with Cobbett, and proved that it never existed, they cannot complain of such as feel strong suspicions respecting Pastorini, the guilt, the disgrace, are at the door of his admirers; and if a rebellion

breaks out, upon them should the pains and penalties of treason be visited.

The question is an important one, and must not be lost sight of. Parliament will soon be engaged in discussing the state of Ireland; and the Catholic priesthood, the fanatical societies, and the opposition, will be exposed to an extent for which few persons are prepared. Government has merely to do its duty, and the senate and the nation will easily be persuaded to do theirs. Let the farce of affecting a moderation which is not felt be exchanged for decided measures; let all attempts at concealment be abandoned; and truth, however unpalateable, told boldly to the country; and not only may the public safety be secured, but the Wellesleys and Plunketts, to the surprise of friends as well as enemies, may redeem their tottering credit.

Art. VIII. 1.—*A Sermon on the Duty of Family Prayer: preached in the Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, on Saturday, February* 22, 1824. *By C. J. Blomfield, D.D. (now Bishop of Chester,) Rector. And printed at the Request of several of his Parishioners. Second Edition.* 8vo. 23 pp. 1*s.* Rivington, London. 1824.

2.—*A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Chester, on Sunday, October* 31, 1824, *before the Mayor and Corporation of that City, by Charles James Blomfield, D.D. Lord Bishop of the Diocese. And printed at their request.* 4to. 19 pp. Rivington, London; Poole & Co. Chester. 1824.

3.—*A Manual of Family Prayers, for the use of the Parishioners of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate.* 12mo. 87 pp. Rivington, London. 1824.

The remarkable feature in both these discourses, is the plainness with which they are written. There is no rhetorical finery or flourishing; no softening or exaggeration. The preacher is convinced of the goodness of his cause, and under that conviction advances manfully to the conflict, and carries his point at once. Take for instance the following passages, in the Sermon upon Family Prayer, they will be found to place the duty in a variety of striking lights, and that in a very few words, and without the least appearance of effort:—

"There are two very obvious and natural divisions of the duty of

common prayer: it may either be performed with a degree of public solemnity, under the guidance of a minister duly appointed for that purpose; or in the more limited, but distinct and well-defined circle of family and household, under the superintendence and direction of its head. Every man ought to consider himself as a member of that church in whose bosom he has been brought up; and also as the minister and steward of the church in his own house. And it is his own fault, and let me add, his folly, if the church in his house be not made a lively and genuine part of that branch of Christ's holy catholic church, to which he himself belongs.

"The laws of God, and in many cases those of the land, make every head of a family answerable for the conduct of his household, so far as he has the means of watching and controlling it; and it is unreasonable to suppose, that the responsibleness which is attached to him in things of inferior moment, should lose its force in the most important object of all, the religious principles and conduct of his children and servants. There is a certain legitimate authority vested in every master of a family, the proper exercise of which is a duty which he owes to society and to God: it is sanctioned not only by the enactments of human laws, but by the most express directions of the inspired preachers of the Gospel. This duty assumes a more sacred complexion, when it is considered as affording him the means of promoting the growth of true religion, and forwarding the salvation of souls. A heavy load of guilt lies on that Christian, be his station what it may, who suffers a soul to perish by his wilful neglect: and our religious duties are so intimately and inseparably blended with the relations of social and domestic life, that it is impossible for us to fulfil the latter, as we ought, without some consideration of the effects which our conduct may produce upon the *religious* state of those with whom we are connected. *He that provideth not for his own*, says the apostle, *and especially for those of his own house, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.* Surely if this be true of a provision for the bodily wants of those who depend upon us for support, it cannot be less applicable to their spiritual necessities, to all their means and opportunities of religious improvement.

"With regard to our children, I need not say a word, to prove the obligation which binds us to *bring them up*, by every possible means, *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord*; to form them to early habits of piety and devotion; to make them betimes acquainted with God. If we know what religion is ourselves, our natural affection will inspire us with an earnest wish to make our children walk in her ways. With regard to our servants; as we look to them for honesty, sobriety, diligence, and gratitude, it is our duty to set before them the only motives which can effectually influence them to the exercise of these virtues; to make them, as far as we can, sincere and serious Christians; and to lay the foundations of obedience in faith and piety. There are no other ties, which can be relied upon to bind the consciences of men, than those which are supplied by religion; and if we are deceived and wronged by those, whom we have never taught to respect the only certain inducements to truth

and honesty, a great part of the blame will surely rest upon ourselves." P. 12.

"By family religion, I mean chiefly family prayers; for it is in the exercises of devotion that the religion of a family will shew itself. To prove the expediency, at least, of such a practice, it is not necessary for us to produce an express command of Scripture. It is enough to know, that it is the most effectual means of keeping alive a spirit of piety and consideration in those, who are bound together by ties which the Gospel recognizes: it is enough to know, that the use or the neglect of it may, nay, that it *must* make a very serious difference in the religious knowledge, principles, and habits of our children and servants; not to say of ourselves. It was said by one of the wisest and least enthusiastic of preachers,* speaking of family prayer; 'This is so necessary to keep alive and to maintain a sense of God and religion in the minds of men, that where it is neglected, I do not see how any family can in reason be esteemed a family of Christians, or, indeed, to have any religion at all.' I do not know that I could go so far as this: but of one thing I am certain; that where this duty is neglected in a family, its members are not such good Christians as they *might* be, nor consequently as God requires them to be; neither so well prepared for taking an edifying part in the public worship of the Lord's day, nor for discharging the ordinary duties of life." P. 17.

"I am persuaded that amongst those who now hear me, there is not a single father or master of a family, who does not acknowledge the justice of these remarks; who is not sensible of the advantages which *must* result from the use of family prayer. But I fear there are too many who altogether neglect it. And yet if I were to ask them *why* they neglect it? they could scarcely give me such an answer as would satisfy their own consciences. In many cases, I believe, it proceeds from a false shame; a fear of being supposed to think more about religion than other people; a dread of singularity. Now if this pious practice were as general as it ought to be, these objections, unworthy of a Christian in any case, would cease to exist altogether. It was formerly considered in this country to be a regular branch of religious duty; and God grant that we may see it again estimated and observed as it ought to be.

"Remember what an encouragement we have to the performance of this duty, (and to the Christian such an encouragement carries the weight of a command), in that gracious promise of the Saviour, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* The spirit of supplication ensures the presence of the Lord Jesus himself; and where He is, there will be wisdom, holiness, and peace. And if into such a family, there should come a stranger, who is wanting in seriousness and devotion, he will, in all

* Archbishop Tillotson. "Let no man," says the Author of the Whole Duty of Man, "that professes himself a Christian, keep so heathenish a family, as not to see that God be daily worshipped in it."

likelihood, be touched to the heart by the piety and good order of its inmates, *and so falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is in them of a truth.* But if, after all, the benefits of family devotion should be less striking within the circle of our own experience, than we have reason to expect, we shall at least have the satisfaction of reflecting, that no part of the misconduct of our household will be attributable to our own neglect . . . a reflection which can never be a source of comfort to him, who has omitted this most reasonable and promising of all the methods, by which his children and servants might have been preserved in the faith and fear of God." P. 20.

The sermon preached at Chester, before the mayor and corporation of that city, differs in many particulars from that which we have already considered. It issued from a higher authority, and it takes a wider scope; but the characteristic feature is that distinctness and simplicity of which the reader has already seen such exquisite specimens. The occasion of the discourse is thus stated in the preface:—

"The following discourse was intended, not so much for an elaborate argument, as for an earnest enforcement of the duty of mutual submission, upon a principle peculiar to Christians. Having, during the short period of my residence in this city, witnessed the lamentable prevalence of drunkenness amongst the poorer classes of its inhabitants; the open and scandalous profanation of the Lord's day; the disregard of civil authority; and, on one occasion, the most intemperate, lawless, and tumultuous conduct of thousands of the citizens; I felt it to be my duty to embrace the first opportunity which presented itself, of exhorting both magistrates and people to remember the relation in which they stand to one another, as members of a christian community." Pref. p. i.

"As good citizens, then, and as faithful Christians, let the respectable inhabitants of this place lend their aid to the efforts of the municipal authorities, to check and repress the growth of profaneness and profligacy, too notorious to be denied. Let fathers, and masters of families, exercise a proper control over their children, their apprentices, and servants; and prevent them from converting the streets and public passages of this city, into haunts of idleness and immorality, the schools of sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, and riot. Let them, as far as their opportunities may permit, take care to make their own families so many seminaries of religious principles, of pious and orderly conduct. So will the streams, which are now but too impure, be cleansed and sweetened at the fountain-head, and diffuse peace, and good order, and prosperity, where now are to be seen tumult, and strife, and the progress of decay." Pref. p. iii.

The sermon is written in the same vigorous strain.

"When as Christians we speak of the fear of God, we mean that awful sense of our relation to him, which comprehends a dread of

offending him, a heartfelt sense of his exceeding mercy, and of our own demerits, and an earnest desire to be saved from his wrath: and this, when it has once taken possession of the heart, is so overpowering a sentiment, that it leaves no room for those little feelings of pride and anger which prompt the carnal man to spurn at every salutary restraint. Men who are properly impressed with a sense of their own unworthiness, and of the transcendent importance and difficulty of the work which they have to do, as servants of God and disciples of Jesus Christ, will not be much disposed to think highly of themselves, in comparison with their neighbours; or to be restless and dissatisfied under the rule and authority of those whom the common Lord of all has placed over them in this transitory state." P. 5.

"It appears then, that if we would effectually inculcate upon the different orders of society the duty of mutual kindness and submission, a foundation must first be laid in the true Christian principle of humility. The external and accidental advantages of rank and power may command the outward tokens of respect; the strong arm of the law may coerce the violence of the ungodly, and enforce a reluctant submission; but the genuine spirit of obedience and subordination can only there subsist, where the spirit of Jesus Christ has prepared the heart to be the habitation of gentle and holy thoughts, and the fountain of meek, and kind, and charitable words and deeds." P. 11.

"These are the grounds upon which I would enforce the duty of a conscientious and sincere submission to the authority of the civil magistrate; these are the motives which will effectually constrain the genuine disciples of Jesus Christ *to submit themselves one to another in the fear of God.* These too, or such as these, are the reflections which ought frequently to occupy the thoughts of those whom the constitution of their country places in the seat of authority, and invests them with dignity and power, for the purpose of maintaining the good order and quiet of society. Where the Christian principle of quietness is unhappily wanting, it is theirs to enforce obedience by temporal motives. They cannot command the thoughts and affections of men, but they may control the excesses of their conduct: and where the preacher of righteousness is as little attended to as in the days when the flood came upon the earth, the magistrate may speak in the more persuasive language of the law. And what *may* be done, to aid the cause of religion and virtue, by the Christian magistrate *must* be done: he is clothed with a power ordained from above, for the express purpose of restraining ungodly men from the commission of offences, not more injurious to the public than hurtful to their own souls. *He is the minister of God to thee for good. If thou do that which is evil, be afraid: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.**

* Rom. xiii. 4.

"A most important, a most awful truth is that, which the Apostle twice repeats, that the magistrate is *the minister of God*; his constituted and responsible minister, in things pertaining to the civil conduct of mankind; as the appointed teachers of the Gospel are in spiritual matters. He is bound, by the very tenure of his office, to repress and chastise unchristian conduct, when it breaks down the fences of the law: and even where it keeps within the strict pale of legal delinquency, and yet offends against the rules of piety and charity, it is still his duty to discourage and restrain it by the authority of his advice and example. It is in his capacity of God's *minister to men for good*, that the Church offers up her solemn prayers in his behalf, and entreats of God, 'That it may please him to bless and keep the magistrates, *giving them grace*, to execute justice, and to maintain truth.'

"Nor can I picture to myself a character more deserving of the esteem and regard of men, than that of the upright and *religious* administrator of the laws, who feels it to be his sacred duty to promote the cause of piety and godliness, both by his own example, and by a diligent and watchful enforcement of those temporal sanctions, which the natural infirmity of man has rendered necessary, in aid of the eternal obligations of religion. Such a person, conscious that he has never, from partiality or fear, or a respect of persons, nor from supineness, nor from that paralyzing spirit of indifference which *careth for none of these things*, abused his sacred trust, nor forgotten his duty as a guardian of the public morals, may take to himself that praise which is interposed in Scripture amongst the commendations of charity, 'I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem.' *"

"These reflexions are addressed both to those who govern, and to those who are to be governed, as to members of a christian community, the common disciples of one Lord, the common children of one Father; who must one day stand together before the judgment seat of Christ, to *receive the things done in the body—without respect of persons.*" † P. 14.

This solemn admonition commands an attentive hearing. The preacher does not waste his strength upon trifling or doubtful topics; but recommends devotion, and rebukes wickedness, in terms to which every Christian must assent. No better way can be devised for promoting that great cause in which he is so happily engaged; and while his discourses abound with plain truths upon plain subjects, the Manual of Prayer which he has compiled, may prove essentially serviceable to those who are awakened by his exhortation, or convinced by his reasoning. We conclude by recommending it heartily to our readers.

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* Job. xxix. 14. † 2 Cor. v. 10.—1 Pet. i. 17.

ART. IX. *A short Extract from the Life of General Mina. Published by Himself.* 8vo. 107 pp. Taylor and Hessey. 1825.

SINCE the decease of the magnanimous Hurlothrumbo, or the no less magnanimous Tom Thumb (two heroes singularly resembling each other in their great qualities, but widely different in the meed by which posterity has repaid them; for the last is well known both to history and the drama, while of the first little is to be told except his name—*(caret quia vate sacro)*—we have met with no one so likely to stand foremost in the records of eternal fame, as the autobiographer of this Memoir. After reading the "Short Extract" before us, it is impossible not to feel that both the Macedonian madman, and the Swede, must hide their diminished heads when General Mina steps forward; that Marlborough is but as a mushroom in comparison with him; and that the immortal glory blazing round the name of Wellington, which we have hitherto fondly believed was the fruit of British genius and valour, must be transferred, as an act of justice, to the parent stock of a Spanish guerilla captain.

General Mina shall tell his own story: although in the outset there is some difficulty in knowing how to tell it at all. In an advertisement prefixed to this little volume, he denounces any reprint without his sanction, and he warns "the delicacy of the Gentlemen Editors of the Public Papers" to "take this notice into consideration."

Mais essayons. The Spanish government has often solicited General Mina to write the history of his campaigns, but hitherto he has had no leisure; and (strange to say) "neither did its importance stimulate him much." Some day or other, however, he promises his entire history; "meanwhile," he adds, until this shall appear, "powerful motives, which I reserve to myself, impel me to give beforehand, the following brief extract." General Mina was born in 1781. His parents were honest farmers in Navarre. He learned to read and write, and followed the plough till his twenty-sixth year. His patriotism was then roused by Buonaparte's invasion; and having done all the harm he could to the French in his own village, he entered as a soldier in Doyle's battalion. A short time after he joined the guerilla of his nephew Xavier Mina; and when this force was disbanded, in consequence of his nephew's capture, *seven of the men named him their chief*; and from this small stock arose his future greatness.

With this hopeful force he immediately was named *Commander in chief of the Guerilla of Navarre,* by the Junta of Arragon, and received the following appointments from the Regency: *Colonel and Commandant General of the Guerilla of Navarre, independent of any other chief*; *Commandant General of the Infantry and Cavalry of the division of Volunteers of Navarre, retaining at the same time the command of the First Battalion*; *Brigadier of Infantry, with the same command. Major General, with the same command*; *Second General in command of the 7th army, and Commandant General of High Arragon, to the left of the Ebro, independent of the General in Chief of the 1st army, retaining still the former commands.* On receiving his first commission he proceeded to Estfella, arrested, with a much inferior force, a guerilla chief named Echeverria, who assumed the title as a mask for plunder, and instantly shot him and three of his accomplices.

And now begins the overture, all kettle-drums, trumpets, and thunderbolts.

"During this campaign, I gave battle, or sustained the attack (without reckoning small encounters) in 143 regular or occasional actions, of which the most distinguished are, in alphabetical order, those of Aibár, Añézcar, Arlában, Ayérbe, between Salinas and Arlabán, Erice, Irurózqui, Lerin and plains of Lodósa, Mañéru, Noáin, Perálta de Alcoléa and Cábo de Sáso, Piedramilléra and Monjardín, Plaséncia, Rocafórt and Sangüésa, Sangüésa, and Valle de Roncal. And less remarkable, although glorious, those of Acédo and Arquíjas, Alcubiérre, Alfáro, Barosoáin, Beriáin, Biúrrun, Boquéte de Embíc, the plains of Auza, of Mañéru, of Muruzábal, Canfrán, Carrascál, Castilliscar, Castillo de la Alfajería in Zaragóza, Ciráuqui, Egea de los Caballéros, Estélla, the plains of Zaragozá, Húesca, Jáca, near to Albáina, Lumbiér, Mendigorría, Mendíbil, Monreál, Názar, Olcóz, Oyárzun, Puente la Réyna, Puéyo, Sáda and Lérga, Santa Cruz de Campézo, Saraza, Segúra, Sorláda, Sos, Tafálla, Tarrazóna, Tiébas, Tiérmas and Sangüesa, Tudéla, and Venta de Oyarzun.

"Of the actions named in the preceding paragraph,—in that of Rocafórt and Sangüésa, with scarcely 3,000 men I routed 5,000, took their artillery, and caused the enemy the loss of between 2,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. In that between Salinas and Arlaban, I completely routed the enemy, killed 700 of his men, took all the convoy they were escorting, and liberated from 600 to 700 Spaniards, whom they were carrying prisoners into France; and in that of Mañeru, I entirely destroyed, with the loss of its artillery, Abbé's division, consisting of 5,000 men, put the greater part of its cavalry to the sword, and followed up the remainder during the night, for the space of five leagues, to the very gates of Pampeluna. It would be too minute and improper to continue in this extract the details of what occurred in various other actions.

"I kept in check in Navarre 26,000 men for the space of 53 days, who otherwise would have assisted at the battle of Salamanca, as they were on their march to join Marmont's army; and by cutting down the bridges, and breaking up the roads, I prevented the advance of 80 pieces of artillery, which would otherwise have been employed in that battle.

"I contributed to the happy result of the decisive battle of Vittoria; for if by the manœuvres I executed, I had not prevented the junction of the French divisions Claussel and Foi, which consisted of from 27 to 28,000 men, and intercepted their correspondence, the issue would have been very doubtful." P. 17.

It is not by any means necessary to attend to chronology or geography in our recital, since it would be unjust to arrange for General Mina those particulars of time and place which he has not been solicitous to arrange for himself; we shall therefore take his actions even as we find them. Once at Placencia he made 1,200 infantry prisoners, and put the whole of his enemy's cavalry to the sword. Once, at Sangüesa, he took 900 prisoners out of a column called the "Infernal." Once, when 6,000 men *were only three leagues off*, he killed and took prisoners 1,100 more, leaving only the commander and two others to escape. When the French shot and hanged such of his troops as they took prisoners, he shot and hanged in return in an inverse ratio, four for each officer, twenty for each private; a proportion which leads us to believe, that General Mina's privates were five times worth his officers.

"The French generals against whom I conducted this campaign, were: Dorsenne, Claussel, Abbé, Cafarelli, Soullier, Reille, Harispe, Lafourrie, D'Armagnac, D'Agoult, La Coste, Bourgeats, Bison, Dufourg, Cassan, Panetier, Barbot, Roquet, Paris, with many others; and although at one time there were 18 of them, in Navarre, engaged in pursuit of me, still I found means of baffling the endeavours of all.

"I never suffered a surprise. Once, on the 23d April 1812, at break of day, having been sold by the Partizan Malcarado, who had previously made his arrangements with General Panetier, and had withdrawn the advanced guard from before Robres, I saw myself surrounded in the town by 1,000 infantry and 200 cavalry, and was attacked by five hussars at the very door of the house where I lodged: I defended myself from these latter with the bar of the door, the only weapon I had at hand, while my attendant, Louis Gaston, was saddling my horse; and mounting immediately, with his assistance, I sallied forth, charged them, followed them up the street, cut off an arm of one of them at one blow, immediately collected some of my men, charged the enemy several times, rescued many of my soldiers and officers who had been made prisoners, and continued the contest for more than three quarters of an hour, in order that the remainder

might escape. This Louis Gaston I always retain about my person as a friend. The next day I caused Malcarado and his attendant to be shot; while three Alcaldes and a parish priest, likewise concerned in the plot, were hanging." P. 29.

He was several times wounded by musket balls, sabres or lances, and unless he bore "a charmed life," this is by no means surprising. He still has a ball in his thigh, and he has had four horses killed under him in action. During the peace of 1814, he visited Madrid, and had many private audiences of King Ferdinand, during which he "did all in "his power to convince him of the mistaken course he had "been pursuing ever since his return to Spain, and of the in- "auspicious character of the persons by whom he was sur- "rounded." These inauspicious persons, as might naturally be expected, lost no time in getting him hastily summoned to his provincial command. Having attempted to seize Pampeluna, in order to proclaim the Constitution and the Cortes, he found it necessary to emigrate to France; there the Spanish ambassador caused him to be imprisoned for 20 hours. On his release, he chose Bar-sur-Aube as his residence, and remained there till the hundred days, during which Buonaparte made him brilliant offers, which he refused without hesitation, and sought an asylum in Switzerland. When the Constitution was proclaimed in 1820, he again entered Spain, and having published it at the head of 20 men, at Villa de Santesteban, Pampeluna immediately opened her gates to him, and he received from the King a commission as *Captain General of the Army and Province of Navarre.* He soon "foresaw all or the greater part of "the occurrences which took place;" and, apprehensive of the commotion which afterwards broke out in Navarre, he asked and obtained the *Captainship General of Galicia.* Here he corrected abuses of all sorts, and animated the public spirit. In 1822 he was named *Commander-in-Chief in Catalonia,* an office which he undertook "for the very reason, "that it is perilous." At the head of 1,766 infantry and 275 cavalry, he totally demolished the town of Castell-fullit, the destruction of which he immortalized by an inscription on the site of its ruins; he took Balaguer also, and routed the factious at Torá, Artesa, Orcan, Pobla, Beliber, and Puigcerdá, always with one-third, or less, of their force. He blockaded Urgel for 74 days, and on the morning of its evacuation, "600 profligates and robbers taken out of the "prisons, who formed the greater part of the faction of the "ringleader Romagosa, the defender of the fortresses of "Urgel, expiated their crimes on the morning of the evacua-

"tion, by their death upon the field." We do not know whether these unhappy wretches were killed in action, or summarily executed.

Afterwards we find him dignified with the rank of *Lieutenant General*; *Commandant General of the Seventh Division*; *General-in-Chief of the Army of Operation, and Knight Grand Cross of the National and Military Order of St. Ferdinand.* With 6,000 men he kept the field two months and a half against 30,000, under General Moncey. Once he marched without halting, 33 hours, pursued and attacked by ten times his numbers; "nevertheless, by constancy and firm-"ness in the critical emergencies and terrible conjunctures "in which I was placed, I surmounted every difficulty."

By the treaty of 1823, General Mina was permitted to come to England, and he has been received in this country with distinguished hospitality. He has been medically attended by Sir Astley Cooper and Dr. Gaitskell, and has dined with the Duke of Sussex. We wish it were in our power to add, that the hazards to which his life has been so frequently exposed were now terminated: unhappily, while we write, we learn from the newspapers, that, on retiring from his Royal Highness's well-replenished board, on Sunday the 16th instant, General Mina was seized with violent and unequivocal symptoms of colic and indigestion. By the skill of his apothecary, and by the free application of minoratives, eccoprotres and deobstruents, the General's bowels are at length restored to their fitting tone, though not without a prostration of strength, which, at one time, created considerable alarm.

General Mina most assuredly is an extraordinary man. We wish his publishers had prefixed his portrait, as a frontispiece.

MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1825.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht.* 4to. 571 pp. 2*l.* 10*s.* Murray. 1824.

THIS handsome volume is attributed to Lord John Russell; and the aristocratical appearance of the book, as well as its sensible and gentlemanlike contents, are worthy of the reputed father. The dimensions, both of the paper and the narrative, are too gigantic for our taste: the former will ensure Lord John Russell a niche in the next edition of the "Library Companion;" the latter, devoting nearly six hundred pages to the events of eight years, lead us to apprehend that it will require fifty formidable quartos to complete his Lordship's undertaking. But not to dwell upon this magnificent prospect, we hasten to introduce our readers to the quarto of the day; and if they wish to improve their acquaintance with Louis XIV. and Cardinal Alberoni, if they wish to know *a little* about Queen Anne, and George the 1st, and a great deal about the Regent Duke of Orleans; if they are desirous of seeing what can be made of modern whiggism in the hands of a well-informed and amiable young nobleman, they cannot do better than apply to the volume before us.

The Introduction is not encouraging. It resembles a dissertation in the Edinburgh Review, or the substance of a speech against the Holy Alliance. It wants originality, and it wants compression. By teaching us what inferences to draw from the history of modern Europe, it gives a political, not to say a partial air, to the whole volume. And if the evil is counteracted by the writer's moderation and good sense, we still could be contented to dispense with the remedy, provided we might also dispense with the disease. There is an evident bias in the noble author's mind; and if it is to his honour as a man, that he avows and defends his predilections, it would have been to his honour as an historian, to renounce them. Take, for example, the accounts of

the French revolution, and the consequences of the monarchical principle, as professed by the continental sovereigns.

" Unhappily, England joined, though doubtingly and tardily, in this crusade. She was influenced to do so by a great orator and great writer, who was not extremely unlike the apostle of the French revolution. For there are some points of resemblance between Rousseau and Burke. Both were men whose imagination outstripped their judgment; both had the faculty of dressing their thoughts in the most harmonious style ever employed in their respective languages. If Burke is more rich in imagery, Rousseau is more fraught with feeling; if Burke surprises and carries away by his splendid diction, Rousseau seems more natural, and has been more successful in contriving that art which does so much should appear to do nothing. Both Rousseau and Burke exalted the idols of their own fancy; Rousseau painted with brilliant colours an age of savage simplicity which in his sober hours he knew never had existed: Burke took for his favourite illusion the happiness of an age of chivalry, whose best features live only in romance. The one called upon the world in its manhood to regret that period of its infancy when arts were unknown, and the hides of wild beasts were the only covering for the body; the other endeavoured to restore and to preserve the remains of the dark and dismal times of the middle ages, when Europe was barbarous and miserable. Yet both these authors could call to their assistance the soundest maxims of reason; the most profound doctrines of philosophy: Rousseau availed himself of sentiments which nature inspires, and good sense approves; Burke combined with his most extravagant speculations, the most solemn decisions of law, and the practical lessons which a long contest for liberty had taught an enlightened nation. Thus each had a people for his proselytes, I fear I must add his victims. France, seduced by the visions of the Swiss philosopher, sunk into the most abominable vices in attempting to realize an unattainable pitch of virtue: England, rouzing at the trumpet of the Irish orator, made war upon a neighbouring country, because their people had become too frantic and too wicked to be amicably treated with. Thus, at the close of the eighteenth century, when the oracles of Delphi were laughed at, the leaves of the Sybil considered fabulous, and our rude ancestors despised for following the call of Peter the Hermit; death and havoc made their harvest in every quarter of the world, because the two most enlightened nations of Europe abandoned themselves to the guidance of two splendid enthusiasts, of whom the one was evidently insane, and the other totally wanting in sound discretion." P. 53.

" While the means proposed by the sovereigns are thus inefficient for the purpose of promoting improvement, they are mighty and almost irresistible for the purpose of preventing it. If a people worn out by suffering, at length rise against their rulers, and demand a constitution in the only way it can be demanded with effect, *videlicet*, in arms, the allied monarchs have a million of troops ready

to restore despotic authority. The troops of the three great combined powers are always prepared to march to the assistance of any despotic monarch who may have lost his power by cruelty, or bigotry, or vice.

"Let us now pass to the consequences that flow from the adoption of principles so absurd and tyrannical. They are, as might have been expected, in contradiction to the maxims of common sense, dangerous to the repose of Europe, hostile to the rights of nations, and lead directly to a general confusion of all interests, laws, principles, and securities. A nation is to be incapable of deciding for itself upon its own grievances and wants. A sovereign at a thousand miles distance is to pronounce an infallible judgment upon them. A congress is to be held in Moravia or Carinthia or Lombardy, to discuss what are the best remedies for the abuses of power at Naples or Madrid. Three absolute sovereigns are to decide infallibly on the various forms and regulations of free government. The cabinets of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, are to be entitled to judge, without appeal, of the real sentiments of the people at Genoa and Cadiz. Armies of Croats and Cossacks are to be marched from the most savage parts of the globe, to reform civilized nations, and put down in all extremities of Europe the example of revolution *effected by military force*. Excommunication, forfeiture, servitude, and proscription, are the penalties to be pronounced against legislative assemblies which do not conform in their political institutions to the standard of Muscovy, Brandenburgh, and Bohemia.

"It is impossible to say how far such a doctrine as this may be carried. The present sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, are not immortal. It is quite uncertain whether their successors may not have still more extravagant notions of the omnipotence of legitimate monarchy, and the duty of passive obedience; but with the example of their progenitors before them, they can entertain no doubt of the justice of forcing their opinions on other nations at the point of the bayonet. Nations, on the other hand, desirous of becoming or remaining free, will find that they have no chance of success unless they can excite the subjects of despotic monarchs to ask at the same time for liberal institutions. Their only hope of remaining in peace at home will be to excite insurrection abroad. Thus the whole family of Europe will be engaged in a dreadful species of hostilities, marked with all the calamities of civil war. Blood will flow not only in the field, but on the scaffold, and the victorious party will join the insolence of a foreign enemy, to the rancour of a domestic faction.

"Such is the melancholy prospect which the mistaken policy of the allies opens to Europe. They are about to renew the scenes of horror with which the bigotry of Philip the IInd and Charles the IXth afflicted mankind during the progress of the Reformation." P. 60.

In attributing the revolution to Rousseau, Lord John Russell merely mistakes a part for the whole; but in attributing the revolution-war to Burke alone, in calling the

people of England his victims, and in charging him with an endeavour to restore the remains of the dark and dismal ages, the author commits a graver fault, by indulging party prejudices or family spleen.

The account of the holy alliance is a caricature; and while we praise the caricaturist for speaking of the sovereigns themselves in very different language from that which has disgraced the House of Commons, we have still to regret that he personates an opposition member rather than a well-informed independent thinker. Nobody defends the state papers of the allies. The monarchical principle in the hands of Prince Metternich, is as absurd as the republican principle in the hands of Mr. Bentham; and the consequences of either, legitimate and illegitimate, may be set down as equally mischievous. The Croats and Cossacks are fair game for Mr. Brougham, who delighted his hearers for a whole afternoon, by calling the Emperor of Russia a Calmuck. But the pupil of Mackintosh, and the ally of Lansdowne, ought not to have tarnished an historical treatise by the introduction of such vulgar wit. Lord John Russell might be expected to know, how little the principles of rational liberty are understood, out of Britain. The dislike of the monarchs to Spanish and Neapolitan constitutions, is the natural result of what they have suffered from French constitutions. The Foxes and the Russells of the last generation proclaimed the democracy of jacobin France to be the most glorious work of man. And when the fallacy of such assertions is discovered and admitted, when our Whigs are content to recommend limited monarchies, ought they to expect an immediate and unanimous assent to their proposal? With patience and moderation, we may convince the sovereigns of Europe that English liberty is not the forerunner of revolution. Violence will only tend to confirm the prejudices of the master, and rivet the chains of the slave. The present season of peace should be employed in communicating our wisdom to other nations; and they will not listen to our lessons, or submit to our reprehension, unless due allowance is made for their natural backwardness to learn, and our advice is conveyed in respectful terms. The sarcastic invectives of Brougham, and the dogged insolence of Hobhouse, alienate and disgust the monarchical party on the Continent. Lord John goes to work in a much better spirit, and sets his party an example of temper and dignity which they will do well to follow. But if he expects to instruct foreign princes, he must cease to be a party-man, and think with as much candour and moderation, as he now writes and speaks.

But enough of the Introduction. It would have occupied less attention, had it not enabled us to discover the principles of a writer with whom we are to undertake a long journey. If his principles had been simply bad, they would not have detained us a moment; the mixture of good and evil which we have endeavoured to point out required a more particular notice. The body of the work is less debateable ground. Lord John has studied the French memoir-writers, and engrafted their anecdotes upon the public history of the country with considerable tact. The character and court of Louis XIV. are well pourtrayed, though the abilities of the monarch are decidedly under-rated. He appears before us in his declining years, and fails to substantiate his right to the title even of a vulgar great man. It is true, that he was not really great. His ambition was mean and selfish. He loved power for its own sake, and renounced glory that he might enjoy flattery. His views were narrow, and his virtues and his vices were at a great distance from the sublime. Still, the Prince who so long governed Europe must have possessed a greater capacity than the present Memoirs assign to him; and it would be as fair to judge of Bonaparte by the retreat from Moscow, or the battle of Leipsic, as to overlook the early wars of Louis, and dwell upon the victories which the genius of Marlborough won from the old age of the King of France. We extract some of the concluding remarks upon his reign.

"If we endeavour to sum up in our minds, the different parts of the government we have gone over, we shall be inclined to draw, as a result from the whole, that Louis the Fourteenth was an industrious, and even a benevolent ruler, but not endowed with genius to direct his industry or wisdom in the application of his benevolence. He excelled in those parts of administration, which are at the same time the least difficult and the least important; in equipping troops, in expending large sums upon magazines of war, in holding magnificent courts, and building sumptuous palaces. He failed in those larger and more lofty functions of sovereign power, which consist in providing for the happiness of a people; in giving equal protection to all classes; in allaying religious dissentions; in extending industry and commerce by liberal principles; in making taxation as light as certain, and as justly proportioned as possible; in laying the foundations of future prosperity to his kingdom, when he himself should be no more. If he augmented the territory of France, it was by destroying the sinews of her internal strength, and leaving his successors embarrassed by the obligations he had contracted. If he maintained domestic peace, he at the same time sowed the seeds of future discord, by augmenting the importance of his plebeian, and preserving at the same time the privileges of his noble subjects.

The manufacturing and commercial classes, who in the course of a long internal tranquillity, acquired riches, intelligence, and knowledge, formed no part of the constitution of the monarchy; they were excluded from the pale of power, and became the natural favourers of those writers, who towards the end of the reign of Louis, were preparing to attack his fame, and ridicule the frame of government he had formed and established. This was a great and very obvious defect in his policy. All his attention had been directed to please, and at the same time depress his nobility; but in so doing, he raised another great body by their side, which he forgot to conciliate by privileges, and could no longer terrify by a display of force and authority.

"There are some measures, certainly, which it would be unjust to blame Louis for not effecting, as they required either the knowledge of a posterior age, or the intuition of a man of genius. But there are others which it is astonishing he should not have effected. He might have established a wise and certain system of taxation, that would have deprived his intendants of the arbitrary power they so much abused. He might, when in the summit of his power, have laid a foundation for taxing the nobles and the clergy, in due proportion to their wealth. He might have abolished the *taille*, the *gabelle*, and the *corvées*, and have subjected his people to the burdens of the state, in proportion, not to their rank, but to their wealth. He might have introduced a more humane code of laws, and assumed to the state the whole administration of justice, abolishing the authority and peculation of the petty lords. He would thus have united all classes in support of the monarchy, and paved the way for the tranquil introduction of those changes, which progressive time, and increased civilization might require." P. 235.

In the greater part of these observations we heartily concur.

The second book commences with a sketch of the History of England, from the peace of Utrecht to the suppression of the rebellion in 1715. It is a period which requires to be treated with great delicacy by modern Whigs; and Lord John Russell approaches it with due caution. Having presented us with a summary of the reign of Louis, we expected that his Lordship would also furnish an account of the foreign politics of King William and Queen Anne, distinguishing them from the apparently similar course pursued in our own times, and by which his Lordship conceives that England became the victim of Mr. Burke;—but we are disappointed. The condemnation of the Peace of Utrecht may be inferred from several observations, but the war which preceded it is not examined. Another ticklish question, the state of religion, is dismissed in the same way. The factions of the Jesuits and Jansenists are described with minuteness in the Memoirs of Louis; the state of the church and its opponents under Anne and George

is not taken into consideration. The Schism Bill gives occasion for a passing sneer; the clergy are represented as halting between the Stuarts and the Georges, because the former were Catholics, and the latter were suspected of favouring the Dissenters; and a handsome panegyric upon Bishop Burnet is turned into a satire upon the rest of his order: And this is the whole that Lord John Russell knows, or chooses to know, of an age in which more injury was done to religion, than in the fanatical days of Barebones, or the profligate reign of Charles the IId. But it was done by his own beloved Whigs, and their champion, too honest to deny the fact, contents himself with saying nothing about it.

In fact, he has business enough upon his hands from other quarters. By securing the Protestant succession, the Whigs of the last century performed an essential service; but it is the duty of an historian to state the means by which they performed it: and we compassionate the noble author's distress, when he is obliged to allow, that the Whigs brought in their King against the sense of the nation, and secured him on his throne by proscription and impeachments. The Riot Act and the Septennial Act were necessary, as his Lordship proves, for the preservation of the country; yet it is entertaining to hear the question gravely discussed by a parliamentary reformer, and carried, as a matter of course, in the affirmative. The simple truth is, and the perusal of Lord John Russell's book will render it clearer than before, that the Whigs of Queen Anne, with the exception of their great tendency to infidelity and irreligion, exhibit a very close resemblance to the Tories of King George the IVth. Their continental war, their contempt of mobs, their strong measures for securing domestic tranquillity, and their determination to serve the people without yielding to popular clamour, are the best features of Lord Halifax's administration, as well as of Mr. Pitt's: and the despicable Peace of Utrecht, the love of French alliance, the discordant views of Jacobites, Tories, and placemen, who served under Harley and Bolingbroke, and met the fate which they deserved, may find their counterpart in an opposition, of which some were genuine Whigs, and others radical Jacobins; of which some wanted power, and others wanted place; of which some loved France, either republican or Napoleonised, far better than a limited English monarchy, and which was ready in a body to sacrifice the honour of *Britain* and the independence of Europe, to a tyrant who had no merit, except his ability to do mischief. Lord John Russell's history of the Accession of the House of Hanover redounds to the credit of his party. At the same

time, however, it reminds them of "glory gone," of principles deserted, and of consideration and respect for ever lost.

Some of his reflections upon the occurrences he relates are judicious, and we have much pleasure in submitting them to the reader's attention.

"The events of the few years which we have gone over in this chapter, are of the greatest importance in the history of England. Three great changes may be said to have been made, if not in the constitution, yet in the mode of administering it; changes which some will think equally beneficial, others equally pernicious, but which all tended to the establishment of the kind of government under which we now live.

"The first principle established at this time, is that of conducting the government by one party. During the reign of William the Third, and the greater part of that of Anne, the offices of state were divided between the members of the two parties, with a view to conciliate both, and to exclude the more haughty and presumptuous leaders, from acquiring a dictation over the sovereign. In the middle of the reign of Anne, the Whigs obtained something like exclusive power; and towards the end of that reign the Tories possessed unbalanced authority; but their hesitation and misconduct totally deprived them of the confidence of the new king, and the Whigs found themselves strong enough to keep out their opponents for nearly half a century. From this time we may observe in the ministry of England greater unity of views, a more complete confidence among the members of it, and a more uniform policy towards foreign powers.

"The second change made at this time, was the transfer of the seat of power from the House of Lords to the House of Commons. During the two previous reigns, the House of Commons was still kept in a dependent station, and the great peers of the governing parties, confided to their deputies the management of that assembly. Their complete emancipation from their former bondage, is attributed by Speaker Onslow to the Septennial Bill, which, as I have already said, was calculated to produce this effect. It may be objected, however, that the appearance of Walpole on the stage of politics, at the time when the great men of the reign of Queen Anne were retiring from it, is sufficient to account for the power which the Commons at this period acquired. But had the House of Commons remained what it was, and Walpole obtained an equal ascendency in the government, there can be little doubt that he would have been made a peer, and governed his party in the House of Lords in the place of the Duke of Newcastle. His continuing a commoner, when at the head of the ministry of England, is the test and proof of the increased consequence of the assembly to which he belonged.

"The greatest change of all, however, was the establishment of a dynasty grounded on a parliamentary title. As long as a Stuart was upon the throne, it seemed not improbable that the crown might revert to the elder branch of the family: the succession of

the House of Hanover closed their prospect for ever. At the time when this great event happened, it is said that two hundred persons, with a preferable hereditary claim, were excluded; nor, when we consider that the Electress Sophia was the youngest daughter of the Elector Palatine, does this calculation appear much exaggerated. The advantage of this revolution to the cause of freedom cannot be too highly estimated. The old doctrine of the Tories always supposed that the king had a property in the prerogatives of the crown, independent of the consent and overbearing the interests of his people. But here was a king who had no other claim to his power, than that created by an act passed by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain. Consequently, the great modern charters of our liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights, were at once lifted out of the debateable ground on which they stood, and placed by the side of the sovereign upon the throne; from this time resting on the same foundation, and exposed to no other dangers than those which equally menaced the existence of the dynasty. With such a protection, the laws which secure the personal freedom of Englishmen had time to take deep root in the country; and when, half a century afterwards, the Tories were restored to power, they found our liberties guarded not only by the zeal of a party, but by the veneration of a people. Nay, in the course of this half century, the ideas of the Tories themselves were changed, and instead of a legitimate king, and an uncurbed prerogative, they became satisfied with a title granted, and a government controlled by parliament." P. 372.

The chapter upon the regency of the Duke of Orleans, and the administration of Cardinal Alberoni, is the best and most entertaining part of the volume. The subject is neither so threadbare as the court of Louis XIV. nor so dry as the Missisippi scheme, nor so fatal to the Whiggism of the writer as the accession of George I. The story, particularly Alberoni's portion of it, is well told, and the summary of his character deserves to be extracted.

"Alberoni was in person of low stature; his features were far from handsome, and his head was too large for his body. His voice was melodious, his look piercing, and he acquired among the Spanish grandees an air of dignity, which suited ill with the original coarseness and vulgarity of his manners. He was proud, hot and revengeful by nature, but extremely skilful in modulating his passions to the key which his interests required. Indefatigable in application, he frequently employed himself in business for nineteen hours out of the twenty-four. He is remarkable for having united the most lofty designs, with a strange degree of low cunning in carrying them into effect; and perhaps merits better than any one the title of Jupiter Scapin, which has been applied to a far greater man of our own day. Although capable of conceiving the most vast and magnificent projects by the vigour of his imagination, he

seems to have been destitute of elevation of soul; and whether cooking Italian dishes, and uttering coarse jokes for the amusement of the Duke of Vendome, or planning the overthrow of the governments of England and France to gratify the passions of Philip, he appears to have been always intent upon his own elevation, at any cost, and by any means.

"In his foreign policy, Alberoni evidently aimed at gigantic objects, with very inadequate means, or at best with only a slight chance of success. If he must be acquited of the charge commonly brought against him, of provoking a hopeless contest, he is only so much the more blameable for having wantonly sacrificed the blood and treasure of Spain, and disturbed the peace of Europe, for the sake of preserving his place. Nor does he deserve our pity when, in return for the sacrifice of his own conscientious opinions, we see him abandoned and persecuted by the very sovereigns, to gain whose favour he had swerved from his duty as the minister of a great nation. It cannot be denied, however, that the spirit displayed by Alberoni might, in a better cause, have revived the greatness of Spain.

"In his government of the interior, Alberoni formed many plans, some of which he carried into execution. He promoted projects for improving the ports of Cadiz and Ferrol, and established new docks and arsenals in those and other ports. In the short period of his administration, fourteen men of war were launched, and as many more were nearly completed. He founded a seminary at Cadiz for five hundred pupils to be instructed in navigation, and revived the foundery of artillery and the manufacture of small arms. With respect to commerce, he destroyed most of the inland custom-houses, abolished the internal duties of Valencia, and dispatched intelligent engineers to the different provinces, to ascertain what improvements could be made in the economical government of the kingdom. With the usual policy of active ministers of those times, he established manufactures of glass, woollens, and linens; and though it must be confessed that his measures, in this respect, tended to furnish the Spaniards with dear and bad articles, instead of cheap and good ones, it is difficult to blame a minister who governed so short a time, and had not particularly studied the subject, for sharing in the prejudices of the age.

"Yet it must never be forgotten, that Alberoni, while he seemed to promote commerce and industry, had risen to power by favouring that institution, which is the bane of all commerce, and all active exertion of every description. By taking part against Macanaz, he preserved the privileges of the Inquisition, and with them the source of all the misery and degradation of Spain. Let us not be dazzled, therefore, by the brilliant genius of Alberoni; and while we admire the activity and resources of his mind, let us not give our esteem, or the honours of fair fame, to an unprincipled adventurer, whose momentary power shows only the caprice of fortune, the force of intrigue, and the decline of Spain." P. 453.

This is a fair specimen of the "Memoirs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht," They are not the fruit of first rate talents, either literary or political; but their tone is uniformly sensible. They exhibit a fair portion of diligence, a virtuous and amiable disposition; and where party prejudices do not interfere, considerable powers of discrimination. Lord John Russell's admirers will be dissatisfied with this faint praise; but we cannot advance beyond it. There is a point, however, on which we may conscientiously join his Lordship's warmest admirers, and that is in sincere satisfaction at perceiving a person in his situation resolved to study history. Could we persuade him to be upon his guard against hereditary prejudice, and to keep aloof from party flattery, we should hope not only to see him among the best of modern Whigs, but leading back his followers into the good old path, and contributing to the restoration of that happy state of things in which the Aristocracy was the guide and the friend of the people.

ART. II. *Christian Truth, explained in familiar Letters on the Tenets of the Church of England, and on other Subjects connected with Religion: Addressed to a Friend, and written at his request. By the Rev. C. Powlett.* London. 8vo. pp. 326. Booth. 1824.

WE are informed in the Preface that this volume owes its origin to an earnest request made to the author by a friend, that he would give him such a statement of the Christian doctrines as might put them before him in their clearest form: so that as it seems he had previously entertained doubts on some points, he might thus be enabled to embrace the doctrines of the Church of England with that firmness and sincerity which can arise only from a thorough and satisfactory conviction of their truth and consistency with each other. The author's friend is described as a man of candour; others the author fears may not be so; for their sake therefore he has thought it necessary to dwell more at large on some topics, in order to do away all possibility of misinterpretation.

In the first letter, entitled "the Religion of the Heart," after some very just observations on the prevalence of an outward and careless profession of religion, without any real feeling of its efficacy, the author proceeds to state his object

in these letters, as being that of endeavouring to put in a very familiar light, the principal arguments which may lead those who are incapable of more profound research, to such perception of the reason of the hope that is in them, as may be productive of a real and practical profession of Christianity. He modestly disclaims pretensions to depth or originality of argument; and urges the continual reiteration of old cavils and sneers by infidel writers, as calling for continual vigilance in the guardians of the truth, and rendering every attempt, however humble, in support of the uncorrupted doctrines of revelation, likely to be useful; and to those readers who, as the author expresses it, are not capable of digesting what may be called "strong meats," the lighter food may be in the highest degree beneficial.

The second letter is entitled, "On the Trinity." This, together with the third on the Atonement, involving a discussion of the Divinity of our Lord, occupy a very considerable proportion of the volume before us; and we think very properly, the author observing at the commencement the necessity of laying this deep, firm, and strong foundation, for the superstructure.

It will be obviously impossible for us to enter into a detailed account of the various passages of the Old and New Testament, which the author now proceeds to collect and comment upon. To this part of the work, we think the attention both of the general reader, and especially of the theological student, may be very profitably directed. A large and valuable body of scriptural proofs will be here found amassed, and disposed with considerable effect. So that this important doctrine is made to rest firmly on the secure basis of scriptural evidence; on accumulated support of the testimonies of the divine Spirit, manifested "at sundry times, and in divers manners," by the favoured servants of the Most High. From these, we learn fully to distinguish the shadow from the substance, and to understand all the typical symbols of the ceremonial dispensation, as at once predicting the suffering Messiah, and deriving from his sufferings all their efficacy and force.

In the 4th letter "on Regeneration," the author commences with some very pertinent remarks on the propensity to verbal disputes, which has led to much of the controversy existing on this topic. The following strong and manly statement deserves to be extracted:—

"Such love to 'minister questions rather than godly edifying, which is in faith,' and disregard the injunction of St. Paul to Timothy, 'Charge some that they teach no other doctrine.' That

there is another doctrine taught than that which is taught by the Church of England, is too well known by the confused mass of controversy which has issued from a certain description of the clergy. Those who deny the great doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement will be naturally expected to deny the minor spiritual doctrines; for if the two great doctrines be not true, the minor ones fall to the ground: and their opinions being fundamentally erroneous, can excite no surprize: but those, who not only acknowledge these great truths, but have actually given their assent to all the doctrines of the Church of England, can in no rational or honourable way account for their secession from any part of those doctrines: it cannot therefore but be a circumstance to be lamented, that all 'are not Israel who are of Israel:' they enlist under the banners of the church, accept the emoluments, and then contradict the assent which they had before given, and endeavour to undermine that Christian citadel, which they were bound by their solemn oaths to defend. That regeneration takes place at our baptism, and at no other period, is the doctrine of the Church of England: no one can deny that, who reads our baptismal services, our admirable collects, and indeed every part of the liturgy, where the subject is introduced. That it is the true doctrine, I shall now clearly, I hope, shew." P. 177.

Mr. Powlett then proceeds to comment upon several of the well-known passages of Scripture bearing on the subject, in a very clear and able manner. He gives a paraphrase on our Saviour's discourse to Nicodemus, which we especially recommend to the notice of our readers (p. 189); and ably vindicates our view of baptismal regeneration from the aspersions of those who would maintain, that we rely on the mere *opus operatum* of the sprinkling of water.

The letter concludes with some extracts from the Fathers, clearly shewing the exact accordance of their views on this point with the doctrines of the church of England.

In the next letter, on Predestination, the author, after stating in the most unequivocal terms his abhorence of the Calvinistic doctrine, as utterly at variance with the divine attributes, proceeds to give a general scriptural view of the divine counsels and dispensations, so far as they are made known to us. He insists strongly on the distinction between "predestination" and "fate," in which we perfectly coincide. The divine decrees are shewn to be general, and apply to the scheme of redemption at large, not to the acts of individuals. His concluding paragraph is very eloquent: he has been speaking of reprobation:—

"Let us turn away then from this 'darkness that may be felt.' Be this black and dismal cloud of error for ever dispelled from the world. May the bright beams of heavenly mercy, which shine

equally on the just and on the unjust, illumine our Christian Sion." Finally, when we elevate our voice in songs of praise and thanksgiving to our Saviour, let us acknowledge the blessed cause of our unbounded gratitude, and say, in the language of our sublime 'Te Deum,' 'For thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to *all believers.*'" P. 241.

The author's object in his sixth Letter is to animadvert on indifference to religion; to point out the duty of Christians, whether clergy or laity, not only to declare their own conviction, but to contend by argument against those who are unbelievers of any of the great revealed truths of Christianity. From the remarks on the too prevalent spirit of indifference to religion in general, and in particular to the claims of the church, we must be permitted to extract the following passage:—

"Well knowing the motive which is illiberably attributed to every clergyman who writes in defence of the established church, I shall speak of it but briefly. I consider it as a sacred citadel, not only politically set up, but as absolutely necessary to preserve the spirit of religion in the country. It is a beacon to which the truly wise will look up with respect, and on which both they, and the poorer, and the less educated, will depend for their best hope and consolation. It is a citadel of refuge from worldly troubles and agitations: the bulwarks which are placed around it are merely of a defensive nature: its first principle is toleration, so consistent with the mild doctrines of its blessed Founder, and in a minor degree arising from the freedom of our happy constitution. Reflecting minds are well aware of the blessings which arise from a church establishment. The jealous, the thoughtless, and the indifferent, look with an eagle eye at its imperfections, and aggravate them by their misapprehensions and mis-statements. The establishment, though wise and necessary, is human, and consequently imperfect. But though the serious and the good see the errors as to worldly regulations, errors which it is more easy to see than to amend, yet they look upon them only as spots upon the disk of the sun. Others magnify the spots to such an extent, as if they totally obscured the church's glorious and beneficial influence. This conduct, however to be lamented, would not be so unhappily prejudicial, if it did not tend to mix up in confusion the divine doctrines held by that church, with the unavoidable errors of some parts of its political formation. Worldly combatants attack the doctrines openly, while they secretly mean to undermine the foundations of the citadel, and overthrow the church; they in fact dare to strike at God, when they seem only to attack the errors of man." P. 245.

All this, and more to the same purport, is, we think, well conceived, and strongly expressed; and all sincere members of the church will, we trust, be impressed with a conviction of the justness of such remarks, and the consequent duty of endea-

vouring by all means which may be consistent with their station and ability, to maintain and uphold the purity and authority of that venerable establishment to which they belong. This the author urges in a most impressive manner, and pays a very deserved tribute of praise to those distinguished laymen who have advocated the cause of sound religion by their writings. He shews the incalculable value of such support given to Christianity. The works of such authors he considers to have had a peculiarly beneficial effect in contributing to draw attention to the subject in many who perhaps would not have listened to instruction from another source. He is very liberal in the commendations bestowed upon benevolent Dissenters, whose virtues he contends we may admire, whilst we strongly object to their opinions. The Socinian errors, or rather the tendency to a Socinian spirit, so prevalent in the present day, are combated with great spirit and ability. We agree with our author in fearing, that the general principle upon which the Socinian proceeds, if not his actual doctrines, have but too great an influence among some who outwardly profess reverence to the church, and rank themselves among her members. The principle of reducing every thing to the confined standard of our ideas of congruity and reasonableness, is one which is *a priori* a very fallacious principle as applied to any subject, and becomes doubly dangerous when adopted as the test of religious truth. The author has acutely remarked, that it is not in professedly Socinian works only that their errors are inculcated; the enemy lies in ambush in a variety of publications of different descriptions, which the unwary reader may take up for the sake of instruction or amusement, and thus have his mind corrupted and biassed in its principles of investigating religious truth, almost without being aware of it. The duty of contending for the truth with zeal and discrimination is imperatively urged upon the clergy, and the author points out also the great influence which the laity may exercise, in the encouragement and superintendence of schools, as well as the circulation among the poor of the numerous excellent tracts and small periodical publications, now so abundantly supplied, expressly adapted to their use.

The concluding Letter touches upon a variety of topics; and several passages of considerable length are appropriately introduced from the writings of Horne, Paley, &c. The gradual progress of religious knowledge among the heathen nations is adverted to in connection with the accomplishment of prophecy, as is also the downfal of the Roman Catholic faith. The author speaks of the Dissenters with great charity

and moderation, without the least compromising his own faith. He considers their various errors to be "as demonstrable as a proposition in geometry," yet contends that they must assent voluntarily to that demonstration, or not at all. In this free and enlightened country, he deprecates all persecution or compulsion; the futility of a variety of cavils against the providence of God is clearly pointed out, and a very simple and concise statement given of the introduction of sin by the Fall, by which the attributes of the Deity are shewn to be in no degree contradicted.

ART. III. *Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. A Picture of Judaism in the Century which preceded the Advent of our Saviour. Translated from the German of Frederick Strauss, with Notes and Illustrations, by the Translator.* Mawman.

THE argument for Christianity, which is drawn from the time when Christ came into the world, loses much of its strength with those persons who do not take the trouble to inquire, how far it applies to the Jews. But as the books where the detail of this information is to be found, are little consulted by general readers, and their substance has rarely been compiled, except in works professedly theological, a work which should in a clear and popular light, place before Christians the strength of this testimony to the truth of their faith was a desideratum. The author of this work, as he informs us in the Preface, was long impressed with the importance of supplying this link in the chain of Christian evidence; and no model appeared better calculated for his adoption, than the celebrated tour of Anacharsis. which has collected in an elegant and amusing tale, the information which was formerly sought from lexicons and books of antiquities. On this plan, he had made a general sketch of a work, and even partially filled up the outline, when an accession of occupations compelled him to relinquish his task. Amidst all his employments and avocations, however, he never lost sight of his favourite idea; and at last, finding his leisure insufficient for executing his original design, he has produced the work now before us, from the general recollections which the authors of his study had left in his mind.

In almost all ages of their history, the Jews furnish an impressive commentary on that remarkable expression of our Lord, that those who will not hear Moses and the Prophets,

would not be persuaded though one rose from the dead. They had the very evidences which modern unbelievers proclaim sufficient; they had not only Moses and the Prophets, but they beheld all the miracles wrought by all; they lived under perpetual demonstrations of the power of God, and yet they as perpetually were rebels and idolators, clearly evincing that no evidence whatever can convince a corrupted heart. The idolatries of Egypt, Canaan, Assyria, successively engaged their affections; but as long as the dispensations of a peculiar providence were conspicuous among them, and the prophetic spirit remained, their infidelity never took a systematic or a metaphysical form; it was an obstinate sinning against conviction, but it adopted no arguments, it offered no palliations.

When the warnings of prophecy had ceased to break in on their guilty slumbers, it was not to be expected that their conduct would improve; and besides their natural corruption, there were circumstances which more than ever favoured the national propensity to secession from the law. The Assyrian settlers, who had taken possession of their land during the captivity in Babylon, had engrafted the Levitical law on their own superstitions; and thus prepared the way for heathen corruptions. When the conquests of Alexander had opened a free communication between the East and the Grecian states, the mythology of Greece, and afterwards its philosophy, became generally circulated; and when Antiochus Epiphanes attempted the entire hellenization of the Jews, the attempt was seconded by many of the nation; and from the infection of the Antiochian times Israel never completely recovered. The government of Egypt and Syria were essentially Greek, and it was impossible but the Greek manners should in some degree at least, be found in Palestine.

The general prevalence of the Greek language produced in the different countries to which it extended, a dissatisfaction with the native names. Even Josephus was sensible of the necessity of hellenizing the Jewish names before they could be tolerated by Grecian ears. In their commerce with the Greeks, the Jews found themselves perpetually mortified by being regarded as barbarians, and such of them as, though bred in the Jewish customs, were Greeks in heart, accordingly adopted Grecian names. Hence among Jonathan and Judas, and John, we find Simon, (a Grecism of Simeon), Jason, and Menelaus, which last names were adopted by two brothers severally named Joshua and Oniah. The conduct of these brethren had an important influence on the national character of the Jews. For not only did their authority go

shows that the nation had been reduced to such a state of depravity, that at no time was it more necessary that the voice of God should cry in the wilderness, and call to his wandering people to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

It would be impossible, in this place, to do more than indicate the argument which it is the intention of these volumes to illustrate. Our object is to exhibit its nature and its value: and if we have done this clearly, our readers will perceive that the kind of work from which it would derive most illustration is not an historical account, however elaborate, as Prideaux, for instance, but a work which should enter much more on manners and opinions than on events; a work, in short, like that which our author at first meditated. But we must now see how much the "Pilgrimage of Helon" has actually done towards this object. The author shall state his design for himself.

"The plan of the work is the following.—A young Jew, who had been enamoured of the prevailing Grecian philosophy, has returned to the observance of the law of his fathers, at one of those important crises in life which decide the character of succeeding periods. Bent on the fulfilment of the law, which he believes it impossible to accomplish any where but in the place where the altar of Jehovah is fixed, he makes a journey from Alexandria, where he had been brought up, accompanied by his uncle, to Jerusalem, in the spring of the year 109 before the birth of Christ; remains there during the half year which included the principal religious festivals; becomes a priest; enters into the married state; and, by the guidance of Providence, and varied experience, attains to the conviction, that peace of mind is only to be found in believing in Him who has been promised for the consolation of Israel.

"The plan now traced, while it offered an opportunity of delineating the progress of an interesting change in the sentiments of Helon himself, seemed also to present the means of combining with this a living picture of the customs, opinions and laws of the Jewish people. No period of their history seemed so well adapted to the design of this work, as that of John Hyrcanus. It is about this time that the books of the Maccabees close: it is the last era of the freedom and independence of the people, whose character and institutions at the same time were so nearly developed and fixed, that very little change took place between this and the time of our Saviour. It was possible, therefore, to give a picture which, as far as relates to usages and manners, should be applicable to the times of the New Testament."

Nothing can be more judicious than this plan, and had it been minutely pursued, the very desideratum we have been discussing would have been supplied. But the author admits that his leisure would not allow this. We will proceed,

therefore, to inquire whether this imperfect sketch, rather than picture of Judaism, gives us any tolerable idea of the features of the original.

The persons to whom we are first introduced are the mother of Helon, his uncle Elisama, a slave named Sallu, a young Greek named Myron, and some Alexandrian Jewish elders. The mother of Helon is making preparations for her son's journey, and most singular indeed is her method of making them.

"The whole house was in commotion. The camels were receiving their load in the inner court, and drinking before their journey, from the fountain beneath the palm trees. The slaves ran *this way and that way:* in the apartments of the women, the maid-servants were busily preparing the farewell meal for the son of their mistress, who, *while she hurried in different directions,* AND ISSUED HER COMMANDS, *was repeating the words of the 42nd Psalm.*" (!!!). Vol. I. p. 1.

This beats Cæsar and Napoleon!

A conversation ensues between Elisama and the elders, in which the merits of Leontopolis and Jerusalem are discussed somewhat tumultuously. When they are once fairly on their journey, Myron asks Elisama to give him some account of the Jewish history and philosophy, and the latter has the conscience to recite about 120 octavo pages of the history of the Bible, from Genesis to the 2d book of the Maccabees inclusive. This is a convenient way of filling a volume. Passages of Scripture, especially almost the whole book of Psalms, are quoted without relevancy or moderation; and as most of the quotations are from the poetical parts, they are printed with a happy regard to occupation of paper, in broken sentences. The slightest occasion is sufficient to set our author off with a page or two of Scripture, and sometimes he starts upon none at all. Thus, on Helon's admission to the order of priesthood, after "the old man of the temple" has informed him of that obscure historical fact, that Solomon built the first temple of Jerusalem, he asks, "Dost thou know, Helon, the prayer which he offered at the dedication of the temple?" and Helon, without the least hesitation, trips him off Solomon's prayer, five pages and a half. Elisama congratulates his nephew on his approaching nuptials, and tells him, that as Solomon had said something on the happiness of the marriage state, he could not do better than repeat it; and accordingly come the last 22 verses of the book of Proverbs, duly split into monosticks. We know not how far the Germans may be acquainted with their Bible; but in England,

this is really too much. Scarcely is there in the two volumes a single page, those only excepted which contain the abridgment of the Old Testament, which is not adorned with some of these distorted quotations.

As a sketch of the society and manners of the period which it professes to delineate, this work is certainly defective; there is, indeed, little in it which might not have belonged to any other æra of the Jewish history. Except in the chapter on the Essenes, the reader meets with little information on the state of the Jewish mind with respect to philosophy; a most important defect, if the work be regarded as an attempt to illustrate an argument in favour of Christianity, which has as yet met with small elucidation in a popular way. And although we have every respect for the translator's feelings of compassion and benevolence towards the modern Jews, and cordially share them ourselves, yet we cannot, with him, extend this sentiment to the Jews of our Lord's time; and much less can we justify the perversion of history, in order to conciliate any body of men.

To promote a reciprocity of kindly feeling between Jews and Christians, is, doubtless, an excellent object: but if we understand the object of this work, it is one yet higher. The historical argument for Christianity is annihilated as soon as we depart from history, with whatever intention we depart; and therefore, although Helon's pilgrimage may be an excellent work for conciliating the Jews, and as such may be recommended to the "Jews Conversion Society," it is of small importance in giving illustration to the branch of the Christian argument to which it refers.

The public, however, is not unindebted to the translator. He has called the popular attention to a valuable and neglected portion of the Christian evidence, and he has illustrated the work with notes which are worth the whole of the two volumes.

We shall conclude this notice with a passage which will afford a fair specimen of the work, and which proves the author's enthusiastic feeling, and descriptive power. After quoting, according to his custom, two pages and a half from Ecclesiasticus, which decribe the high priest Simon, he proceeds:—

"This description had often awakened the enthusiasm of Helon, but now he saw it realized in the most impressive service ever performed in Israel—that of the morning after the Passover. There stood the High Priest, spiritual and temporal sovereign of the people, on the mountain of Jehovah, in sight of his sanctuary, and looked through the lofty portico, full upon the curtain of

the most holy place. On the other side, through all the courts, even to the foot of Mount Moriah, was a countless multitude, all occupied with prayer and praise, all waiting anxiously for his blessing, and expecting to be purified by his offering. Around him were all the priests of Israel, obedient to his nod, ministering to him in the most sacred employment of the people, their appearance before Jehovah. He himself, the man who bore the name of Jehovah on his brow, with every thing that oriental splendour could accumulate, lavished on him, in honour of that name, surrounded by the flames of the altar of burnt offering, which flashed up to Heaven. It was a sight to awaken every sublime religious feeling of such a mind as Helon's.

"The Hallel was sung. The priests, stationed on the pillars near the laver, accompanied the song with the sound of their trumpets, and the Levites on the fifteen steps sung it, with their cymbals, cornets, and flutes. David had appointed four thousand Levites for musicians and singers, and their number was probably not much smaller now.* The multitude responded with its hundred thousand voices, to the song of the choir; and when the Hallelujah, with which the psalms begin and end, was thrice repeated with the united volume of vocal and instrumental sound poured forth at once, a less lively imagination than Helon might have fancied that Jehovah himself appeared in the flames of the altar, to receive the homage of his people. It was here only that one of these psalms, so full of the boldest flights and of the deepest emotion, must be heard to be fully felt. Such a moment had inspired them; such a moment alone could revive that intensity of feeling, which is necessary fully to comprehend them.

"Helon was so absorbed, that the wave of the people had forced him, unconscious of it, far down the extremity of the court. He could only see from a distance the movements of the high priest about the altar. His majestic figure, as he passed to and fro before the flames which arose in the back ground, received from them a strong illumination, which to Helon's fancy gave something solemn and unearthly to the form. When the sacrifice and the Hallel were ended, the people fell on their knees, and bowed their faces to the earth to receive the high priest's blessing. He washed his hands with the usual solemnities, and advanced to the steps of the Levites, praying thus: 'Praised be thou, O Lord our God, thou King of the world, who hast sanctified us with the consecration of Aaron, and commanded us to bless thy people Israel in love.' He then turned, first to the sanctuary, and afterwards to the people; then lifting his arms to the height of his shoulder, and joining his hands together, so as to leave five intervals between the fingers, with eyes cast down on the ground, he laid the name of Jehovah on the people, and said,

"'The Lord bless thee and keep thee.

* 1 Chron. xxiij. 5.

" 'The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee,

" 'The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!' Num. vi. 24.

" At every repetition of the word *thee*, he turned to the north and the south. The people replied, 'Praised be the name of his kingdom for ever!'

" They continued awhile when the benediction was concluded, each praying to himself; while the high priest turning to the sanctuary said, 'O Lord of the whole world, we have done as thou hast commanded us, and thou wilt do what thou hast promised. Thou wilt behold us from the habitation of thy holiness; thou wilt look down from heaven and bless this people Israel!'"

ART. IV. 1.—*The New Trial of the Witnesses; or, the Resurrection of Jesus considered, on Principles understood and acknowledged equally by Jews and Christians; with an Enquiry into the Origin of the Gospels, and the Authenticity of the Epistles of Paul.* 8vo. 89 pp. John Hunt 1824.

2.—*Letters to the Editor of the New Trial of the Witnesses by an Oxford Layman.* 8vo. 107 pp. John Hunt 1824.

WE notice these publications, first, that we may expose the folly and falsehood of the junta, from whom the New Trial of the Witnesses proceeds; secondly, that we may perform an act of justice to the author of the letters, and call the attention of our readers to his able, if not judicious, pamphlet.

If we should be asked who these *New Triers* are, we answer, without hesitation, "Jeremy Bentham, and his crew." Their speech betrayeth them. They have taken some pains to disguise it. The phraseology of "Church of Englandism," "Not Paul," and other Benthamite productions is dropped. An editor steps forward to lick the cub into shape, but the family mark is distinguishable throughout, and whoever may have brought the precious bantling into the world, its father is lord paramount of the Westminster Review, and the child is worthy of its parent. The characteristic hypocrisy has descended from sire to son; and under the mask of a partial belief in Christianity, we are introduced to an outrageous but sneaking infidelity. The writers, be they who they may, have the ignorance of Paine without his

shrewdness, and the vulgarity of Carlisle without his courage. We proceed to substantiate these accusations; and having accomplished our purpose in as few words as possible, we shall take leave of the subject with very little ceremony.

The fifth page furnishes us with the following specimen of what Bentham, in his attack upon St. Paul, terms "simple falsehoods:"

"Be this as it may, I am persuaded that the religion which is founded on truth can sustain no injury from a calm and candid examination; and, as I am desirous of seeing the following arguments fairly met and answered by arguments equally calm and dispassionate, I now, for that purpose, present them to the public. They are the sentiments of an ingenious friend now no more; and although some of them may appear rather fanciful, there are others which I have never been able fully to answer, either to his satisfaction or my own. But one argument more difficult to resist than all the rest, is, what he repeatedly urged, that a fair and full discussion of this subject has never yet been allowed; for, said he, the apprehension of legal interference and the fear of popular odium, operate as effectually, in Britain, towards the suppression of every sentiment which appears in the smallest degree to militate against the prevailing tenets, as the terrors of the inquisition in Spain, or the tortures of the rack in Turkey; and to talk of decent discussion is only a pretext, for nothing is accounted decent which is level to common apprehension, and to appeal to the understandings of men, in plain and intelligible language, is called blasphemy." P. 5.

The childish trifling about a "deceased friend" is Jeremy all over. The friend is still alive and well; and if he does not blush at such assertions as the above, he may continue to favour the world with declarations equally supported by fact.

The real object of the pamphlet is to talk blasphemy; the pretended, is to upset the evidence of the resurrection! Affecting to proceed after a judicial fashion, our 'deceased friend' undertakes to try the witnesses of that crowning miracle. And he discovers that they are totally unworthy of credit, because they do not prove the *Ascension*. Having joined issue upon one fact, he writes a hundred pages of nonsense about another; and with much parade of common law (the judge-made law which the author of the Book of Fallacies holds in sovereign contempt), he rambles on with an irregularity and inconsistency which neither judge nor jury would endure. The only point which he presses with common ingenuity is the silence of St. Matthew and St. John respecting the Ascension of their Lord. The circumstance has no immediate connection with the trial of the witnesses of the resurrection, and the explanation of it rests upon very different grounds from those which our "deceased friend"

professes to examine. But even here he is a "friend indeed," and supplies, by his blundering honesty, a solution of the difficulty which his art had conjured up. The latter half of the pamphlet is devoted to the praises of St. Paul, and in the course of his encomiums, the writer is stupid enough to remind us, that the Gospels were not written when that apostle commenced his career. Upon the supposition therefore, and it is Jeremy's own supposition, that St. Paul was the first effective preacher of Christianity, and that he had preached and gained credence *before* the publication of the Gospels of Matthew and John, what possible necessity could there exist for their reiterating the declarations of St. Mark and St. Luke, whom Bentham calls the pupils of St. Paul, and whose narratives both Gospels and Acts were already, according to this hypothesis, believed by the Christian world. Nothing need be said about the inaccuracy of the "deceased friend's" assertions. It is as gross and glaring as their inconsistency, and can impose on no one but the author.

But let us attend for an instant to his statements respecting the resurrection. Affecting to believe in the fact of the crucifixion, and the subsequent continuation of our Saviour's life, this impudent dreamer has the folly to affirm, that the facts may be explained, according to the Gospel account of them, without having recourse to a miracle. The resuscitation having been attributed to Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathæa, the preternatural occurrences are denied, upon the authority of Mr. Bentham, or explained away by his ingenuity. One instance of the latter shall be adduced in the words of the Oxford layman.

"The truth is, there is no believing, I mean in sound reason, the story of the resurrection by halves. Either you must deny it altogether, and in doing so, reject a mass of evidence, such as, I believe, can be produced for no one fact whatsoever previous to the invention of printing, certainly not for the common events of battles and revolutions which a man would be hooted at for questioning; or you must admit and believe the whole. Let a single point once gain entrance into the mind, and the rest of the wedge is sure to follow; at least nothing then can stop it, but the impenetrable hardness of the material into which it tries to force a way. Even in those few cases, where the supernatural may not appear essential to the event, it is too closely interwoven with the circumstances, or at least with the form of the narrative, to be detached from it without violence and injury to the context. Look for example at the appearance of the angel or 'young man,' who was seen, St. Mark tells us, by the Maries in the sepulchre. Of that appearance your friend says, 'that what Peter and John observed to be the linen clothes, Mary

Magdalene and the other Mary perhaps, it being early and yet dark, took for a young man. *Perhaps* so indeed; a very plausible conjecture; especially as they both went into the sepulchre, and thus had an opportunity of examining its contents or inmate closely. But what say the circumstances of the case to it? That the explanation is inadmissible, unless linen clothes can speak: because what the Maries took for a young man gave them a long message to the disciples. Yes, Sir, a message: you will find it so by turning from Mark, as quoted in the New Trial, where, I allow, no trace of it is discernible, to the older and more genuine Mark, written by St. Mark himself. I will copy the two passages, that all may judge, first, of the probability of the explanation, secondly, of the fairness of the quotation on which it is built.

Mark as quoted in the New Trial, p. 8.

'And entering into the sepulchre they saw a young man sitting on the right hand, clothed in a long white garment; and they were afraid, and they went out quickly from the sepulchre, for they trembled and were amazed.'

Mark as written by St. Mark himself, xvi. 5, 6, 7, 8.

'And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted.' What comes next? a comma? No, Sir, a full stop—'and they were affrighted. And he (that is, according to your friend, the linen clothes) saith unto them, Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him. But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you. And they went out quickly,' &c.

Well may you feel surprise, Sir; for without verifying your friend's quotation, which it is clear you have not done, you could not have been prepared for such a stroke as this comma. You could not have anticipated, no one indeed could on reading 'they were afraid and they went quickly,' that 'afraid' was the end of one sentence, that 'and they went out' was the beginning of another, that between the two there intervened a passage so important, so destructive of the author's infranatural explanation. But is such an adaptation ('garbling' would be the proper word—can I help its not being a civil one?)—such an adaptation, I say, of sentences, such an arbitrary change of stops—are they quite allowable? quite honest? quite specimens of 'fair discussion,' of 'candid examination,' of eagerness 'in the discovery and pursuit of truth?' If these be specimens of such things, I will tell you, Sir, what is not. To falsify the text of Mosheim, as your friend does in his second section, to quote him as saying that '*after* the middle of the second century the greatest part of the books of the New Testament were read in every Christian society;' when Mosheim, 'the judicious Mosheim, whose invincible regard to truth is universally acknowledged,' said and wrote '*before* the middle of the second century.' This falsification of an important passage is neither honest, nor fair,

nor candid, nor allowable, nor, in plain terms, reconcilable with truth. Hereafter I may have occasion of recurring to this passage. At present I leave it gladly to resume my argument." *Oxford Layman.* P. 24.

This is plainly and strongly put. One more instance and we have done. It shall be taken from Bentham himself. Our Lord's address to Mary, in the garden, is thus explained:

"Why then may not the meaning be? 'touch not my feet, the wounds are yet raw from those cruel nails! I am going to my father. Go, tell my brethren.' The expression is remarkable; he says, not my disciples, as they are afterwards called by the historian, 'go, tell my brethren,' probably his natural brethren,—Judas, Simon, James, &c. the sons of Joseph, and shall we say of Mary, that they 'go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.' We have seen that he had just come from Galilee, accompanied by his mother, and several other women, and relatives, and there his father and mother now resided. 'He turned aside into the parts of Galilee, and dwelt in Nazareth.' Thither he was immediately to proceed, and there, with his father and mother, and those affectionate brothers, having escaped the malice of his sanguinary persecutors, he probably awaited in patient tranquillity the happy change which was to fit him for those celestial regions, 'where flesh and blood cannot enter.'

'Hail! holy light! thee I revisit safe!
Escap'd the Stygean pool, tho' long detain'd
In that obscure sojourn; — —
Taught by the Heavenly muse to venture down
The dark descent, and up to reascend,
Though hard and rare—thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy sov'reign vital lamp.'

Thus, after millions of volumes have been written, and men of the greatest genius and talents have, for almost two thousand years, like a ship without rudder or compass, been tossed in an ocean of doubt and uncertainty, the light of truth at last breaks in upon us, and we rejoice to find that reason and scripture are reconciled." P. 27.

If any thing can be more laughable than this reconciliation, it is the next paragraph, which brings it to a sudden end. The solution of such childish inconsistency is, that Jeremy made the blunder, and one of his devils has attempted to conceal it.

"Since the foregoing remarks were written, Paley's Evidences have been put into my hand, and a passage pointed out, where the subject of the Ascension is adverted to, not indeed as a matter of first rate importance, but merely in an incidental manner; I observe, however, that I have omitted, but entirely without design, some words which may appear essential to the argument. In John's account of what Jesus said to Mary, 'touch me not, for I am not

yet ascended to my Father,' at the latter clause of the verse it is added, 'But go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend to my Father, and your Father, to my God and your God.'

"This omission was occasioned by the last clause of the verse being separated from the first, by the words 'go tell my brethren, &c.' When my eye caught these words, which seemed to correspond so well with the other Evangelists, 'go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee,' I read no further, concluding it to be the same passage. Now the words, 'I ascend to my Father and *your Father, to my God and your God,*' which, it will be observed, are only to be found here, and which so little accord with the plain literal meaning of the other Evangelists; if we are not allowed to suppose that they have been added by some transcriber who wished to improve upon the original text; cannot, alone be considered evidence of the Ascension, nor, by any means, sufficient to compensate for the total silence of John, upon the important subject to which they seem to refer.

"We have already seen, that Mary was in the greatest trepidation and alarm, the *time*, the *place*, the appearance 'early while it was yet dark,' at the mouth of that very sepulchre where she so lately saw him laid, lifeless, who now appears to her terrified senses; 'And they went out quickly from the sepulchre, for they trembled and were amazed, neither said they any thing to any man for they were afraid:' under such circumstances, I humbly conceive no great stress can be laid on Mary's report, even although it were confirmed by the other Evangelists, much less when it is in effect contradicted." P. 28.

This confession of a biblical critic, a judge, a trier, "that a word catches his eye, and he reads no farther," must convince the world of his knowledge and impartiality. Should any incredulous Christian continue to doubt, or wish to make assurance double sure, he may learn at page 33, that "*Pilate* dispensed in favour of Jesus with the invariable practice of breaking the criminal's legs;" and at page 35, he may find an able apology for Judas Iscariot.

More can hardly be required. But much more may be found in the Oxonian's able letters, and to them we refer the curious for further information. Their principal fault is a coarseness and levity of language which are applicable enough to Jeremy Bentham, but should not be allowed to approach so closely to the sacred subjects on which the author writes. A minor error is too serious an examination of trash which should be held up to universal scorn. With these exceptions, the letters are worth reading, though we are at a loss to conceive why they have been introduced into the world by the same obstetrical aid, to which Mr. Bentham and his colleagues have recourse. One extract, a comment upon the conclusion of St. Matthew's gospel, will serve as

a specimen of the general style, and with this we take our leave, for the present, of the most dishonest and contemptible set of infidels that the present age can boast.

"Never since God said *Let there be light*, and there was light, has so much been said in so few words. They declare the sovereignty of Jesus, as vicegerent of God the Father, over the universe; they virtually annul the exclusiveness of Judaism by substituting a scheme of universal revelation; they express a promise to the Christian Church of surviving, whatever may befall, under the countenance of her master, till the world's end. And here let me ask in passing, has this promise or prophecy, for such in fact it is, been fulfilled so far as we can judge of its fulfilment, up to the present day? You will remember, if uttered by Jesus, it must have been delivered nearly eighteen centuries ago; and at all events it has now been uttered by St. Matthew more than seventeen hundred years. Take it at the lowest date, put it at 1700 years, which however I have not the slightest right to do, nay perhaps am not justified in doing; and even on that supposition, let me again ask, has the prophecy stood the test of those 1700 years? or has it not? Does Christianity still exist, as Jesus so long ago declared it should? or does it not? But time alone is a very insufficient measure of the unforeseeableness of a prophecy. Try it then by the alterations which in the interval have taken place. Try it by the obliteration of Paganism from the memories of all except the book-learned; by the dissolution of the Roman empire; by the effects of those discoveries and mechanical inventions which no one had in those days dreamt of, but which have changed the face of the world politically and intellectually, as much as ten deluges could have changed its physical appearance. But why remind you of such lesser changes? when even the languages of those times are dead, and the races which spake them are extinct, so that the earth is occupied by a new people. And Christianity, how has that fared amid the torrents which have swept down every thing that seemed most firmly rooted round it? It has escaped and gathered strength and spread; from being when planted the least of seeds, it has shot up into a tree so great, that all the liberty, all the knowledge, all the civilization in the world have been reared to vigour and maturity beneath the friendly shelter of its branches. It has escaped, but not alone; the riven trunk of Judaism still sticks, or rather lives, in the earth (for Judaism does live) fronting it. Compare these two survivors from a state of things long since passed away. Contrast the indestructible life, the increasing luxuriance, of the one, with the equally unperishing barrenness and stationary dissolution of the other; and then ask yourself, whether this, their joint escape from the violence of time and circumstances, can be reasonably attributed to chance, which is a word? or to natural causes, which could never have spared both? or to any other source or influence except the favour and will of God?" P. 100.

ART. V.—*High-ways and By-ways; or, Tales of the Roadside, picked up in the French Provinces. By a Walking Gentleman.* Second Series. 3 vols. 12mo. Colburn. 1825.

THIS is an agreeable addition to the second-rate novels of the day. The author has no bad knack at telling a story, and works up some of his scenes with great success. The plots, the most difficult portion of his undertaking, are not powerfully conceived, nor is the general management of them above a respectable mediocrity. The strain of sentiment also is too mawkish for our taste; and probably the writer will be astonished at hearing, that the love scenes, upon which so much of his narrative hinges, are the worst part of his performance. In the three tales now related, two most violent passions are contracted at first sight, and the third, a mutual flame, without any sight at all. This is drawing somewhat too freely upon the credulity of ladies and gentlemen in their teens. There is also throughout the work a diffuseness with which we could readily dispense. But the volumes are entertaining; and to such as would wile away an idle hour in the perusal of an innocent work of imagination, they may be safely recommended.

The first story, Caribert, the bear-hunter, is decidedly the best. The plan and the execution are both good, and there are passages which excite the liveliest interest. The bravest and most skilful sportsman on the Pyrenees has been decoyed from his father and the chace by the charms of a lowland maid. The old man encounters an enormous bear; receives a severe wound, and loses his favourite dog. Caribert returns home, and vows revenge; but a fever, terminating in insanity, prevents the accomplishment of his purpose.

"Soon after Caribert and his father had quitted their home, the morning, which had only just broke, began to be more than commonly overcast. A snow shower, mixed with rain, assailed them ere they reached the Pic du Midi; and the piercing cold of the air, added to the sleet beating cuttingly into his face, brought on, with Caribert, repeated attacks of violent and alternate fever and shivering. When they arrived at the den of the bear, which was formed of a cavity in the western side of the mountain, close to that terrific precipice which I have already endeavoured to describe, they were both benumbed, and scarcely capable of exertion; but the old man, rousing up all his wrath and courage for the onset, approached the cave, and with loud shouts of defiance, endeavoured to stir up the savage animal's rage. The summons was no sooner heard than answered. A horrible growl sent out from the recess, was followed by the appearance of the bear, which rushed forth as if in conscious

recollection of yesterday's triumph. At the appalling sound and sight, Pero, the faithful and courageous dog, unsupported by his former ally, and having his share of brute remembrance too, of the late rencontre, hung down his head, dropped his tail, and fled yelping down the mountain. Old Larcole grasped his pike firmly, and advanced. The hideous monster reared itself upon its hind legs, stretched out its fore paws, and as, with its jaws yawning wide, its fearful tusks displayed, and growling with horrid energy, it was in the very act of springing forward, the veteran hunter stepped close up, and aimed a thrust with no flinching strength, right at his enemy's heart. He was not far wide of that vital spot. His pike pierced the left breast, and went out clearly at the shoulder. Rendered frantic by the pain, the bear bounded up, flung itself full upon its undaunted assailant, and fell upon him to the earth. The old man, burying his head under the body of his foe, received on the back and shoulders of his doublet its unavailing efforts to penetrate the thick folds of armour with tusks and nails. He tugged at the pike to extricate it from the body, but his position was such that he could not succeed, and every new effort only tended to give issue to the thick stream of blood which flowed from the wound. During this frightful struggle, the yells of the bear were mixed with and smothered by the loud execrations of the old man. The latter, at length, gave up the hope of recovering his pike, but strove fairly next to get rid of his terrific burthen. He succeeded so far as to get one leg clear, and with his nervous grasp, entwined round the body of the brute; he was rising on his knee, and called out, 'Now, Caribert, now! To his heart—to his heart the death blow, now! strike, strike!'—but Caribert struck not! He stood gazing on the scene—panic-struck—fixed to the spot with emotions not fathomable to man,—a terrible but not solitary instance of the perilous risks run by mental courage, as well as by human virtue. I do not inquire into the mystery—but there he stood, its horrible and shuddering illustration!

The old man was now getting clear, but the bear had his hold in turn. His huge paws were fastened with a dreadful force round one of his victim's thighs; and recovering from his sprawling posture, he began to draw him backwards, evidently in the design of regaining his den. The old man's courage rose with his danger, for he alertly drew his knife from his belt, opened the blade, and plunged it repeatedly into the body of the bear. The latter leaped and bounded with agony; and Larcole, recovering his feet once more, succeeded in grasping the savage in his arms. But the trial could not be prolonged. He was drooping under the dreadful gripe.—Breathless and faint, he could only utter some terrific curses against the recreant who had abandoned him; and while Caribert gazed, his brain on fire, his hands outstretched, his tongue cleaving to his mouth, but his limbs trembling, his heart sunk, and his feet rooted to the earth, he saw the white locks of his aged father floating over the neck of his destroyer; while the dying animal, in his blindness, not knowing what he did, had retreated to the very edge of

the precipice, slipping at every backward plunge in the slough formed by the snow and his own heart's blood, by which it was dissolved. The old man, seeing his terrible fate, seemed to acquire for an instant the gigantic energy of despair. Throwing one glance across the horrid space on the border of which he stood, he screamed in a voice of thunder, 'Caribert! Caribert!' The terrible expression conveyed in this hoarse scream, struck on the mind of his son with an electrical shock. Suddenly roused from his stupor, he recovered for an instant all his recollection and his courage. He uttered a cry of corresponding fierceness,—swung his brandished pike—rushed forwards with open arms to seize his father, and snatch him from his destiny,—but it was too late! The monster touched on the extreme edge—lost his footing—plunged instinctively forward—took another backward step,—and just as Caribert believed he had grasped his father in his outstretched arms, both man and bear were lost to his sight, and their groans came mingling in the air, as they went crashing down below. Vol. i. p. 172.

We cannot promise the reader a second passage as good as this; but the adventures of the maniac are well managed, and a magnificent hunting party, which closes his career, is very little inferior to that which we have extracted.

The Priest and the garde du corps, does not particularly please us. The latter falls furiously in love with Maria-Antoinette; guards her through all the perils described by Madame de Stael, Madame Campan, &c. and blows out his brains when he can be of no farther service. The whole is an extravagant burlesque; and we should wish the chivalrous young gentlemen at the *lanterne* or the *guillotine*, were he not introduced to our notice, and accompanied throughout his adventures, by an Irish oddity of the most amusing description. This person's name is Father O'Callogan. Having left his native land at an early age, learned French and divinity at a convent, and practised the latter in the Irish brigade; he is encountered by the author in a Flemish town, and recognising one other as countrymen, they become bosom friends in a moment. The result is that the priest communicates the history of the garde du corps; but there is nothing more worthy of notice in the whole narrative, than the entertainment by which it is ushered in. The comrades are seated in the priest's miserable garret, and thus they feast à l'Irlandois.

"The table was soon arranged by the old priest and this faithful friend and serving woman, who had prepared his frugal meals and attended to his desolate chamber for more than twenty years. Her next entry into the room was with a large earthen pot, called in France a *marmite*, which she deposited by the fire, while she went out again to complete the omelet, for the making of which the said

marmite was removed from her fire to ours. I knew this was *jour maigre* for the worthy priest, and, as a tureen of onion soup was quickly smoking on the table, I was rather puzzled to divine what were the contents of the pot, until their boiling furiously up against the lid forced it to one side, and I discovered amidst the foam of the agitated water a quantity of large potatoes, dancing in the bubbling element and bursting their skins as if they laughed in concert with the motion.

" ' My good Father,' cried I, not a little pleased at this plentiful specimen of our national food, ' I see you have not lost your Irish taste.'

" ' God forbid that I did!' replied he; ' no, no, my dear child, there's no fear of my losing the taste of any thing Irish, for I've the smack of the potatoes, and the flavour of the turf just as fresh upon my palate this minute as the day I sailed from the Cove of Cork. Sit over—sit over to the table, my jewel—Madame Genevieve will be after draining the potatoes while we're aiting our soup.'

" These operations were duly performed, and when our part was finished the old woman placed her pyramid of *pommes de terre au naturel* in the centre of the table.

" ' Ah, there they are the smilers, smoking and mailey!' exclaimed the priest. ' There they are, just quite as natural as if they came out of my poor ould father's cabbage garden at the fut of Castle Carbery. Why then doesn't this put you in mind of Ireland? upon my salvation it warms the heart in my body; that's no lie that I tell you. Och! that's the real way to dress potatoes—there's none of your *frites* or *purées*, or *maitres d' hôtel*, but plain honest downright thumpers, bursting out through their skins, and crying ' come ait me, come ait me,' like the little pigs with knives and forks in them.'

" But I cannot afford more room to a detail of our repast, nor of my host's discourse. The homeliness of both possessed a considerable relish for me; and the natural bearing of the priest while I partook of his humble fare, and listened to his coarse phraseology, put me completely at my ease, because it convinced me that he was perfectly at his.

" When we had finished the soup, the omelet, a bit of salt fish, and the ' biggest half of the potatoes,' as my host expressed it, he stood up and produced from the bottom of a little press in the wall, a bottle covered with dust, and about half full of a colourless liquid. While he proceeded to break off the sealing wax which thickly covered the cork, I saw the tears rush into his eyes, as his countenance became evidently agitated.

" ' Well then,' cried he, ' it's a thought that suddenly struck me, and sure it isn't a bad one;—yes, yes, by my sowl, you shall drink share of it, you shall, and you're the first man that has as much as smelt it, for two-and-twenty years. There—smell it, what is it do you think? do you know what it is now—Eh?'

" I smelt it and tasted accordingly, and found that this treasure,

was nothing more nor less than some exquisite old whiskey, possessing the fine flavour of the peat smoke with which all the illicit spirits made in Ireland is impregnated.

" ' Ha!' exclaimed I, ' this is indeed a treat, How did you come by this, my good father?'

" ' Never you mind how I came by it, but make yourself a tumbler—Madame Genevieve will give us hot water and sugar immediately.—How I come by it is a long story—but we'll drink to the memory of him who gave it to me, any how; God rest his innocent sowl!'

" There was a tone of deep grief in the utterance of this phrase, and I saw the big tears rolling rapidly down the old man's cheeks.

" ' Aye, aye, rowl away, rowl away,' cried he bitterly apostrophising the falling drops, and dashing them off with his hand—' it's right that my ould heart should weep drops of blood if possible, instead of salt water—but even that's not wanting to keep my sorrow fresh—rowl away, rowl away!'

" My curiosity being powerfully excited by these words, I ventured to ask who had been the lamented friend whose memory caused him such grief.

" ' Why, my jewel, he was nothing but a *garde-du-corps*, what you'd call in English, one of the body guard of unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth.—But he was my friend, and a real gentleman bred and born—of as ancient a family, as pure blood, and as brave a heart as any king in Christendom—that's what he was; and the devil such another he left behind him. Here's long life to him—that is, I main, here's long life to his memory, which will never die while there's life in this ould body, any how.'

" ' I pledge your melancholy toast, my dear Sir,' said I, ' without knowing even the name of your lamented friend.'

" ' His name was Cornelius,'—said the priest solemnly, ' that is his Christian name: as to the other, it is not convanient nor necessary to expose an ould and honourable family, though he took good care, poor crathur, that his body should be as free after death as his mind was while he lived—the Lord have mercy upon his unfortunate sowl.' " P. 46.

We cannot help remarking by the way, that the author, who assures us that he is both individually and genealogically an Irish patriot, describes Father O'Callagan as an inveterate enemy of England and Englishmen. Perhaps it is hardly fair to gather politics by the road-side—but either Mr. Plunkett's panygeric upon the priesthood is built on a sandy foundation, or our romancing patriot has done them great injustice in his character of O'Callagan.

The *Vouée au blanc* is the concluding story in the series, and contains some humourous descriptions and characters. But we have not room for another extract, and must refer the inquisitive reader to the work itself. If he is disposed

to be pleased—it is, as we have already observed, a work that will please him. And even the fastidious, who throws it down in displeasure, will not be disposed to visit it with any severe condemnation.

ART. VI.—*The Modern Athens: A Dissection of Men and Things in the Scotch Capital. By a Modern Greek.* London. Knight & Lacey. One vol. 8vo. 9*s*. 1825.

WE know not how long it is since Edinburgh was nick-named the modern Athens, nor can we discover any good reason for such an abuse of language. The projected revival of the Parthenon as the national monument of Scotland, and the situation which has been chosen for it, on an eminence resembling, it is said, the ancient Acropolis, may have suggested to some silly wag the quizzing appellation which constitutes the title-page of the work now before us. Democracy and pure Greek were the distinguishing characteristics of the famed city of Cecrops; neither of which, till very lately, has attracted much regard in the Scottish capital. Nor is there any other feature that we can find out in the "men or things" of Edinburgh, upon which to establish a likeness to the active, brilliant, and impatient spirits of the old Athenians; or to the clear sky and genial climate under which they harangued, and fought, and sung with so much energy and effect.

If there is any thing to distinguish Edinburgh from the other second-rate cities of the empire, we must expect to find it in the employments of the great mass of the people. It has no commerce, and hardly any manufactures. There are no warehouses, nor steam-engines, nor extensive wharfs, nor crowds of artizans. One does not see there the flaming chimneys, nor the pillars of smoke, nor the many-windowed buildings, which, at Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow, denote the various operations of that productive labour upon which the wealth of nations has its chief dependence. Edinburgh is chiefly remarkable as a great school for law, philosophy, and physic, and as the seat of justice for the whole of Scotland. The college brings together every year about two thousand young men, who pursue, in the different class-rooms, their respective branches of professional education. At the High School and Academy, which are devoted to the study of the ancient languages, there are from eight hundred to a thousand boys, placed under the tuition of ten or twelve

masters: and it is perhaps worthy of notice, that the rector, or head-master, of the latter institution is a clergyman of the church of England, and a graduate of the university of Oxford. If to these regular establishments we add the private grammar schools, and *lectures* in almost every department of science, it will appear that Edinburgh, as a place of mere instruction and intellectual occupation, is distinguishable from every other town in the united kingdom. In short, the ordinary business pursued in that aspiring place requires the exercise of mind; and even the drudgery of the lowest order of professional men has something in it of a literary cast. Not only the lawyer, the attorney and the solicitor, require the qualification of several years residence at college, but even their clerks and assistants, whose multitude no man can number, must have read Latin, and heard lectures on the Institutes and Pandects.

For these reasons Edinburgh is necessarily a different place from other towns of the same size and population. Instead of being immersed in muslins, sugar and coffee, you find the active portion of the inhabitants occupied with theories of feudal law, with the reasonings of the judges, and the decisions of the courts. Their very labour is among books, and opinions, and precedents; and men who are constantly so employed, one need hardly observe, acquire habits of acuteness and penetration very superior to those which spring from the intercourse of persons whose "talk is of bullocks." From its schools and its occupations, we repeat, Edinburgh is, to a certain extent, a literary place; but it is by no means an Athens, either in point of learning or of genius. It is not the seat of the Muses; and the Graces have not yet found their way so far towards the North. It has, moreover, been too much talked of lately; its pretensions are much too high; and the consequence is, that most people from a distance, who mix with its society, are struck with disappointment, shrug up their shoulders at so much pride and ignorance of the world, and return home laughing at the expense of their hosts.

The author of this "Dissection of Men and Things in the Scottish Capital," is obviously a North-countryman himself, and knows more about the "Modern Athens" than could have been acquired during one short visit in the year 1822. He shows, indeed, some affection for his native land; but he exhibits also the most convincing proofs, that the sour leaven of disappointment and personal chagrin has fermented in his heart, and that his main pleasure is to abuse those who had not sense to perceive, or generosity to reward the exercise

of his transcendent talents. He has, besides, admitted into his strictures more of political animosity than became a faithful historian of passing events. His whiggery turns the edge of his revilings against good men, whose names he ought to have respected; and among others against Sir Walter Scott, a character not so much admired for his rare genius as he is beloved for his frank, mild, and warm-hearted disposition. The author should have remembered, that the personalities which are only despised in a London newspaper, are apt to excite deeper feelings of disgust and execration, when they appear in a volume which has been two years under the pen or the press.

The gentleman to whom the world owes the Modern Athens, is understood to be a reporter for a morning paper in this city, who was sent down to Scotland, at the era of the Royal visit, in the usual discharge of his official occupation. His notes for the newspaper have evidently served, in part, as materials for his book; and the rest he has derived from memory or imagination, without much regard to the actual condition of things. It may be right to mention, at the same time, that the author of this article was likewise in Edinburgh at the period in question; that he saw much of what the reporter describes, and can vouch for his accuracy in many things; but that, as he had neither personal nor political prejudices to combat, he flatters himself that he viewed the array of highlanders and lowlanders with greater impartiality, and is therefore not less likely to appreciate with candour the motives which animated the various actors in that stirring scene.

It was well observed by an Irish labourer, in reply to one of his Scotch companions, who was contrasting the decorum of the Royal procession to Edinburgh with the less regular loyalty which attended his Majesty when he entered into Dublin, that "We," meaning the Irish, "went out to see the king; *but you went out to let the king see you!*" Great pains were indeed taken to prepare the populace of the northern capital to receive the sovereign like a "nation of gentlemen." Sir W. Scott put out a pamphlet, entitled, "Hints to the People of Edinburgh," in which he effectually reached their sense of propriety through the medium of their pride: and the result certainly was very much to the credit of the monitor, as well as of those to whom he addressed his friendly advice. The locality, besides, of the modern Athens affords advantages for the display of royal pageantry which hardly any other place possesses. The inequality of the ground presents a variety of natural platforms from which two or

three hundred thousand people could command a full view of the whole procession, without the slightest rush or confusion. But still the main source of the order and decorum which were observed arose from a very judicious arrangement, by which the populace were themselves converted into guardians of the public peace. The tradesmen of Edinburgh can be reasoned with on most occasions; and it was not difficult to make them understand, that they would have the fullest enjoyment of the splendid scene upon which their hearts were fixed, by preventing all disturbance and unnecessary locomotion. With this view they were marshalled according to their several callings, under the heads of their corporations; dressed in their best clothes, adorned with sashes and ribbands, and had suspended round their necks a glittering medal representing the national order of St. Andrew. In fact, the thing was so well got up, that it is not surprising His Majesty should have asked where the mob had been disposed of. It was altogether a holiday exhibition, prepared and executed with considerable study and research, and in reality bearing such characters upon it as fully to justify the remark of the honest Hibernian, that the Scotch went forth *to shew themselves to the king*.

But such an exhibition could not be repeated. No "hints," nor drilling, nor marshalling, even under the auspices of the Great Unknown, could revive the deep feeling of affection and reverence with which George the Fourth was received in Scotland. He appeared among the people of the North as the heir and representative of their ancient kings; as a son of the Stuarts, to whose memory there is still a strong and lingering attachment; and therefore as a prince who derived his right to the throne from his relationship to the blood-royal of their own land. Since the Union, Scotland has appeared to itself to have sunk down into the rank of a mere province, added to the territory of England, and as no longer thought of in the light of an ancient kingdom, jealous of its rights, and proud of its independence. Its very name is on most occasions passed over; its inhabitants were fast losing their place as a people among European states, and the time seemed at hand when it would be entirely forgotten, that a crown had ever been worn, or a sceptre swayed north of the Tweed. Nearly two hundred years had expired since a reigning monarch touched the soil of Scotland; for which reasons, when our gracious sovereign realized his visit, the people at large seemed to think themselves once more possessed of that rank and consequence, which they sometimes imagine have been bartered away for the more substantial benefits of peace and wealth; and when

they saw the crown, the sceptre and the mace, carried before him in the streets of Edinburgh, they allowed themselves to be satisfied, that though the glory of the land was removed, it had not altogether departed.

Such feelings were necessarily unknown in Ireland, in reference to the royal visit. A sovereign of England could only represent in that country the conquerors and oppressors of the land, which he went to honour; and, even in despite of his kindest intentions, revive recollections and animosities which time only can entirely eradicate. All the associations connected with English royalty, were gall and bitterness to the deepest prejudices of an Irishman: whereas, in Scotland, the national pride was soothed, the love of importance was gratified, and all the ardent fealties of the heart found free exercise and a grateful solace. Like the dance, too, of the French peasant's family, the gratulation of the Scotch had in it something of devotion. It was easy to see that religion mingled in the festivities of the royal landing; every heart seemed lifted up with thanksgiving, that the king should behold so large a portion of his dominions in prosperity, love, and peace.

The author, after mentioning how little a spectator is affected in London by a procession of state carriages and horse guards, "when a crowd, usually formed of the ill-dressed and the idle, run and roar about the cavalcade, the trumpeters play 'God save the King,' the attendants wave their hats and cheer, and the spectacle, having passed through its routine, is no more heeded," informs us, that "with this experience I had prepared myself for being disappointed in that spectacle which had brought Scotland together; and I *was* disappointed. But my disappointment was of a new kind; for the solemnity, the grandeur, and the effect of the scene, were just as much superior to what I had hoped for, as those of any analogous scene that I had witnessed fell below the anticipation. The Scots are unquestionably not a superstitious people; neither do they care for parade. Upon ordinary occasions, too, they are a disputing and quarrelling rather than an united people; and, with the exception of those who are paid, or expect to be paid for it, they are by no means inordinate in their loyalty. But they are a people whose feelings have the depth as well as the placidity of still waters, &c. &c. The operation of those feelings, or prejudices, or call them what you will, produced upon the occasion of which I am speaking a scene, or rather a succession of scenes, of a more intense and powerful interest than any which I had ever witnessed, or

indeed could have pictured to myself in the warmest time and mood of my imagination. I had thought the thronging of the people to Edinbugh a ridiculous waste of time; I had laughed till every rib of me ached, at the fantastic fooleries of the celts and archers, and the grotesque array of the official men; and founding my expectations upon these, I had made up my mind that the whole matter was to be a farce or a failure. But I had taken wrong data: I had formed my opinion of Scotland from the same persons, that, to the injury and the disgrace of Scotland, form the channel through which the British government sees it; and therefore I was not prepared for that solemn and soul-stirring display —that rush of the whole intellect of a reflective, and of the whole heart of a feeling people, adorned and kept in measured order, by that intermixture of moral tact and national pride which was exhibited to the delighted King and the astonished courtiers. It seemed as though hundreds of years of the scroll of memory had been unrolled; and that the people, carrying the civilization, the taste and the science of the present day along with them, had gone back to those years when Scotland stood alone, independent in arms and invincible in spirit."

Here follows an inflated description of the scenery by which the author was surrounded, whilst he stood on the leads of the palace of Holyrood House; a species of composition in which truth is very often sacrificed to fancy, and the vulgar rage for fine writing. In passing through the apartments of the fair queen of Scotland—the fairest, says he, and all things considered, perhaps the frailest of royal ladies—he found the whole localities of Rizzio's murder, well preserved both in appearance and tradition. In the second place, he adds with all the delicacy of the Morning Chronicle, "I had the pleasure of seeing upon the leads, dressed in the plain tartan of her adopted clan, the fair Lady Glenorchy, who possesses all the charms of Mary, without any of her faults. I am not sure that I ever saw a finer woman; I am sure that I never saw one in whose expression intellect was more blended with sweetness, or spirit softened and enriched by modesty and grace." Is not this sufficiently bold in a man of his calling?

"I stood thus absorbed till about mid-day, at which time the flash and the report of a solitary gun from the royal yacht caught my eye and my ear, and made me start into recollection. Just then a cloud of the most impenetrable darkness had collected behind, or as it appeared to me, around the castle, which made the Athens appear as if her magnitude stretched on into the impenetrable

gloom of infinitude. But I had no time to pursue the train of feeling to which that would have given rise; for the volleyed cannon,—flash upon flash, and peal upon peal, and the huzzaing people—shout upon shout, and cheer after cheer, made the cliffs and mountains ring around me, and the palace rock under my feet, as though the heavens and the earth had been coming together, and the Athens had been to be dashed to pieces in the maddening of her own joy. The ships in the roads first pealed out the tale, and the blue waters of the Forth were enshrouded in a vesture of silvery smoke. Anon the batteries upon the Calton took up the tidings; and their roar, all powerful as it was, was almost drowned in the voices of the thousands which thronged that romantic hill. In an instant the same deafening sounds, and the same gleaming fires, burst away from the craggs in the left; and the cannon and the cry continued to call and to answer to each other, from the right-hand and from the left, till every atom of the air," &c. &c.

This is succeeded by a tissue of bombast and egotism, which we are glad to pass over. Then comes a little bit of fiction, which may perhaps be believed by some gentle reader, who has given up the reins of his imagination into the author's hands. "Margaret Sibbald, an able-bodied matron of Fisher Row, had been induced, through the compound stimulus of curiosity and loyalty, to leave her home all unbreakfasted, in order to take her place in the Royal procession. Margaret had stored her ample leathern pouch with a pennyworth of parliament cake, in order to support nature through this praise-worthy work; but Margaret's eyes had been so much feasted that Margaret's stomach had been forgotten. Seeing that the King wore a hue which she did not consider as the hue of health, and judging that it might arise from depletion, induced by his rocking upon the waters, she elbowed her way through horsemen, highlandmen, archermen and official men, up to the royal carriage, and drawing forth her only cake, held it up to his Majesty, expressing sorrow that his royal countenance was so pale, and assuring him that if she had had any thing better he would have got it. A forward stripling of the guards charged Margaret sword in hand, to which Margaret replied, 'Ye wearifu thing of a labster! ye hae nae mense, I hae dune mair for the King than ye either do or help to do; I hae borne him sax bonnie seamen as ere hauled a rope or handled a cutlass.' It was however no time for prolonged hostilities, and so Margaret was lost in the crowd, and the guardsman not noticed in the procession."

His Majesty was indeed very much pleased and struck, when, turning the corner of a street, he first came in sight of the Calton hill, on which there were perhaps not fewer than

fifty thousand well dressed persons waiting to salute their Sovereign as he passed. He exclaimed audibly, "How superb!" and appeared to be a good deal moved. The reporter gives a version somewhat different in words, but agreeing in effect with what we have just stated. "The mass of shouting and gestatic people who hung upon the whole butting side of the hill, and covered every part of the buildings, came upon him with a shock of joy and a touch of exultation, which made the cold state of the monarch give way to the warm feelings of the man. "My God! that is altogether overpowering!" said he, snatching off his hat and attempting to join in the cheer; but his voice faltered, and tears, which were not tears of sorrow, suffused his eyes and watered his cheeks."

The author is very much out of humour because Sir Walter Scott has omitted to describe the royal visit to Scotland, and to immortalize by the powers of his genius the various incidents of that popular event. To supply this defect, he has himself, very good-naturedly, composed a lengthy chapter on the subject, replete with second-hand jokes, and enriched with a few touches of obsolete merriment. No doubt, the levee and the drawing-room presented many occasions for the exercise of that peculiar talent, which he appears to have cultivated. The company was not very select; and as the resident gentry of the North are not much accustomed to the routine of courts, they could not fail to be guilty of many such breaches of etiquette as would offend the practised eye of a gentleman familiar with the high style of St. James's and Carlton House. The lords and lairds are, of course, fair game to the satyrist, and we have no objection to a few strictures on the poverty and pride of the Highlanders, who, on the occasion alluded to, sported an extent of *tail* (followers) which they are no longer able to maintain. But the ladies are entitled to quarter, whatever may be the amount of their short-comings either in beauty or in manners; for we are certain they always do their best, and make the most of all that nature or art may have conferred upon them. In their zeal, however, to suit the royal taste in the maturity of the greater part of the muster, they had rather overshot the mark. If the tale of that taste says sooth, the word "forty," which is to be found in every country, and which, in single dignity and desire, is found more abundantly in Scotland, and especially in the Athens than in any country, is preceded by the words "fat and fair," which in that land, and pre-eminently in that city, are among the *desiderata*. Hence there perchance was never collected before a pair of

royal eyes so many tall, gaunt, and ungainly figures, and never offered to the salutation of a pair of royal lips so many sunken and sinewy cheeks.—I could not help being struck with the extreme solemnity of the whole. There was none of that jaunty lightness of step, and that soft and flexible turning of the body, which I have remarked on similar occasions in other places. The whole moved on solemn and erect, as though it had been the Scotch Greys approaching to a charge, or the Forty-second to a crossing of bayonets. Their features expressed intelligence in many instances, and pride in all; but I saw not much that I could call beauty.—The space which could be allotted to each for the doing of a salutation was excessively brief; and what with the solemnity of the ladies and the scowling of the heavens, it had more the air of a funeral procession than of a festive assembly. When it was over, or perhaps a little before, the daughters of Caledonia found out, that though they could be gorgeous at a drawing-room, they could not be gay. They did not, indeed, look like "fishes out of the water;" but they looked like fishes that had never been in it. It was so novel in itself, and they had so exhausted themselves in the preparation, that the parade itself was gloomy; and though it furnished abundant evidence of the existence of high talents and higher pride among them, it also afforded proof, that time and change would neither be idle nor in haste, if they were to be thoroughly prepared for gliding and glittering at court."

This description, we admit, transgresses more upon kindness than upon truth. Few ladies look well when highly dressed; and it is allowed, on all hands, that the drawing-room at Holyrood palace did not furnish an exception to the general rule. Our attention was drawn to this rather ungallant observation by a young countrywoman of our own, who, after having witnessed the array of northern beauties, declared, that she "had never seen so many plain women in her life." In the article of female charms, Nature is assuredly very capricious in Scotland. When she fixes on a favourite, she gives to her the spoils of ten; and in order to deck out a Mary with all the captivating charms of her sex, she deprives a hundred of that more desirable portion which in other countries hardly any one is without. But we leave these trifles, in order to devote the few pages set apart for this article, to a consideration of that more general "dissection of men and things" which is set forth in the modern Athens.

On the political state of Scotland we are here presented

with a long tirade, abridged evidently from the speeches of certain orators, whose eloquence is known to claim the largest portion of the parliamentary columns in our more popular newspapers. The statements and arguments are perfecly familiar to all readers. Chapter Seventh treats of Athenian Learning—Causes of its Decline—Professors—Philosophers—University—Patronage—Athenian Parsons, &c. In the course of his remarks the author is very desirous to establish the fact, that the college of Edinburgh is sinking rapidly—that her philosophers are no more—and that her great medical teachers have completely died out without leaving any succession. But these statements are not to be taken literally. The age of metaphysics has indeed passed by, and Dugald Stewart and his works appear to be equally forgotten. Gregory, Munro, and some other names equally great, have, no doubt, disappeared, and their places are filled by men who have still names to gain; but, notwithstanding these vicissitudes, from which no establishment is exempted, the sciences of medicine and law are as well taught as they used to be in brighter days. But our author maintains, that the case is utterly hopeless, and that the "Athenian university, pressed down by the general circumstances of the Athens, and yet more by the peculiar circumstances of its own patronage, has sunk to rise no more."

But the calamity which has befallen Edinburgh is, it seems, of an epidemic nature, and is advancing with rapid steps to overwhelm our own universities also. If it were not, says this learned dissector of men and things, that "there are fellowships, fat dinners, facilities for juvenile dissipation, church and other livings, a key to certain offices, and general nominal eclât, which in so far serves as a substitute for real information, it is very possible that several halls in Oxford and Cambridge would be abandoned to bats and spiders—that 'the two eyes of England' would be left for daws to peck at: and it was pretty plain to me, from the general tenour of the Athenian feeling, as expressed in the Athenian speech, that, if the attendance of certain classes of her university were not required for those who plaster the consciences of Caledonian sinners, and who bring down the tone of the Caledonian pulse, or the Caledonian purse, the learned Thebans would be allowed to deliver their prelections to the storms of the vale and the beam of the timber."

In other words, if education were not wanted, schools aud colleges would become quite unnecessary: and we want no stronger proof to satisfy us that the reporter is very ignorant and stupid, than what is supplied to us by the well-known

fact, that every academical establishment in the kingdom has recently increased very much in number, and particularly the two universities of England. The general illumination of the public mind will never tend to diminish the importance nor lessen the popularity of our colleges. It may be found necessary, perhaps, to modify the system of instruction so as to meet the wants of the age, and to keep pace with the progress of discovery in the physical sciences; but there is not in the nature of things any reason to suppose, that the extension of knowledge among the great body of the people will ever supersede the propriety of a regular and profound education. On the contrary, it will be found, that deep learning is just so much the more necessary in professional men, whensoever the less instructed classes of the community take upon them to speculate and dogmatize in matters of scientific research: and we may illustrate this statement by a reference to the literary history of Edinburgh, as exhibited in the following paragraph:

"In their philosophical opinions, the Athenians are an absolute pendulum, and when the history of their swingings this way and that way is looked at, they seem to be a pendulum which has no continued stimulus of motion." (Who, by the by, ever spoke of a pendulum being moved by a *stimulus?*) "but of which the oscillations, though not fewer in number, gradually become more and more insignificant in range. While David Hume was lord of the ascendant, the Athenians doubted every thing but their own wisdom and importance; under Adam Smith, they considered 'moral sentiments' as being valuable only in 'theory,' and learned 'economy' in their "politics by bringing all their vices and votes to the best market." (Poor sort of humour all this!) "Under Robertson, they knew all history; and with Blair, every sentence was taken from the storehouse of the belles lettres, and measured by the gauge of rhetoric. When Reed and Dugald Stewart turned the tables upon the sceptics, the Athenians were entirely composed of intellectual or of active powers, and they were drawn and held by the sweetest cords of association. With Playfair, they attempted to go quietly to the very depth of philosophic systems; and anon, they started to the moon with Dr. Brewster. While Lesslie was new, they burned and sweated with him in all the ardour of radiant caloric; and now they lie upon mossy banks, prepared for them by Brewster, Jamieson, and Sir George, and listen to the tales of Sir Walter or the ghost stories of Dr. Hibbert. So change the phases of the moon, now beamy, anon blank: now pushing her horns eastward, now westward—but still the same dark globe, without light, save that which it has at second hand from another."

Our learned author takes great pleasure in laughing at the

Athenian savants, and in holding up to ridicule their gravest pursuits. He reserves all his favour and kind words for the *people*, the mechanics and the peasantry; whom he is pleased to elevate to a station higher than their merits, intellectual or moral, will justify, and to describe as being at once the honour and support of the Scottish character. All the great and the good among our northern neighbours spring up from the farm-house or cottage; and nothing, it should seem, disqualifies a Scottish youth so effectually for being either a scholar or a man of sense, as the unfortunate circumstance of having been born in some degree of affluence, and of having lived in comfort and cleanliness the few first years of his life. The following narrative will amuse the reader, and more particularly when he is informed, that the subject of it is the celebrated professor with whom the Athenians are said to have "burned and sweated in all the ardour of radical caloric."

"His father rented a small farm in the kingdom of Fife, and had it not been that accident revealed the genius of the infant philosopher, first to the village parson, next through his advice to the learned professors of St. Andrew's, and, lastly, through the wisdom of that advice, to the world at large, his experiments might have been confined to composts for the fields, instead of compositions for the furtherance of science; and his speculations, instead of grasping the globes of the earth and the heavens, might never have soared above a globe turnip—the future philotopher, as was once the case with nearly all the nascent philosophers of Scotland, divided the year between the study of learning and the observation of nature. When winter had spoiled the fields of their beauty, and driven the shepherds and cowherds into the villages, he went to school; where the Proverbs of Solomon, Ruddiman's Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, and Dilworth's Arithmetic, by turns expanded his wisdom or perplexed his ingenuity; and when the fields were again in flower, and the birds in song, he was sent forth to observe the progress of animal and vegetable life, notice the revolutions of suns, and feel the practical philosophy of wind and rain. In order that there might be economy as well as information in his employment during the latter season, he was injoined to attend to the movements of his father's cows as well as to those of nature; and until he had reached nearly the end of his twelfth year, it remained doubtful whether cattle or causation was to be the future business and glory of his life. In the summer of that year, however, the die was cast, and never was turning up more philosophically fortunate, or more fortunate for philosophy. In one of those village libraries which often contained more rich variety of lore than is to be found among the countless volumes of even an Athenian repository of books, he had found a thumbed and boardless copy of

Simpson's Euclid, which might in its time have perplexed the wits of ten successive classes at St. Andrew's. By that strong intuition which ever characterizes superior genius, even at its earliest dawn, he found out that this was a volume worthy of being read; and throwing aside the Shorter Catechism of the Kirk, as well as the Exploits of George Buchanan, the History of Buchhaven, the exquisite biography of Paddy from Cork, he set fondly and furiously to work upon Simpson's Euclid, preparing his floor and drawing his diagrams in the same manner, though not exactly in the same materials as the philosophers of antiquity. The smooth grassy sod answered all the purposes of the abacus, and the cows generously supplied him with a substitute for the sand. Spreading and smoothing that substitute with his bare foot, he engraved upon it with his finger the mystic lines and letters; and with book in hand, proceeded to establish the elementary principles of geometry, heedless though the cows should, in the mean time, scale the fence, and carry the neighbouring corn by a *coup de la bouche.*

"One day, as he was occupied in this learned work, the parson of the village happened to be on the other side of the hedge, pacing backwards and forwards, and cudgelling his reluctant and retentive brains for as much of the raw material of sermonizing as would serve to put him and his parishioners over the ensuing Sunday. While he paced and pleaded with his sluggish spirit, his ear was assailed by a continual *mumbling* of voice through the hedge, which caught so much stronger a hold of him than he could do of his sermon, that his steps and his study were both brought to a dead stand, and his outward ears perked up in the fondest attitude of listening. Ministers as well as men often remember the words of that of which they were never able to grapple with the meaning; and thus, though the old parson did not exactly comprehend the extent of that proposition, the diagram of which the young philosopher had traced upon his soft abacus, and the demonstration of which he was rehearsing in very solemn tones, yet he remembered that such words had been used by one of the professors in that part of his academic course which he had never understood. The parson was astonished, and, for a moment, he doubted the evidence of those ears upon which he had had to depend through a long life. He tried the one; it caught 'the angles of the base of an isosceles triangle;' he tried the other, it continued the enunciation, 'are equal to one another.' He poked his head half way through the hedge, and the auxiliary testimony of his eyes and spectacles confirmed that of his ears. He saw the abacus, the book, and the student, and forthwith descended to the village, big and puffing with the tale. A visit from the parson at any other hour than that of dinner, is always an ominous matter to some of the family of a Scotch peasant. If the young folks be children, they dread the catechism. If more advanced, there are occasional terrors of that Scotch tread-mill, which is trodden alone and in presence of the assembled congregation. The mother of the philosopher had nothing to dread upon either of

these grounds, but still she felt all the glow of a woman's curiosity when the parson approached her husband with so hasty steps and so important looks.

" ' Well, Mr. Lascelles,' said the parson, ' you must take care of Sock, and that forthwith, for I am thinking that he is a *genus*.'

" ' I am very sorry to hear it, sir,' replied Mr. Lascelles, lifting his bonnet, but he is very young, and will get steadier as he grows up. Has he been letting the cows eat your corn?'

" ' The Lord forbid either the one thing or the other,' said the parson. ' He is a genus, a mathematical genus, and will be an honour to the parish when we are both dead and gone.'

" The father now understood that the words which he had at first considered as lamentation were laudatory; the fatted calf was killed, the parson was feasted, the boy taken from the cows, and sent to college—and the result is—a perfect Anak in philosophy."

We can venture on no more than one additional extract, which contains a small portion of truth with a great deal of exaggeration and mis-statement. Speaking of the Modern Athens, he recapitulates his observations as follows:—

" I have said, and I dare themselves to deny it, that her men in office are a trifling and truckling race; I have said, and I dare themselves to deny it, that a great mass of her scribes unite the worst propensities of the Jew with none of the best of the attorney; I have said, and I dare them to deny it, that her schools of philosophy have fallen into the sear and yellow leaf, and that her philosophical societies pursue trifles from which even schoolboys would turn with disdain; and I have said, that her *gentry* have neither the capacity nor the means of encouraging the sciences, literature, and the fine arts: but though I have said thus, and said it from personal—perhaps painful observation, I am bound to add, that in point of intellect, and all matters considered in point of conduct, the populace of the Athens are far superior to any with which I am acquainted. When I visited the public libraries, the men whom I found borrowing the classical and philosophical books wore aprons, while the occasional lady or gentleman that I saw there was satisfied with the romance of the week, or the pamphlet of the day. You find one man laying aside his apron to consult Adam Smith, dispute with Malthus, or rejudge the judges of the Edinburgh Review; another will be found solving mathematical problems, or constructing architectural plans; and all the less proficient will be found attending evening classes, at which they are instructed by able teachers, and for reasonable fees. Society is indeed as it were reversed in the Athens: the men of the law give their evenings to Bacchus; those who are called philosophers give theirs to butterflies: the ladies associate for the purposes of gossipping; and the gentlemen with praiseworthy gallantry assist the ladies; while the artizans pursue literature and study philosophy. Thus, although there be more both of the one and of the other in the Athens than one would at first sight

suppose, the supposition is excusable, because they are not to be found where one would first and most naturally seek for them."

The eulogy of the Edinburgh populace is finished by the most solemn assurance, on the part of the author, supported by a regular series of historical facts, that the said populace compose the most tremendous mob that is any where to be met with on the face of the earth. They conspire with a degree of secrecy which puts to the blush the antiquated affair of the gunpowder plot, as well as the more modern triumphs of our English radicalism; whilst, in regard to the execution, they break heads and windows in a style so truly scientific and philosophical, that the police look on, as if they were witnessing an experiment in the Institute, and the dragoons are struck into the profoundest awe by the learned exhibition of so much constitutional knowledge. Every shout indicates that the fellows are deeply read in Adam Smith, that they have disputed with Malthus, and written articles in the Edinburgh Review; and every crash of lamps and window-glass proves to a demonstration, that the rioters have just risen from Euclid, refreshed their imaginations with the Mechanique Celeste of La Place, and studied the laws of projectiles in the volumes of Newton. Is it any longer surprising that the modern Athens should be esteemed one of the wonders of the world, when her inhabitants combine in their characters the widely different talents of mobbing their magistrates, burning down houses, breaking windows, murdering watchmen, and solving mathematical problems! But to do the people justice, we think it right to oppose our experience to that of the reporter, and declare, that the mechanics of Edinburgh, generally speaking, are very like their brethren in other towns; having no decided superiority either in conducting mobs or in pursuing philosophical inquiries. At all events, they have sense enough to discover, that an author who writes about them, like the one now before us, is either very silly or very ignorant; that he either knows them not at all, or has determined, for some reason of his own, to say that which is not true.

In all second-rate places and persons there is usually a good deal of pretence, and sometimes a large portion of self-complacency. Edinburgh, it cannot be denied, has her share of these qualities; still we should hope, she cannot be quite so bad, as not to justify her friends in questioning the likeness which is given of her in the following description, with which we conclude our critique.

"The Athens boasts of herself as a model of elegance and of taste: I found her a compound of squalour and vulgarity. She boasts of her philosophy; I found it pursuing thistle-down over the wilderness. She boasts of her literary spirit; I found her literature a mere disjointed skeleton, or rather the cast-skin of a toothless serpent. She boasts of her public spirit; I found almost every man pursuing his own petty interests, by the most sinister and contemptible means; and, perchance, the most noisy of her patriots standing open-mouthed, if so that the very smallest fragment of place or pension might drop into them. She boasts of the encouragement that she has given to genius: I looked into the record, and I found that every man of genius, who had depended upon her patronage, had been debauched and starved. She boasts of the purity of her manners: I found the one sex engaged in slander as a trade, and the other in low sensuality as a profession. Under those findings—and they required not to be sought,—I had no alternative for my judgment. When she redeems herself from them, and becomes in reality even something like what she would call herself in name, let her then make comparisons with the Gem of ancient Greece."

ART. VII.—1. *The Elements of Hydrostatics: with their Application to the Solution of Problems. Designed for the use of Students in the University. By Miles Bland, B.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. Rector of Lilley, Herts, and late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's Coll. Camb.* 1 vol. 8vo.

2.—*An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics. Designed for Students in the University. By W. Whewell, M.A. F.R.S. Fellow of Trinity Coll. Camb.* 1 vol. 8vo.

3.—*A Treatise on Dynamics. By W. Whewell, M.A. F.R.S.* 1 vol. 8vo. Cambridge, Deighton. 1824.

IT has been a charge often reiterated against our universities, by northern calumniators and ignorant political economists, that they are content to grow old and fat in the errors and prejudices of former ages, and never manifest any of that spirit of improvement so rigorously and continually exerted in all other places and all other institutions, and which forms the characteristic boast of modern times.

One instance among many which might be adduced of the falsehood of such representations, may be found in the slightest glance at the progressive improvement in mathe-

suppo [illegible] mathematical writers, which the Uni-
foun [illegible] been regularly displaying since the
T [illegible] this improvement the works just
m [illegible] of eminent examples. To say
b [illegible] importance of these studies in general,
c [illegible] value of the two branches of mechanics
[illegible] relating to the objects of academical
[illegible] will be unnecessary. To those who
[illegible] acquainted with the sort of intellectual
[illegible] for promoting the ends of an university
[illegible] eliciting the faculties, and strengthening
[illegible] mind, little need be said in favour of that
[illegible] efficiency of which the elementary works now
[illegible] intended to contribute.

[illegible] of discovery in mechanics and hydrostatics,
[illegible] present age to have arrived at that state of
[illegible] which the whole may be combined into a sys-
[illegible] much apprehension that any new developement
[illegible] truths will compel us to pull it to pieces, and
[illegible] another upon new principles. We shall be the better
[illegible] judge of the value to be assigned to a system so
[illegible] if we cast our eyes over the progressive advance
[illegible] sciences which former ages have manifested.

[illegible] of the grand principles of mechanical forces were [illegible] by the profound genius of Archimedes: but, from his time down to a comparatively very recent age, it is remarkable what very little progress was made. It may be safely said, that nothing of importance was added to our knowledge on these subjects till the time of Galileo. The first work of that distinguished philosopher appeared in 1592, and in it he has given the general principle of the mechanical powers. To him we are indebted for many subsequent investigations of considerable importance respecting the theory of motion. He observed the equal velocities of falling bodies when the resistance of the air is taken away. He pointed out the isochronism of the pendulum. He determined the parabolic path of projectiles and the laws of falling bodies. Toricelli, his pupil, added to his researches some new truths respecting the centre of gravity of a system of bodies: and Des Cartes paved the way for the investigation of motion in an orbit, by considering all motion to be naturally rectilinear, and that any deflection from that direction must be owing to some force constantly acting on the body from a central point, and urging it to move in a curve to which its rectilinear motion would be a tangent.

Huyghens, in 1669, laid down the laws of collision and the

principles of the pendulum: but it was reserved for Newton to push these researches into yet more hidden regions. In the Principia, considered as a mechanical work, we find this grand distinction, that here, for the first time, the introduction of infinitesimal quantities enables us to trace mechanical effects to their nascent state, and thus deduce many conclusions which could not have been attained by any other method. Here a transition was made from the consideration of forces acting at stated intervals to that of forces acting continually; and from forces constant in quantity and direction to those which converge to a point, and vary as any function of the distance from that point. Hence was the grand system of dynamics deduced.

The Essay of John Bernoulli, in 1724, on the Communication of Motion, gave rise to the controversy which was so long supported by the arguments of several first-rate mathematicians on either side, respecting what was termed the *vis viva* and the *vis mortua*,—a controversy which it is now universally agreed arose solely from the two parties using different terms to mean the same thing; but like many other controversies, it was the means of eliciting many researches of great value. The names of Maclaurin, Jurin, Bernoulli and S'Gravesande, are among those whose labours were most conspicuous during this period; and from the great principles which had now been laid down, it was a more easy task to deduce the further truths of the science, as well as its practical applications. Of the latter, it will be unnecessary here to speak, as they have little connexion with an elementary treatise professedly devoted to the theory of the science. The discoveries of Newton and Leibnitz paved the way for all the more extended and refined investigations which have characterized the more modern age of D'Alembert, La Grange and La Place. The application of the fluxionary or differential calculus to the principles of mechanics, already laid down, enabled those distinguished philosophers to investigate the most refined theorems, and solve the most abstruse problems, which required equations to express the nature of the gradual changes which the supposed conditions would produce. This was in fact precisely the province of the differential calculus, and to this purpose it was most profoundly and assiduously applied. To enumerate the names or particularize the labours of the distinguished mechanicians of the last and the present century would far exceed our limits. We must only briefly advert to the systematic form in which the principles of the science were now drawn up by several eminent persons. The Mécanique

Analytique of La Grange has been justly regarded as the most complete standard work on the subject, not to mention several of inferior reputation. In England various treatises, which it is unnecessary here to enumerate, have from time to time appeared. Those by Keill, Gregory, &c. were well known, and justly appreciated. For academical instruction, the work of Dr. Wood is, in clearness and precision, one of the best that our own, or, we believe, any other country has produced. Our continental neighbours have meanwhile been assiduously employed ln composing elementary and systematic treatises of a more extensive and elaborate description; and it must be owned, that some more extended system was much wanted by students in this country. The works of M. M. Prony, Poisson, &c. are characterized by all the usual elegance, joined with an excessive diffuseness of writing, which may be considered in some measure characteristic of their nation. English students have of late years imbibed very much of their spirit and taste; a sort of spirit and taste which we think is in many respects deserving the severest animadversions of the critic, while in others it must claim a considerable share of praise. But they have perhaps hitherto been driven by necessity to adopt these foreign instructions, and therefore the proper way to introduce a more correct taste, and check the progress of foreign affectation, would be to provide a good and extensive work in our own language; which should embrace the modern improvements of the French school, and retain the solid qualifications of an English character. This desirable object we conceive to be in a high degree attained in the works on Mechanics, now before us; but these remarks, and the view here sketched of the progress of mechanical science, will also apply to other branches. Very similar in its origin, its progress, and present state, is the kindred sciencc of hydrostatics, which is in fact only mechanics transferred from solid bodies to liquids. The one may in fact be considered as a branch of the other, and their progress has been nearly similar. The observations we have made on the present supply of treatises on the one subject, will, with little alteration, apply to the other also; and the works mentioned together in the title of this article, are very similar both in design and execution. Their authors are both alike men of considerable celebrity and experience in the pursuits of academical tuition; and if to the author of the Mechanics we cannot but justly give the praise of higher distinction in the regions of original philosophic investigation, and as a contributor to the progress of scientific discovery, we must

on the other hand acknowledge the greater experience, joined with the soundest mathematicul knowledge, in the author of the Hydrostatics. A few brief remarks on the progess of the latter science will serve to introduce our observations on the style, manner, and design of the works before use, as applying in a general point of view to both. From the nature of the subjects, it is evident that we cannot enter into any particular details of their respective contents.

The science of Hydrostatics has been cultivated from very remote antiquity: it seems most probable that its origin may be traced up to the ancient Egyptians, who both in securing the advantages and guarding against the evil of the overflow of the Nile, were driven to the invention of various expedients, which an habitual observance of the powers and properties of a body of water would soon suggest. But the earliest instance upon record of any attempt to reduce the subject to philosophical principles, is to be found in the researches of Archimedes. His treatise "De Insidentibus Humido," contains a very definite developement of some of the leading principles of the science, and several inventions which are ascribed to him show the same powers of genius which were displayed in his geometrical speculations. A modern improvement upon this work, entitled, "Archimedes Promotus," by Marinus Ghetaldus, seems to have afforded the principal materials from which the subsequent works of Oughtred, &c. were composed. But the science never assumed any thing like a perfect and experimental form till it was prosecuted by Pascal, who was the first to reduce it to sound principles, founded on experiment, in his "Traité de l'Equilibre des Liqueurs, et de la Pésanteur de l'Air." He was followed by the distinguished M. Mariotte, whose work on the Motion of Fluids was published at Paris in 1686. These writers were the first to rescue the science from the mysticism of the schoolmen, and while it remained in those trammels it was not likely to make much progress. It was not to be expected that much advance could be made in our acquaintance with the laws of fluids, when the very nature of their pressure was hardly understood or admitted, and when it was strenuously denied that they possessed the power of gravitating in *proprio loco*. This last question was soon decided by experiments, which to any ordinary apprehension would have been quite conclusive; but such was the force of prejudice, that it was long before those imbued with the subtleties of the schools, would admit that a portion of liquid, in the midst of a mass of the same liquid, was affected by gravity. Not more absurd, nor more inveterate, seems to

[illegible] vacui, and the mysterious [illegible]elli, the ingenious disciple of [illegible] experiment of filling a sealed [illegible] inverting it, the resulting fact [illegible] and so completely decisive of the [illegible] that the bare announcement of it [illegible] to convince any person of com- [illegible] The supporters of "Nature's horror of [illegible] a time sadly perplexed; they were [illegible] but yet determined to maintain their [illegible] champion arose, and defying the power [illegible] Linus gravely asserted, that the mercury [illegible] the top of the barometic tube by invisible [illegible] not till the age of Newton that science and [illegible] be said to have completely triumphed over [illegible] scholastic theory. In a portion of the [illegible] some of the higher principles of the science [illegible] with the usual sagacity and profound ma- [illegible] skill of our illustrious philosopher. If in some [illegible] inquirers have maintained the existence of [illegible] between his conclusions and the facts, it must [illegible] same time admitted, that on such extremely com- [illegible] subjects as the theory of waves, &c. it is not sur- [illegible] that there should be many conditions in the real [illegible] problem which may not have been sufficiently [illegible] into account, and still more which are probably yet [illegible] investigated. Euler, Venturi, and D'Alembert, with many [illegible] philosophers of eminence, have since contributed to [illegible] perfection of the science; and in particular, the modern French writers, as Bossuet and Biot, have furnished us with complete treatises on the subject, as well as several of our own countrymen.

The French writers on this, as well as other branches of mathematical science, have hitherto been justly entitled to the praise of a superior degree of elegance and simplicity in their mode of treating the subject. They adopt a more simple and improved form of algebraic expression, which is often of considerable importance in pointing out to the learner the relation between different parts of the subject, and tending to convey a more connected and symmetrical idea of its theories. But with these advantages they generally unite the evils of a most tiresome diffuseness, and unnecessary detail of particulars, which might as well, or indeed much better, have been left to the sagacity of the learner to make out. Again, we often observe in them a departure from the models of geometrical strictness; which tends to obscure the views of

the student in this way: instead of stating distinctly, in the way of separate propositions, the different points to be investigated, they adopt a continuous style of writing, which leaves the learner in doubt as to what he is proving; he goes on without knowing when he has arrived at one point, or when he is proceeding to the next; when he is to consider himself beginning an investigation, or where he is to stop. Some writers of the English school in avoiding these defects have gone into the opposite extreme. They have indeed been sufficiently clear in dividing their subject, and have shown the most consummate judgment in the selection of their materials: but they have not sufficiently consulted either the apprehensions of students, or even the proper powers of language, in the excessive brevity of their enunciations. And this has been especially observable in the more elementary definitions and first principles of the sciences; in laying down which it will be readily admitted the greatest possible degree of caution is requisite; and in which no inconsiderable share of metaphysical precision, in regard to the ensurance of clearness of ideas, is very essential. These important parts are, in some treatises which we could name, hurried over, and the writer seems impatient to get afloat on algebraic symbols and computations; to *measure* and *number* what is as yet very imperfectly understood in its *nature*. Besides these faults displayed by many writers of the English school, there is another which, though of less real importance, is yet not the less deserving of criticism. This is in the form of their algebraic expressions. The language of analysis is as much under the dominion and laws of good taste as ordinary language. In ordinary speech an argument loses nothing of its force from being conveyed in language appropriately chosen, and disposed with an attention to elegance, or at least to the avoiding of harshness and awkwardness; but, on the contrary, will certainly gain in the degree of its impression by such regard to style. Thus, in analytical language we may certainly express an equation with the same precision, although it be composed of terms which have a harsh and unsymmetrical appearance, and which have been deduced from other theorems not given upon any uniform principle of investigation, as if all such considerations were attended to. But, on the other hand, we may consult better taste without losing the least degree of precision or force; and the question is by no means solely one of mere taste. There are no inconsiderable advantages to be gained by the learner, in having the different elementary parts of

a subject laid before him in such a form, that he may afterwards, with the greater facility, view them as combined in new relations, and forming parts in a more general doctrine. But the same laws of good taste apply in a more especial degree to the mode in which an investigation or demonstration is conducted: it is here that the resources of the mathematician are peculiarly called into play; and while his more substantial qualities of sound knowledge and profound combination are exercised, there is, at the same time, the amplest field for the display of tasteful invention, in selecting that line of proof which leads to the conclusion, either by the fewest steps, or by the combination of the simplest and apparently most unconnected data, or in such a way as shall render the whole most symmetrical with some other kindred investigation, or some comprehensive system of propositions.

Too many writers of the English school hitherto, while eminent in the more sound and fundamental requisites, have been very deficient in the less requisite but still desirable qualification of elegance. There is too often a clumsiness and want of arrangement about their mode of proof; and their different demonstrations seem heaped together without apparent connexion with each other. Our continental neighbours have sometimes gone to the opposite excess; and for the sake of symmetry have sought to express the simplest truths as parts of the most general enunciation, thus producing unnecessary amplication.

The authors of both the works before us seem to have kept very nearly in the mean between the opposite extremes just spoken of. They have confessed themselves under considerable obligations, the one to Bossuet and Biot, the other to Poisson and Le Grange, in their treatises on the subject, of which they have made great use; but in doing so, they have been far from mere copyists. They have by no means adopted the French style of treating the subject; they have avoided its faults, and adopted its excellencies; they have retained the brevity of the English school, without its obscurity, and have given to the style of mathematical investigation a considerable portion of the French elegance. And in the descriptive statements, and enunciations of their propositions, they have avoided the vapid diffuseness of some writers of the foreign school, without losing their precision of detail. The mathematical processes are conducted chiefly in the algebraical style, and in a large portion of them the reader will not fail to discover much of that neatness which constitutes the principal claim to attention in the eye of

the critic, and is so peculiarly desirable in reference to the purposes of instruction, and the intellectual exercise of the learner.

The excellencies of such able works as the present will be the more duly appreciated, when we recollect the great want hitherto experienced of good systematic books on these branches of science. The short treatise, by the late Professor Vince, on Hydrostatics, has been justly censured for too great brevity, and a want of clear arrangement. It has on these accounts, we believe, been very little used as a book of instruction in the university from which it emanated, where its place has been much better supplied by the MS. treatises drawn up by the different tutors for the particular use of their respective classes. In the sister university, so far as hydrostatics have been studied at all, it has generally been by the aid of Vince's treatise. The larger work of Parkinson is hardly suited to elementary instruction; and the French treatises are but ill adapted to the taste of the English learner or teacher. The scientific productions of the former nation seem as if intended for the drawing-room: those of our own country have till of late seemed as if designed for the work-shop. To produce a work really calculated for the study and the lecture-room, would require something of a medium which, as we have already observed, we think the authors now before us in particular, and the present school of mathematical writers in England, in general, have happily adopted. And (by the way be it observed) this school with all its improvements, borrowed from the most *modern resources*, has originated almost entirely in one of our ancient, monkish, moth-eaten, superannuated universities; which have afforded so wide a field of sage animadversion to the advocates of modern economical improvements. In reference to the treatises on Mechanics, the well-known abilities of Mr. Whewell are such as pre-eminently to qualify him for the task he has undertaken; and they are displayed to the greatest advantage in the work before us, whether we regard it in respect to the style of general explanation, to the form of mathematical investigation, or the selection of subjects. This last is, perhaps, of all others the most important in an elementary treatise. It is a point on which the greatest judgment must be exercised, and which nothing but an habitual acquaintance with the wants and proper objects of learners can enable a writer to accomplish with any degree of success. Mr. W. has extensive experience to aid his abstract knowledge of the subject; and by means of a judicious application of both, he has produced a treatise, which we have no hesitation in say-

ing is superior to any elementary treatise on Mechanics at present in use in this country. The small work of Dr. Wood is the only one which can be put in competition with it; and of this it is to be remarked, that its plan is professedly more contracted than that of Mr. W.'s treatise. As far as it goes, it is deservedly held in the highest esteem as a clear and solid introduction to the science; but the student who is desirous of following up the subject to such an extent as shall introduce him to the modern researches on various points connected with this important branch of natural philosophy, and especially if his views should extend to an acquaintance with physical astronomy, must seek for further information than the mere elements can give him. He must familiarize himself with the refinements which modern analysis has introduced into the higher investigations concerning mechanical forces. In order to attain such views of the subject, he has hitherto had no resource but the treatises of the French philosophers. The author of the works now before us has ably supplied the deficiency; and has afforded the means of conveying the student step by step from the most elementary ideas, up to the most recondite investigations of the science of force and motion.

The treatise on Dynamics was originally designed as a second volume, but subsequently has been made a separate work, and such in fact it is. We think the student ought to have the distinction clearly before him, for unquestionably the science of Dynamics cannot with any propriety be classed under the same head, or under the same common name with that of Mechanics, properly so called. The laws of physical forces, and the motions of bodies acted upon by them, are in their very nature and principle essentially distinct from those involving only the composition and resolution of the force of impact and of pressure; and the powers produced by the resistance of an inflexible body to a force applied to some part of it, and thus communicated to other parts; which in fact are the primary principles of those powers properly called mechanical. Mr. Whewell, in improving upon existing English systems of Mechanics, by adopting much from the French writers, has also in his turn supplied some deficiencies in those writers, which appear of no small importance. He has pointed out with great acuteness, that while they display the utmost ingenuity and refinement in their investigations of many of the more recondite parts of the science, they have built on a defective foundation, in not having rigidly demonstrated some of their first principles. It is, indeed, well known that some of the

first and most elementary truths of mechanics are precisely those which it is most difficult to demonstrate. Nothing of course can be more essensial to an elementary treatise, than that those first principles should be all laid down with clearness and precision, both in statement and proof; and we think this is most completely and satisfactorily done in Mr. W.'s work. He has consulted very much the convenience of the student in so arranging his subject, that for understanding all the earlier parts, comprizing the fundamental propositions in statics, no further knowledge of mathematics is required than the elements of geometry, algebra and trigonometry. In the remaining portion a more perfectly analytical style is adopted; and the higher parts of trigonometry, algebra, and the differential calculus, are supposed to be understood.

What we have now mentioned will be sufficient to convey an idea of the nature and character of these works; and we do not conceive it would be of any use to give a list of the contents. We shall therefore merely proceed to a few similar remarks on the design of the other work before us.

With respect to its general plan and character, a very short statement will suffice, as from its nature we cannot enter into any details.

The term Hydrostatics is here employed in its comprehensive sense, to signify both the science of non-elastic fluids, with regard to equilibrium, and that which relates to their forces and motion, which has been sometimes colled Hydrodynamics, as also the investigation of the mechanical properties of elastic fluids, otherwise termed pneumatics. To the different subdivisions of each of these subjects, the author's attention is successively directed. The two first sections comprize a very clear explanation of the fundamental principles of the science of fluids, in which we think the learner will neither have to complain of the brevity found in some treatises, nor of the prolix perplexity of others. These general principles lead immediately to the subject of specific gravities. And thence the author proceeds to that most essential branch, the pressure of fluids; this in fact may be justly called the key to the whole science, since it involves the peculiar principle which essentially distinguish fluids from solids, and which renders their action so peculiar, and in some cases apparently so paradoxical. The motion of fluids and the theory of resistances, are the next topics of inquiry; and the last division of the work contains a most able elucidation of the subject of elastic fluids, which is sometimes made to form a distinct science under the name of

Pneumatics. Here the author discusses the expansion of bodies by heat, the theory of the thermometer and barometer, with the application of the latter to the measurement of heights. The theory of pumps is clearly given, and the treatise closes with the very curious and interesting phenomena of capillary action.

The authors of both treatises have taken care to introduce in every part a sufficient supply of problems and examples, which unquestionably form one of the most essential features in any elementary work; by these not only are the truths of the science fixed in the memory of the student, in a manner more indelible than could be effected by any direct instruction alone however excellent, but also by the exercise given to the inventive and reflective powers in the solution of these questions, what is really the principal end of scientific education is promoted and secured.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Book of the Roman Catholic Church; in a Series of Letters addressed to Robt Southey, Esq. LL.D. on his "Book of the Church." By Charles Butler, Esq.* Murray. 8vo. pp. 347. 9*s*. 6*d*. 1825.

2.—*Strictures on the Poet Laureate's "Book of the Church." By John Merlin.* Second Edition. London, Keating & Brown; Dublin, R. Coyne. 8vo. pp. 93. 1824.

3.—*An Inquiry into the Nature, Object, and Obligations of the Religion of Christ; with a Comparison of the Ancient and Modern Christianity of England; in Reply to the Archdeacon of Sarum's "Protestant's Companion:" in a Fourth Letter to the Archdeacon of Bath. By the Rt. Rev. Peter Augustine Baines, D.D.* London, Keating & Brown; Bath, Gye. 8vo. pp. 96. 3*s*.

WE were confident that Mr. Southey's Book of the Church would do much good; but the result has exceeded our expectations. The Roman Catholics, perceiving that it opposes a new obstacle to their success, have endeavoured, by every expedient, to remove it out of their way. Dissenters, while they feel grateful for anti-catholic aid, smart under the lash of the new historian of the church; and infidels, who shake hands with superstition and fanaticism, and reserve their venom for genuine Christianity, have assailed the historian in the Westminster Review, with an insolence and injustice which defeat their own object. It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Southey's book tells. Adversaries may detect

and exaggerate its faults; lukewarm friends may refuse to pardon them; but the public sentence is pronounced; and neither Dr. Milner, nor Dr. Baines, neither Mr. Butler, nor Mr. Bentham, can procure a reversal of the decree.

Political circumstances have increased the importance of the work. The Roman Catholics, on the point of making an unusual effort, intended to rest their controversial engines upon Lingard's account of the Reformation. They thought that the bold assertions of a Jesuit, backed by an appeal to the writings of his predecessors, and re-echoed by notorious unbelievers, would induce the people of England to forget the history of past ages. They intended, with the assistance of the redoubtable Mr. Cobbett, to convince the world that the Reformation was a curse. They resolved at all events to show, that other churches were as mischievous as the church of Rome, and thus to risque our common christianity out of affection for the representation of St. Peter.

The success of these machinations was defeated by the Book of the Church. A popular writer summoned us to reconsider the ecclesiastical history of our country, described the introduction and growth of true religion; pointed out the corruptions which were suffered to deform it, proved, that in spite of particular exceptions, the general result was immensely in favour of Christianity; and lastly, painted the cruelties of expiring Popery, and the frenzy of triumphant Puritanism with an eloquence that excited universal admiration, and a pathos which found its way to every heart. In the glowing narrative of Mr. Southey, the church appeared in her real character, observing the just mean between superstition and fanaticism on the one hand, and a latitudinarian infidelity on the other. Neither a despot nor a democrat, neither a socinian nor a methodist, no friend to field preaching, and no friend to friars, the Protestant episcopal church submitted itself to the examination of every inquirer, asked to be judged by its merits, rallied its supporters and children round a Parent to whom they were so deeply indebted; and if it exasperated a few desperate enemies, took from them at the same time half their power of doing mischief.

Such being the actual state of things as relates to Mr. Southey's history, it is worth while to observe the answers with which he has been favoured. Two out of the three works now before us are direct and avowed replies to the Book of the Church; the third relates to a similar subject, and is necessary to complete our view of existing Roman Catholic tactics. The whole form a curious specimen of the unanimity of the infallible church; agreeing with one another

in dislike to the Reformation, and in no other particular whatsoever.

Mr. Butler, the best known, the wisest, and by far the most formidable, may be presumed to speak the language of the Catholic laity; and it is a gentlemanlike and moderate phraseology. *Merlin, alias* Dr. Milner (we should have been sorry if the anagram of the vicar apostolic had proved him to be no conjuror), represents the bigoted popish priesthood, and proves that the spirit of that body is unchanged. While Bishop Baines may afford amusement by his blunders, but not having been thanked by the Catholic Association, must be considered as a coadjutor with whom that body could dispense.

"No person," says Mr. Butler, in his dedication, "admires more than I do the golden sentence of St. Francis of Sales, that a good Christian is never outdone in good manners." In fact, Mr. Butler admires the sentence so much that he quotes it, gilding and all, first to Mr. Blundell, his dedicatee, and secondly to *Dr.* Southey, in the introductory letter. The letter also informs us, that in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants there should be "an equal wish to soothe, to conciliate, to find the real points of difference very few, and to render them still fewer, and an equal unwillingness on each side to say or to write any thing unpleasing to the feelings of the other." This is good advice; and we recommend it to the attention of Bishops Milner and Baines. The former commences his 'Strictures' in the following words:—

"A degree of enthusiasm is requisite to constitute the character of a Poet; but no quality is more at variance with it than religious fanaticism. This confuses the imagination, misleads the judgment, and hardens the heart; in so much that a man of real genius and talents for the Muses, on falling into this fanaticism, would be found too dull in his compositions to gain for them a patient reading. Such have been the late aberrations of our Laureate's mind. After writing D'Esperilla's Letters in commendation of the Catholic religion, and Wat Tyler's Drama, to excite popular tumults against government, he has latterly celebrated and recommended the chief and most dangerous schismatics from the establishment, the Wesleys, Whitfields, and their associates; and now, in the frantic style, and with the lying memorials of another such schismatic, John Fox, he raves through the history of many centuries, in abusing and calumniating the common source of Christianity, in order to court the heads of the present establishment, under pretence of vindicating it.

"Mr. Southey, it has been stated, is a Poet; that is, as the original Greek word signifies, a *maker* or *inventor*." P. 3.

This must be very soothing to Mr. Southey. He has a

confused imagination, a misled judgment, and a hard heart. He was once a demagogue; since that he has been a fanatic; and now he is an abusive, raving, frantic, calumniating, flattering liar!! Will St. Francis of Sales intercede for Dr. Milner? But the laureate, it may be said, has given much provocation, and a little personality enlivens controversy. To the great body of the Protestants Dr. Milner is not wanting in conciliation and courtesy. To the proof. Having informed us that Luther "professed to have learned his first and most important change from the Father of Lies," the Dr. proceeds to detail the rise of the Reformation in this country:—

"If the real truth is to be told, the same account of the rise and progress of Protestantcy in this island is to be given, as of the same events on the continent. The important change was devised and carried on by wicked men for the gratification of their passions, not from any motive of religion or reference to revealed truths; but having been once established, and other persons of better principles being engaged to support it, they naturally turned over the inspired pages to draw from them some plausible arguments in favour of their respective systems. It may well be supposed that King Henry's courtiers, who had participated in all his crimes, were not more virtuous or religious than he himself was." P. 37.

The heroes of the Reformation are described in the same spirit; the conclusion of the remarks upon Cranmer, will suffice for a specimen of the whole:—

"When it came to his own turn to suffer that cruel death to which he had condemned so many others, and several of them on the same charge, he was very far from imitating their constancy. In a word, he signed six different retractations of Protestantism, each one more express than that which preceded it, within the same number of weeks, and thus continued, till the very hour of his execution, either a sincere Catholic or an unprincipled hypocrite.* Finding, however, that, in spite of these he must suffer, he in a fit of desperate fury retracted them all, and threatened that his hand, which had signed them, should be burnt before the rest of his body, which deed of desperation, in the spirit of Judas Iscariot, he is said to have effected! Is there in ecclesiastical history so unprincipled a prelate as this boasted apostle and Martyr of John Fox and Mr. Southey?" P. 60.

And the 'well mannered' Mr. Butler admires this book! says, that "if it had been framed on a more extensive plan, it would have made his or any other answer unnecessary;" and persuades the Catholic Association to thank Dr. Milner

* See Strype's Mem. Eccl. vol. iii. p. 234, from the Lambeth Records.

for writing it. Of so little real consequence are the Dr.'s Strictures, that nobody had heard of their existence until the publication of Mr. Butler's book. Upon referring to them, they present us immediately with the gentlemanlike paragraphs that have been quoted above, and with sundry other contradictions of Mr. Butler, which will be noticed in their proper place. From first to last they are a tissue of extravagant and unsupported assertion. They teem with ignorance as well as virulence, and may safely be consigned to the ignoble tomb from which Mr. Butler so unluckily endeavoured to snatch them.

Perhaps it will be urged in reply, that the Vicar Apostolic is a person of warm temperament—an exception to the prevalent placidity of the priesthood—a marked man of old for his ultra-catholicism, and no fair example of his order. Let us turn, therefore, to Dr. Baines, a man of the world; a man who mixes in general society, and must have learned from his companions, if not from St. Francis, that good manners are a part of Christianity. The Doctor's present pamphlet (we understand that he intends to publish a new one every month) is written in reply to Archdeacon Daubeny's 'Protestant Companion.' The archdeacon is several years older than Dr. Baines; a misfortune in which Mr. Butler is equally involved; but Mr. Butler has not yet been informed that he is in his second childhood, nor has the circumstance of his having written a long book, which the Protestants cannot answer, been adduced as conclusive evidence of that fact. Bishop Baines, and a very witty bishop he supposes himself to be, explains the appearance of Archdeacon Daubeny's book by the following facetious story:—

"Some seventy odd years ago, when the venerable Archdeacon of Sarum was yet in *his first childhood*, he had a dream, or vision. But, before I proceed to relate the same, it may be proper to observe that the whole of the penal laws were then in force; and by those laws it was *high treason* for any man, priest or layman, to worship God, even in private, according to Catholic forms. Of course it was an essential qualification, required in every good Protestant nurse, and still more in every Protestant tutor, to be able to inspire, with an early horror of this dreadful treason, their hopeful charge. It was the more easy to do so, as in those days it was no unusual thing to see Catholics arraigned and punished for their religion; and there is nothing which gives the multitude such a horror of crime, real and imaginary, as to see men punished for it. In short, there were many person then living, and perhaps young Master Daubeny's nurse was one, who had with their own eyes, seen Catholic priests, for no other crime than having said mass in some Catholic man's garret, drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows, hanged for a few seconds, cut down

alive, and seeing his own bowels thrown into the fire. How enormous in the eyes of these good nurses must the crime of saying mass have appeared, when the justest government in Europe punished it with this severity, and the most liberal church in Christendom approved, applauded, and abetted the punishment! On many a winter's evening, when sitting by the nursery fire, and before the children said their little prayers, did Master Daubeny's nurse entertain him with these frightful stories, and deep and darksome was the horror by them impressed on his tender and susceptible mind. It was after one of these evenings that the vision appeared; it was a vision of *Popery* (so his nurse called the Christian religion, and so he insists upon calling it still). It was a horrid spectre. It was covered with blood and loaded with chains. It had seven heads, ten horns, and every other horror, which is depicted in the book of Revelations, united in its single person, and one horror which is not there. It opened all its mouths at once, and threatened to eat him, and the whole Protestant church. This was his principal terror at the moment; but the greatest fright always takes place when the ghost is gone. What has ever since inspired him with the liveliest horror, whenever he reflected upon it, was, that the spectre was accompanied with a huge waggon, in which it threatened to carry away all the tithes of the establishment.

"This is the substance of the story. There are various editions of it, differing in points of smaller moment. Thus one account says, that the vision was seen at the University, not in the Nursery, which may be; others, that it was seen at both places, and has been seen at them frequently since. Be this as it may, certain it is, that the worthy archdeacon's imagination has been ever haunted by some frightful spectre ever since, which he calls Popery; which he firmly believes to be the real Catholic church, at the head of which he discharged his enormous '*Protestant's Companion*,' and which, he has persuaded Dr. Moysey, has received thereby a mortal wound." P. 7.

What part of this passage will Mr. Butler principally commend or panegyrise? The first childhood of a respectable gentleman about his own age? The fact, that in the year 1750, there were many persons alive who had witnessed the execution of Catholic priests? Or the episcopal buffoonery by which these gentlemanly assertions are adorned? Bishop Baines proceeds to hope that the vision story is correct, it being the only excuse for Archdeacon Daubeny's statements, "which are so palpably absurd and incredible, that his own sexton or housemaid could not be brought to believe them," and then he returns, with the most admirable consistency, to school the archdeacon for intemperate language. We shall not waste our own time, or our reader's patience, upon such miserable trash. An answer to Archdeacon Daubeny, except in the part already quoted, it does

not affect to be. The bishop flies at higher game. Having called his venerable opponent a few blackguard names, and reprehended him for charging the Catholic religion with absurdity, corruptions, and idolatry; having dispatched all this in fourteen pages, which the reader with some good sense is recommended to skip, the bishop devotes the remainder of his pamphlet to a hackneyed and uninteresting defence of his own church. We content ourselves with noticing one fact, and one argument. In his 68th page Bishop Baines asserts, that "North America is almost wholly Roman Catholic!" This is the fact; now for the argument. In his 31st page the bishop establishes the necessity of an infallible guide, by declaring himself incompetent to ascertain the inspiration or the meaning of the Bible, and infering, a *à fortiori*, that others must be in a worse predicament. At page 92 he changes his note, and proves the truth of his own doctrine by saying, "that it has been believed by the whole Catholic church, at all times and in every country," and appealing to the page of history, during the last 1800 years, for a full confirmation of the fact. This is the conclusion of the witty prelate's reasoning, and it unfortunately overturns all that had gone before. The same learning and research which can trace the doctrines of Rome through all histories of all nations, from the first preachers of Christianity to our own times, will suffice to establish the true character of the Bible, and give a tolerable notion of its contents. Dr. Baines refuses us permission to examine the Bible for ourselves. His church is the one unerring interpreter; but to ascertain what that church has taught, we must have recourse to private judgment. The Dr. discovers himself to be a Protestant at heart; and if his pamphlet reaches Rome, he will be excommunicated by the Pope.

But enough of shallow triflers, and vindictive bigots. Mr. Butler, as we have already observed, is neither; and we enter upon a closer consideration of his work with the respect that is due to his character, and the pleasure which is derived from encountering an honourable foe. The reader has heard his reiterated pledge to be guided by St. Francis of Sales; and we trust that the influence of that courteous person may be extended to the critics as well as to the writer of the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church."

The title is not well chosen. Mr. Southey might have selected a more appropriate name for his work upon ecclesiastical history than which now adorns it And as one fault begets more, the laureate's quaintness bewitches Mr. Butler,

and a series of controversial letters, principally devoted to an attack upon the Reformation, affects to identify itself with the church of Rome. Mr. Butler's readers will be disappointed if they expect a vindication, or even an account of Catholicism. Whatever may have been the intention of the writer, the book is an attack upon Protestants; and even if it demolishes Mr. Southey and the church of England, it still neglects to establish or uphold the Pope. The introduction and the first letter may seem at variance with this remark, since the former contains the creed of Pope Pius IV. and the latter supplies "a geographical view of the Roman Catholic church. But Pope Pius expresses himself in general terms."—"I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the same church. I also admit the sacred Scriptures according to the sense which the holy mother church has held, and does hold; to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers." Nothing can be ascertained from such a creed as this, except what Bishop Marsh has so clearly established in his Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, that while the former founds its doctrine on Scripture alone, the latter found its doctrine on too equal and independent authorities, Scripture and Tradition. What either doctrine may be, is another question; and that question is not answered, but blinked by Mr. Butler. He contends that "no doctrine should be ascribed to the Roman Catholics as a body, except such as is an article of their faith;" but "the accurate and explicit summary" from which we have quoted, the summary "which non-catholics publicly repeat and testify their assent to on their admission into the Catholic church," requires men to believe in traditions, observances, and interpretations, without stating what they are, or where they may be found. Pope Pius has prescribed a form to which no limit can be assigned. "I believe in the Council of Trent, &c. &c." is the sum and substance of his creed; and while this creed is drawn up in such equivocal terms, Mr. Butler requires us to ascribe no doctrine to the Catholics, except such as is distinctly admitted by them. As the apologist for his communion, the *onus probandi* lies on him. Charging Mr. Southey with false accusation, it is Mr. Butler's part to prove either that the Roman Catholic does not profess the doctrine ascribed to him, or that such doctrine is true. The appeal to the Council of Trent is altogether inadmissible. Mr. Southey describes

the church of Rome as she existed in this country before the Reformation. Mr. Butler replies, that the description is worthless, unless it be supported by decrees and catechisms drawn up after the Reformation. He puts the change upon his reader or upon himself, and virtually acknowledges the existence of the very corruptions which he censures Mr. Southey for condemning.

The first letter, on the extent of the Roman Catholic church, must be considered merely as a flourish, preparatory to the serious encounter. Who disputes the fact, or what is it supposed to prove? The second letter, on the introduction of Christianity into this country, is more to the purpose. It places the knowledge and the temper of Bishop Milner in their true light. The bishop has inflicted the following "Stricture" upon Mr. Southey's account of British conversion:—

"Speaking of the first conversion of this Island to Christianity by the envoys of Pope Eleutherius, under the subordinate British king, Lucius, he says, that 'it rests on legends of doubtful authority,' and yet it is recorded by every writer of character, who treats of the matter, whether British, Saxon, or Roman, whether Protestant or Catholic, from Nennius down to Parker, Godwin, and Usher; nor can any motive be assigned for his affected doubts on the subject, except his unwillingness to ascribe so great a benefit, as the conversion of the Britons to the see of Rome." P. 5.

We might easily expose this bigotted credulity. But Mr. Butler has done it for us; and while he vindicates Mr. Southey from affecting a doubt respecting stories as fabulous as those of Merlin the conjuror, he gives the vicar apostolic a hint that the infallibility of the Head of the Church does not extend to his English representatives.

"That much in the history of the two first conversions of England is questionable, *cannot be doubted.*" Butler, p. 21.

The third letter, on the Anglo-Saxons, opens with a strange blunder. It states, that "they extirpated the Pagan religion of Rome." Rome was at that time professedly Christian, and had introduced Christianity into Britain. The next assertion is still more startling: "Sacred history contains nothing more edifying than the account of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons"!! One-half of that account is fabulous; the other half is strongly impregnated with superstition. The Anglo-Saxons embraced Christianity because their kings set them the example; and there is nothing in sacred history more edifying than this! A Gibbon or a Hume would have made the same remark.

"In eighty-two years from the arrival of St. Augustine,

this mild, holy, and beneficent religion *which he preached*, was spread in every part of Anglo-Saxon England." P. 27. It was so; but not in consequence of his preaching. Three-fourths of England were converted to Christianity by the Scotch. Northumberland had been visited by Paulinus, a follower of St. Augustine, but he was driven back into Kent, and the Scotch bishop, Aidan, was the founder of the Northumbrian church. The East Saxons, originally converted by Mellitus, relapsed into paganism, and were recovered by *Chad*, a Scot, with the support and encouragement of Oswy, King of Northumberland. The Mercians were converted by missionaries from the same quarter; and *Diuma*, a Scot, the first bishop of that kingdom, fixed his see at Lichfield. These extensive territories derived their Christianity from churches which professed no obedience to Rome; and if Mr. Butler will study Bede with half the pains that he has studied Lingard, his next edition will contain a candid acknowledgment of these facts.

The second-hand source from which he has derived his information, leads Mr. Butler into another gross mistake in this chapter. He asserts, p. 29, that "the doctrines of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors respecting the supremacy of the Pope, the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, the seven sacraments, the invocation of the Virgin Mary, and the other saints, and prayers for the dead, were the same as ours." We flatly deny the first and the second of these assertions. If by the "real presence," Mr. Butler means transubstantiation, we assert, that no such doctrine can be discovered in the records of the primitive Anglo-Saxon church. And so far were our ancestors from acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, that Gregory the Great, under whose auspices Augustine landed in Kent, was disobeyed by princes, priests and people. His edicts may be seen in his own epistles and in Bede. They contain a scheme for the government of the Anglo-Saxon church; and that scheme was disregarded in every part. The date and the manner of the introduction of the Pope's authority are well known. Wilfred, bishop of York, was the grand promoter of that work. He destroyed the ascendency of the Scotch prelates, and succeeded to their influence. He first appealed from his metropolitan to Rome. And his life, by Eddius, a work of indisputable authority, shows how firmly that appeal was resisted, and that it never produced the least effect until the crown descended to an infant, whose mother was under Wilfred's controul.

The next section in this letter, is an answer, not to Mr. Southey, but to Dr. Robertson and Mosheim, who appear to

have misrepresented the doctrines taught in Anglo-Saxon monasteries. We could wish that Mr. Butler had adverted to the effect produced (the effect of monkery, not of Christianity), as well as to the lessons inculcated. Bede's account of it is lamentable. His letter to Egbert, Bishop of York, was written about fifty years after the introduction of the Benedictine order into England; and the venerable writer declares, that there are monasteries without number, useless both to God and man; depriving the king of the soldiers who might defend him against the barbarians; and disgracing the the monastic life by their luxury and vices. The nuns are described in similar language; and Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, in his epistles to Ethilbald, king of Mercia, and Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury, written about the same time, namely, in the year 745, informs his correspondents, that the goodness, honour and purity of their church, are become little better than a jest; that Satan has corrupted the monks and the nuns; and that the bishops, not content with intoxicating themselves, promote excessive drinking among others. These were aukward facts; the abuses were met by fresh enactments; and one set of new canons, the penitentiary of Archbishop Egbert, acquaints us with the duration and strictness of the fasts by which different crimes may be expiated. It adds, that their duration and intensity may be diminished upon payment of a fine to the church. So much for Anglo-Saxon morality and discipline. The fault of this portion of Mr. Southey's history is, that it under-rates the mischief of the monastic system. On this ground, Mr. Butler might find just cause for censure. But as it is a ground upon which it does not suit him to engage, he ceases firing against the Laureate, aad takes a passing shot at Dr. Robertson. Why should the learned apologist travel so far out of the record?

The remainder of the letter is employed in discussing the general controversy upon miracles, with a slight reference to those that are said to have been performed by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. It is the most important and mischievous part of Mr. Butler's work. He commences with a short exposition of the Roman Catholic doctrine.

"It is known, that Roman Catholics, relying with entire confidence on the promises of Christ, believe, that *the power of working miracles was given by Christ to his church, and that it never has been, and never will be, withdrawn from her.* Through the prophet Joel,* God announced to the Jews, that 'in the last days he would pour

* Chap. ii. 29, 30.

pour out his spirit on all flesh;' that 'their sons and their daughters should prophecy;' that 'their young men should see visions, and their old men dream dreams.' When St. Peter cited this prophecy to the Jews, assembled at the feast of Pentecost, he declared to them, that the promise contained in it, 'was made to them, to their children, and to all that were afar off, whom the Lord God should call *.' Christ, in his last sermon, after exhorting St. Philip to believe in him as God, equal to his Father; and after appealing to his works, as the testimony given by his Father to this truth, expressed himself in the following solemn terms: 'Verily, verily! I say unto you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, these shall he do, and greater works than these he shall also do†.' When, just before his ascension into heaven, Christ took his last leave of his apostles, and gave them his last blessing, he mentioned to them the signs which should follow those who believed: 'In my name,' he said, 'they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and, if they eat any thing deadly, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall be cured‡.'

Here Roman Catholics confidently ask:—Did not Christ promise by these words, that miracles should be wrought in his church? That they should be wrought without limitation of time? That some of these should be greater than his own?

To say that the promise failed would be impiety. Somewhere, therefore, miracles must have been uninterruptedly wrought. Now, the Roman Catholic is the only church, which, from the first propagation of Christianity until the present time, has had a visible and uninterrupted existence: uninterrupted miracles, therefore, could only have existed in the Roman Catholic church. They could not possibly have existed in any church which separated from the see of Rome *at the time of the Reformation*; for, to use an expression of Bossuet, in his controversy with M. Claude, 'when the church of the reformers first separated from the one, the holy, the Roman Catholic church, their church could not by their own confession enter into communion with a single church in the whole world.'" p. 37.

Can Mr. Butler be serious? Is there in the words which he quotes from Scripture, the slightest intimation, that miracles shall be always wrought in the Church? The Roman Catholics may confideutly ask, whether such a promise has been given. Protestants will as confidently answer, that it has not. The conclusion of the argument is worthy of its commencement. For Protestants deny that the Roman Catholic church is the only church that has had a continued existence. The reformation of a corrupt church, is not the formation of a new one. And Mr. Butler's ingenious sophism

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* John xiv. 12, 13. † Acts, ii. 39. ‡ Mark, xvi. 17, 18.

merely begs the question. The next observation is of greater consequence.

"The general position, that a constant succession of miracles in a church is a proof of the truth of its religions creed, seems to be universally admitted. 'It is,' says Doctor Middleton in his Free Enquiry*, 'a maxim, which must be allowed by all Christians, that whenever any sacred rite or religious institution becomes the instrument of miracles, we ought to consider that rite as confirmed by divine approbation.'

"It necessarily follows, that if Roman Catholics prove a constant succession of miracles in their church, they consequently establish the truth of her doctrine.

"Aware of this inference, the Protestant divines found it incumbent on them to contend, that at some period in the Christian æra, there was a cessation of miracles in the Christian church. Being required to specify this æra, they answered that it was when the corruption of Christianity became general. They were then required to specify the period when this general corruption took place. Here a considerable disagreement was found among them. Some assigned it to the fourth, some to the fifth, some even to the sixth century; but the generality assigned it to the conversion of the emperor Constantine. Then, according to their system, Christianity became the religion of the state; and, being supported by the secular arm, the Christians no longer put their trust in God, and a general corruption of Christianity ensued. From this time, therefore, the Almighty ceased to recognize their church, and withdrew from her the supernatural powers, with which, till then, He had invested her.

"Such is the account which Protestant writers give of the supposed æra of the corruption of Christianity. It is evident, that whatever may be the period which they assign for it, there must be error in the assignment, if miracles were subsequently wrought in the Catholic church, as it never can be supposed that the Almighty would work miracles in the support of a corrupted church. Now, the Roman Catholics produce a regular chain of miracles, wrought in every subsequent age of Christianity. Then, as the Protestants admit the existence of miracles, in the ages which preceded the æra assigned by them for the corruption of Christianity, it became incumbent upon them to disprove the miracles alleged by the Roman Catholics to have been wrought in the subsequent ages; and this they could only do, by showing that the evidence for them was not so strong as the evidence adduced in support of the miracles wrought in the preceding ages, and allowed and credited by themselves.

"Here Doctor Middleton intervened. It is, by his account, impossible for Protestants to show, that miracles ceased at any of the æras assigned by them, as the Catholics, in his judgment, can incontrovertibly demonstrate, that the sanctity, the talents, and the discernment of those, on whose testimony the miracles in the sub-

* 3d edition, p. 1. xvi.

sequent ages depended, were not inferior to the sanctity, the talents, and discernment of those whose testimony for the miracles of the preceding ages the Protestants themselves accepted, and pronounced to be sufficient." P. 39.

This is quite true, if Doctor Middleton's "account" can be substantiated. If every miracle rests upon evidence of equal strength, every one must be believed, or every one must be rejected. But whether the evidence be or be not of equal strength, is the question at issue between believers and unbelievers. And neither 'the judgment' of Doctor Middleton nor of any other man can be permitted to decide the dispute. It is a dispute upon which the external evidence for Christianity depends: and the decision of an individual whom Mr. Butler suspects of infidelity, is not worth appealing to. We confess that this disposition to agree with Doctor Middleton, is not very honourable to the Catholic church.

"An host of divines rose in arms again him; and a controversial war ensued. The assailants displayed learning and talent; but, when Doctor Middleton asked the overwhelming question,—What greater right to credit does the testimony admitted by you possess, than the testimony which you reject? it must be admitted that he received no satisfactory answer." P. 43.

Unless therefore Mr. Butler provides us with an answer, the miracles recorded in Scripture must be given up. And what is the answer?

"Such was the result of this celebrated controversy. It produced a great sensation, and made impressions which have not been obliterated.

"In general, Roman Catholics kept aloof from it. They perceived how greatly it served their cause. They thought it clear, that,—when Doctor Middleton proved, against his antagonists, that the evidence brought by them in support of the miracles, which they allowed was not greater than the evidence produced for the miracles which they rejected,—he completely established the Roman Catholic doctrine of the uninterrupted succession of miracles in their church: and that, on the other hand,—when the adversaries of Doctor Middleton proved against him, that the inspiration of the New Testament, and even the authenticity of its text, could only be proved by testimony,—they completely established the Roman Catholic doctrine of tradition." P. 45.

To effect the first of these points it must have been shown not merely that one set of miracles was as good as another, but that both sets were genuine,—a conclusion the very reverse of that towards which Middleton's speculations tended. Again, when the Doctor's adversaries proved what no Protestant ever questioned, "they completely established

the Roman Catholic doctrine of tradition"!! That is to say, because historical evidence or history is necessary to prove a matter of fact, therefore tradition or history is a part of revelation. The Roman Catholic places Scripture and tradition on a level, and deduces his creed from both; and Mr. Butler conceives that he is justified in so doing, because external evidence has been handed down to us by our forefathers. Mr. Butler is a subtle disputant; and such subtleties as these are required in the Catholic church. But let us hear him again:

"But,—while the Roman Catholics assert, that it has pleased Almighty God to work in every age, from the first preaching of the Gospel to the present time, many and incontestible miracles in favour of his church and her doctrines, they admit, without qualification, that no *miracles, except those which are related in the Old or the New Testament*, are articles of faith; that a person may disbelieve every other miracle, and may even disbelieve the existence of the persons, through whose intercession they are related to have been wrought, without ceasing to be Roman Catholic. This is equally agreeable to religion and common sense; for all miracles, which are not recorded in Holy Writ, depend on human reasoning. Now, human reasoning being always fallible, all miracles depending on it rest on fallible proof; and, consequently may be untrue. Hence the divines of the Roman Catholic church never impose the belief of particular miracles, either upon the body of the faithful or upon individuals; they only recommend the belief of them. They never recommend the belief of any, the credibility of which does not appear to them to be supported by evidence of the highest nature; and, while they contend that the evidence is of this description, and cannot, therefore, be rationally disbelieved, they admit that it is still no more than human testimony, and therefore liable to error." P. 46.

The result of the whole, therefore, is this:—the Roman Catholic church claims an uninterrupted succession of miracles; and Mr. Butler admits the claim, but is not required to believe the miracles. With the help of a new species of induction, he establishes a general truth, by denying all the particulars of which it consists: "And this is agreeable to religion and common sense," *for* miracles not mentioned in Scripture depend on human reasoning! The Scripture miracles we presume, though Mr. Butler neglects to tell us so, depend upon the church; and the church, what does that depend upon? Upon the succession of miracles. And how is that succession proved? By the liberty to "disbelieve every one of them, without ceasing to be a Roman Catholic." This may be good logic at St. Omers, but it will have no effect in England. "The divines of the Roman Catholic church"

desire to establish their authority by a principle of blind submission to their decisions. But the right to demand such a submission is disputed: and Mr. Butler must prove it, if he proves it at all, not by exposing Christianity to the sneers of unbelief, but by showing that miracles are now wrought in his church. He assures us that they are claimed, and we admit that fact. He believes that they are performed, and we are bound to credit his assertion; but we ask him to adduce an instance, and substantiate it by evidence; and he answers that human testimony is liable to error, and that consequently he is at liberty "to disbelieve the existence of the persons through whose intercession the miracles have been wrought." We are bound to congratulate the Catholic church upon the success of their lay-patron and champion.

But there is another point to which we much advert. Mr. Butler states, that when Dr. Middleton asked what greater right to credit does the testimony admitted by you possess, than the testimony which you reject? it must be admitted that he received no satisfactory answer. If the question had referred to the miracles recorded in Scripture on the one part, and the miracles claimed by the Roman church on the other, a very satisfactory answer might have been given. The case of the Anglo-Saxons, upon which Mr. Butler does not condescend to make a single remark, is directly in point. We have testimony that St. Augustine worked miracles, and we do not believe it, for the following reasons: in the first place, it is not stated either by Bede or Pope Gregory, what those miracles were. In the second place, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons may be accounted for in another manner. The king of Kent married a Christian wife; Augustine came over, according to Gregory's own admission, on her invitation. Her husband embraced Christianity, and his example was followed by others. But after the king's death, his sons relapsed into idolatry, and the work of conversion was to be begun again. This can hardly be attributed to miracles. Again, the Northumbrians made that gradual advance towards Christianity, which is not to be expected from a conviction grounded upon miracles. Bede gives us the arguments adduced by a Northumbrian for listening to the lessons of Paulinus; and they contain no reference to his miracles. The second and more effectual mission from Iona, was unsuccessful at first. The Monks attributed the failure to the austere unconciliating disposition of the missionary; and supplied his place with a man of different character, Aidan, whose virtues are celebrated by Bede with unusual

eloquence; and to those virtues we may safely ascribe the conversion of the princes, and the gradual extension of the Gospel among their subjects. In the third place, when miracles are described by the Anglo-Saxon writers, they are generally of the most extravagant character. Augustine's are not detailed, but subsequent wonders occur in great plenty. Many of them are merely dreams, many might have been easily pretended, and more are monstrous and absurd. Here therefore we have a conversion which is explicable upon other grounds. The miracles which preceded it are not particularised. But after the establishment of Christianity, there is no end to the marvels which were witnessed; and there can be no doubt respecting the roguery of the inventors, or the folly of the dupes. Lastly, it is very doubtful whether the miraculous portions of these histories are authentic. For eight hundred years they were in the keeping of the monks. Those monks were the authors of the ludicrous fables recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis, and of others still more childish, ascribed to Geoffry of Monmouth. It is allowable therefore, to suppose that men who invented so largely on their own account, may have embellished the pages of Bede, and other early historians with the marvellous portion of their narratives. And there is no sufficient ground for believing that the Anglo-Saxon church was founded by any preternatural interposition in its favour.

This is our answer to Mr. Butler's question. The testimony for Scripture miracles differs in every point from the testimony for Augustine's miracles. In the former case, the works are distinctly specified; those works produced conversion; the persons first converted were not kings or rulers; the miracles are neither monstrous or childish; and the record in which they are contained, has not only been under the especial protection of the one true church, but what is much more satisfactory, it has been watched with suspicious care by all other churches and sects, and its authenticity admits of proofs which no other antient writings can obtain.

The same satisfactory distinction may be drawn between all other spurious miracles, and the real miracles upon which Christianity is founded. Let Mr. Butler select a specific instance of supernatural interposition, and state the evidence by which it is established. Let him begin with the wonders of the Apocryphal Gospels, and end with the last cure performed by Prince Hohenlohe, and Protestants will have no difficulty in pointing out the difference between the miracles they adopt, and the miracles they reject. Infidelity will not

be permitted to enjoy the triumph which it anticipates from the Book of the Roman Catholic church. The legendary wonders which have disgraced Christianity will be exposed, and the Church of Rome will lose the credit of those uninterrupted miracles, which Mr. Butler assures us that he believes in the gross, but claims the liberty of disbelieving in detail.

The fifth letter is not important. The sixth defends Dunstan against the charges which have been so frequently brought against him, and of which, in our review of the Book of the Church, we stated our belief that he was not guilty. But the evidence upon which we acquit the great monk, is fatal to the little monks who forged his injustice, and his miracles. And Mr. Butler treats us with the following apology for those rickety links of his uninterrupted chain:—

"You conclude the present chapter with an account of the miracles 'at the death of Dunstan.' You thus express yourself upon them: 'Whether the miracles at the death of St. Dunstan were actually performed by the monks, or only averred by them as having been wrought, either in their own sight, or in that of their predecessors, there is the same fraudulent purpose, the same audacity of imposture, and the same irrefragable proofs of that system of deceit, which the Romish church carried on every where till the time of the Reformation, and still pursues, wherever it retains its temporal power or influence.'

"This is a most serious charge:—In reply to it, I beg leave to refer you to what I have already said on the miracles performed in the Roman Catholic church. I must add, that the period in which the miracles attributed to Dunstan, were performed, was the darkest period in the Roman Catholic history. The nation was then suffering grievously from the effects of the Danish ravages. The demolition of monasteries; the slaughter of their unoffending inmates, who were the teachers and scholars of the times; the consequential destruction of books, and of all public and private memorials of literature and art, 'had occasioned,' to use your own words, 'the total loss of learning in the Anglo-Saxon church.'

"But the Gospel of the Anglo-Saxons still remained, and was still read. It informed them of the miracles wrought by Christ; and of his promises, that, until the end of time, his disciples should perform similar miracles, and even greater: and they knew that the promises of Christ could not fail. Besides,—as Doctor Lingard justly observes, 'Man is taught by human nature to attribute any event to a particular cause; and when an occurrence cannot be explained by the known laws of the universe, it is assigned, by the illiterate in every age, and in every religion, to the operation of an invisible agent. This principle was not extirpated; it was improved by the knowledge of the Gospel. From the doctrine of a superin-

tendent Providence, the Saxon converts were led to conclude, that God would often interfere in human concerns. To Him they ascribed every unforeseen and unnatural event; and either trusted in His bounty for visible protection from misfortune, or feared from His justice that vengeance which punishes guilt before the general day of retribution. Men, impressed with this notion, would rather expect the appearance of miraculous events. On many occasions, they would be the dupes of their own credulity; and,' (particularly as they had the Divine promises, mentioned by us, in full view,) 'ascribe to the beneficence of the Deity, and the intercession of their patrons, those cures which might have been effected by nature, or the power of the imagination.' Let us add, that, in this temper of mind, it was likely that sometimes, like the Northmen, gifted with second sight, they would see what they did not see, and hear what they did not hear.

"Do not these observations solve the whole difficulty? Do they not account for the abundance of miraculous relations, in the time of which we are writing? Do they not render it unnecessary,—we had almost said inexcusable,—to account for them by imputing fraud, imposture or systematical deceit, as is done by you, to the persons concerned in them?" P. 68.

This is a good defence for the credulity of Dunstan's contemporaries; and it might be applied with equal effect to the Irish or the Spaniards of the present day. But Mr. Southey attacks the church of Rome; and to prove her innocence, Mr. Butler must show, that as the darkness cleared away, she became ashamed of these fictitious wonders, and warned her children against believing them. He has attempted no such thing; and whenever the attempt is made, it will fail. The miracles of the dark ages were not renounced as the light increased. On the contrary, they were multiplied, by the monastic historians, down to the time of Henry III. the marvels in whose reign are thrice as numerous as those in the reign of Alfred, or the Confessor. Do not these observations solve the whole difficulty, by showing that most of the miracles were invented long after their pretended dates?

The seventh and eighth letters upon "Investitures" and Becket, may be considered together. Mr. Butler manages both in a skilful manner. He takes us at once into the middle of the dispute, turns away our eyes from the real object of the fray, and then a few bold queries, fortified with an appeal to Dr. Lingard, suffice to set the business at rest. The point to be decided in the reign of Henry II. was the temporal power of the Pope. The Conqueror renounced allegiance, and forbad appeals to Rome; but by promoting foreigners to the principal stations in the church, he

strengthened the papal influence among his English subjects; by separating the civil and ecclesiastical courts, he increased the power of his clergy. In the next reign, Anselm was appointed to the archbishoprick of Canterbury by William Rufus, and banished by that tyrant upon no sufficient ground. Anselm repaired to Rome, and Pope Urban was preparing to interfere in his behalf, when the bribes of Rufus found their way to the treasury of St. Peter. The dispute continued under Henry the first, to whom Anselm refused to do homage. The affair was compromised, after much delay, by surrendering the right of investiture to the Pope, and reserving the right of homage, and the nomination to bishopricks and abbies, to the king. Thus were the spoils divided between a civil and a spiritual usurper, and the real privilege of the church overlooked and sacrificed by both. Both were intent upon further success; and the weak authority of Stephen was favourable to the claims of Rome. Such was the state of affairs when Becket came upon the stage. With many excellent qualities, he was an ambitious, haughty man, and endeavoured to render the church independent of the king. The king resisted and retaliated; and what followed is thus described by Mr. Butler:—

"The monarch contended that the clergy should, in future, be tried for felonies in his courts of justice. To obtain a recognition of this claim, he summoned all the prelates of England to Westminster; and required them to acknowledge the right of his courts to try the clergy. They hesitated. He then asked, whether they would promise to abide by the antient law of the realm? The archbishop, speaking for himself, and for the other prelates present, replied, that 'they were willing to be bound by the antient law of the realm, as far as the honour of God, and the church, and the privileges of their order, permitted.' The king required the omission of the saving words; the archbishop insisted on the retention of them. At first, the other prelates adhered to him; but the king brought them over: and, after much solicitation, the archbishop acquiesced. The monarch, to render the assent of the prelates to his claims the more solemn, summoned the convention of the spiritual and temporal lords of his kingdom to Clarendon, near Salisbury. When they met, the archbishop expressed a wish that the saving words should be retained. He consented, however, afterwards to the omission of them; requiring, at the same time, that the customs should be defined. This was both prudent and honourable; for, while the customs should remain undefined, the dispute would invariably continue. Thus there could be no reasonable objection to the request of the prelate. It was acceded to by the king; and a specification of the customs was accordingly drawn up by a committee, appointed by the convention. It was exhibited in sixteen articles, called by the historians of the times 'The Constitutions of Clarendon.'

"This brings us to the point:—Did the constitutions exhibit the antient customs of the realm? If they did, the archbishop and the other prelates were bound, by their promise, to recognize and observe them. If they did not, the archbishop and the other prelates were bound to neither; nor could they acknowledge that the constitutions expressed the antient customs of the realm, or bind themselves to the observance of them, as such, without incurring the guilt, both of a solemn untruth, and of treason to the constitution.

"On this point, therefore, the whole question on the conduct of the archbishop, at the convention at Clarendon, rests altogether. Does it require much investigation to arrive at a proper conclusion upon it?

"By one of the articles, the custody and revenues of the temporalities of every archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation, was declared to belong, during its vacancy, to the king: this was an absolute innovation.

"By another, it was provided, that civil and criminal suits, though each or either party to them were a clergyman, should commence in the royal courts; that the justices should decide, whether they ought to be determined there, or in the ecclesiastical courts; that, in the latter case, a civil officer should attend the trial, and report of the proceedings; and that, if the person accused should be convicted, he should forfeit the privileges of his character, and receive judgment accordingly. All this was, perhaps, very proper; but all was contrary to the existing law.

"Another article declared, that tenants in chief should not be excommunicated without the leave of the king; or, in his absence, of his justiciary. This was in opposition to the law of Christ; and to the law of every christian country. It is even contrary to the present law of England, and to the practice of its courts.

"Another article forbade appeals to Rome. At this period of our history appeals were allowed in England, and in every other part of the christian world. It is observable, that the monarch himself, during the contest, appealed more than once to the Roman see.

"Such being the state of the contest, in this stage of it, permit me to say, that it is, with something more than surprise, that I read in your work the following lines: 'If these constitutions were in direct opposition to the system of Hildebrand and his successors, and at once removed all those encroachments which the hierarchy had made in this kingdom during Stephen's contested reign, it should be remembered that *they were not new edicts, enacted in a spirit of hostility to the church, but a declaration and recognition of the existing law.*'

"By this, I understand you to affirm, that, as the law of England *existed in the reign of Henry II.* it allowed the monarch to retain the profits of vacant sees for his own benefit; it allowed the clergy to be tried for petit treason, and less crimes, in temporal courts; it exempted tenants in chief from being excommunicated; and it inhibited appeals to Rome. Can any of these positions be supported? In my humble opinion they cannot.

"Doctor Lingard* thinks with me; and so does our common friend, Mr. Sharon Turner. 'In justice to Becket,' says that learned and discriminating writer, 'it must be admitted that these famous articles completely changed the legal and civil state of the clergy; and were an actual subversion, as far as they went, of the papal policy, so boldly introduced by Gregory VII.;'† and then completely received into the civil and ecclesiastical polity and jurisdiction of every European state." P. 84.

The opinion of Dr. Lingard is of very little consequence. The Pope himself would be a more impartial witness. Mr. Turner uses the words imputed to him, and immediately adds, "These new constitutions abolished that independence on the legal tribunals of the country, which William had unwarily permitted, and *they again subjected the clergy as in the Anglo-Saxon times, to the common law of the land.*" Did Mr. Butler read these words. If so, can he deny, upon the authority of his learned and discriminating friend, that the constitutions of Clarendon were the ancient customs of the kingdom. That friend speaks of Becket, as 'careless of personal honour,' 'faithless,' 'perjured,' having recourse 'to weak evasions,' and to 'conduct too revolting to be beneficial,' and as 'pursing his opposition to the king with all the pride and vehemence of fierce ambition, and vindictive hostility.' The discriminating Mr. Butler overlooks these epithets.

We admit, however, that the constitutions were of a doubtful character. But to say that they were the real bone of contention between Henry aud Becket is absurd. The quarrel was precisely the same as that which existed in the days of Anselm; and if both the monarchs were in the wrong, which we have no disposition to deny, both the primates were in a similar predicament. Becket proceeded, after his banishment, to Rome, surrendered his archbishoprick into the hands of the Pope, and received it again from that true source of spiritual power. In his correspondence with Henry, preserved in the chronicles of Hoveden, Becket tells his master, that kings derive their authority from the church. Pope Alexander repeats the same assertion; and the evident drift and object of both was, to increase the power of the clergy. To promote it, Becket entered into an alliance with the king of France, defied and deserted his lawful sovereign, leagued himself with the enemies of his king and country, encouraged disaffected and revolting subjects, and returned at last to his

* History of England, vol. 2, p. 64, 65, 66.
† Ibid. vol. i, p. 213.

cathedral, under a hollow pretence of peace, which the very first act of his restored authority, was calculated, if not intended to break. We do not apologise for his murder; but a more turbulent or ambitious subject never disturbed a kingdom, and the triumph which his cause obtained, when Henry II. did penance at his shrine, put the seal to the slavery of Englishmen, and made the Pope our master for three hundred years. These are the simple facts of the case; and the reader of them will probably feel some surprise at Mr. Butler's summing up.

"You must be aware, that the liberties, confirmed to the church by *Magna Charta*, included equally those rights for which Becket contended at Clarendon, and those for which he was murdered at Canterbury." P. 89.

We apprehend that Mr. Southey is not aware of this circumstance; we are sure that Dr. Lingard knows better than to affirm it. "It would have been more satisfactory," he says, vol. ii. 251, "if these liberties had been enumerated and described." Had this satisfactory step been taken, Mr. Butler's assertion might possibly have been maintained; as it is, he is guilty of turning a conjecture into a fact. The disputes with Becket related to the extent of the liberties of the church. Magna Charta confirms them in general terms. Who can presume to say, that the barons would have sided with the saint?

We regret our inability to investigate the remainder of the volume at the length which its importance demands. A hasty remark or two upon some striking points is all for which we now have room. They may serve for a specimen of what remains unnoticed; and whoever answers Mr. Butler's letters will have no difficulty in seizing upon many important particulars which our limited space will not permit us to discuss. The letter upon the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church abounds with an error which has been already noticed. It condemns Mr. Southey's account of tenets promulgated before the Reformation, by showing, or attempting to show, that they are not the tenets of Dr. Challoner. Some of the arguments are curious:—

"Cursed is every goddess-worshipper, that believes the blessed Virgin Mary to be any more than a creature; that worships her, or puts his trust in her, more than in God; that believes she is above her Son, or that she can, in any thing, command Him. Amen."

Would not this anathema lead us to believe, that the Virgin may be worshipped or trusted in *as much as* God, and

that she is equal to her Son? With respect to idolatry, and the worship of saints, every Protestant admits that the modern Romish church denies or explains away the practice of them. And so did the philosophers of Greece and Rome. The point in dispute is, how are these things understood by the people. Do they make the subtle distinctions of a Cicero or a Bellarmine? Mr. Butler is much displeased with Mr. Southey for his frequent use of the word *idolatrous*, and assures him, upon the authority of Thorndike and Dr. Johnson, that the church of England acquits the Romish communion of this charge. When the sentiments of that communion are disputed, no one is readier than Mr. Butler to refer us to her public declarations. When he wishes to ascertain the sentiments of our communion, he does not seek them in the homilies against Popery, with which Mr. Southey entirely accords, but in certain private writings, which are opposed to the whole current of ecclesiastical authorities. Is this fair?

The tenth letter, upon the authority of the Pope, is in one respect satisfactory; it assures us, that the power of his Holiness is not in high esteem among the English Catholic laity. But this is not a new discovery. The Roman Catholic nobility and gentry have repeatedly offered to make great concessions upon this head. They offered the *Veto*. They offered the celebrated declaration of 1792, which was negociated between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Bedingfield, and which would probably have produced emancipation; but in both cases the vicars apostolic interfered, the priest-ridden laity gave way, and now they come forward, in the person of Mr. Butler, priding themselves on the liberties of the Gallican church, and hoping to persuade Parliament that English Catholics are equally independent. English, and still more, Irish Catholic priests are probably as devoted slaves of Rome as archbishop Becket. If they are not, let them confirm Mr. Butler's statements, and give the world an authorized explanation of the following canon. It contains, according to Mr. Butler, the doctrine of his church, on the authority of the Pope, and may mean whatever the church and the Pope determine:—

"Full power was delegated to the bishop of Rome, in the person of St. Peter, to feed, regulate, and govern the universal church, as expressed in the general councils and holy canons." P. 119.

A more ambigious canon could not be framed at St. Omers, or at Stoneyhurst.

The eleventh letter, on the rise of the Reformation, the

mendicant orders, and persecution, under the house of Lancaster, endeavours to make Protestants accountable for the Manicheans, the Lollards, and the Albigenses, and is severe upon Wickliffe, and Sir John Oldcastle. Suppose the whole true, what then? Mr. Butler furnishes a ready answer. In the case of his own church, it is unfair to appeal to the errors which dishonoured her in the dark ages. Her uninterrupted chain of miracles, and her Pope, invested by heaven with full power to feed, regulate, and govern the universal church, have not sufficed to preserve her from the grossest corruptions of practice, the most flagitious falsehoods, the most barbarous cruelties. If then the church of England was responsible for Lord Cobham, which every one sees that she is not, how can Mr. Butler reproach her with these time-honoured failings? If she claimed infallibility, the errors of her forefathers might serve to invalidate the claim; but Mr. Butler's church does claim infallibility, and he will not admit that the claim is deranged by her dark-aged errors and infirmities. Surely then *à fortiori*, the church of England, need care little about the misconduct of those whom the author is pleased to designate as the forefathers of the Reformation.

We cannot pass over the following passage without a short remark:—

"In the beginning of the chapter which contains this sentence, you inform your readers, that 'the corruptions, doctrinal and practical, of the Roman church, were studiously kept out of view by the writers who still maintain the infallibility of that church.'

"Are you, then, acquainted with no writers in the middle ages, who, at the same time that they maintained the infallibility of the Roman Catholic church in matters of faith, exposed, in the strongest terms, and the most unequivocal language, the corruptions which had found their way into her, and even into her sanctuary? Are you ignorant of the discourses published, and of the sermons preached, at the council of Constance, Basil and Pisa?—of the writings of Grossetête, Gersen, d'Ailly, and the many other ecclesiastical personages, whose treatises, exposing the extortions of the Roman see and its officers, and the irregularities of the clergy, fill the two well known volumes of "*Brown's Fasciculus?*" Is the letter of St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius IV. unknown to you? Does it not announce, in the boldest language, and with the most glowing eloquence, the failings of the Popes and their functionaries, and all the corrupt practices which then existed in the church? Was not this letter transcribed, and read, and admired, in every part of Christendom?" P. 155.

Mr. Southey brings a general charge. Mr. Butler answers by a few exceptions; one of them is unfortunate. Grossetête wrote boldly against the simony of the Pope; for which the

Pope was on the point of excommunicating him, when the cardinals reminded his Holiness that the fact was too notorious to be denied, and that the English bishop was the best man in Christendom. But we wish to mention a remarkable confirmation of Mr. Southey's statement. Dr. Lingard is Mr. Butler's Apollo, and furnishes him avowedly with four-fifths of his facts. Now this excellent Dr. derides and rejects the invaluable history of Matthew Paris, for no conceivable reason, except that it tells too many tales respecting the infamous conduct of the Popes. Mr. Butler speaks highly of Matthew Paris. The 'discriminating' Mr. Turner praises him, and relies upon him. Dr. Lingard calls him a querulous monk, in the vain hope, that by so doing, he may 'keep the corruptions of the Roman church out of sight.' This is not an error of the dark ages. It is a gross modern trick; and Mr. Butler must have the credit of dragging it into notice.

We are now arrived at the Reformation; and having seen Mr. Butler in the character of counsel for the accused, we are henceforth to listen to him as an accuser. He begins with asking, whether England has gained by the Reformation in temporal happiness? And answers in the following passage:—

"Twice did the Roman Catholic religion rescue the inhabitants of England from paganism. She instructed them in the divine truths of the Gospel: introduced civilization among them; was, after the Norman Conquest, their only protection against the oppressions of their conqueror; and, during a long subsequent period, their only defence against the tyranny of the Barons. To her, you owe your *Magna Charta*, the important statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, and several other statutes, regulations and forms, which are the groundwork and bulwark of your constitution. A numerous clergy administered the rights and blessings of religion; numerous portions, both of men and women, whose institutes were holy, furnished the young with means of education, the old with comfortable retreats, and all with opportunities of serving God in honour and integrity. Throughout England the Roman Catholic religion only was acknowledged, so that the Reformation found the whole nation one flock under one shepherd. Almost every village contained a church, to which the faithful, at stated hours, regularly flocked, for the celebration of the eternal sacrifices, for morning and evening prayer, and for exhortation and instruction. In a multitude of places, the silence of the night was interrupted by pious psalmody. England was covered with edifices raised by the sublimest science, and dedicated to the most noble and most salutary purposes; commerce prospered; agriculture, literature, every useful and ornamental art and science was excellently cultivated, and was in a state of gradual improvement. The monarch was illustrious among the most illustrious

potentates of Europe, and held the balance between its preponderating princes: his court was splendid; the treasury overflowed with wealth; there was no debt; and, (one fourth part of the tithes in every place being set apart for the maintenance of the poor *) there was no poor law.

"Such was the *temporal prosperity* of England when the Reformation arrived. Will it suffer on a comparison of it with the condition of England at any subsequent æra? or even with its present?" P. 168.

Mr. Butler makes frequent complaints of the non-production of Mr. Southey's authorities. It is reasonable therefore to suppose, that his own authorities will be always adduced. In the passage just quoted, he refers to Burn for a fact which is notoriously false, and no other reference is supplied. The remainder of this glowing picture is the work of Mr. Butler's imagination. Instead of resisting the Conqueror's tyranny, the church of Rome, and the Norman princes, played into each others hands, and robbed and enslaved the people between them. To attribute Magna Charta to the priesthood is childish. Mr. Butler knows better; and ought not to impose upon the simplicity of the nineteenth century, by such marvellous day dreams. The commerce, the agriculture, and the literature which flourished under our Edwards and Henrys, will surprise Dr. Lingard himself. They are facts which that great Jesuit never suspected, till he found them in Mr. Butler's book. And if they had been followed up by an encomium upon the liberty of the subject, upon the gentle encounters of the rival roses, of the liberal disposition of Henry VII. and of the just judgments, by which Empson and Dudley made "the treasury to overflow with wealth," the list of Roman Catholic blessings would have been complete. To be serious, can Mr. Butler have imposed upon himself so far as to suppose, that this country enjoyed greater temporal happiness before than since the Reformation. The splendour of Henry's prodigal court, is a very indifferent proof of the happiness of his people. If Mr. Butler really means to maintain the proposition which he insinuates, he must examine the last 600 years of our history, and prove that the former half was more prosperous than the latter. Protestant bigotry will be satisfied with nothing less; but if this point be gained, even Protestants will own themselves vanquished, and give up their Bible, and common sense; give up the Bill of Rights and the Habeas Corpus, and return with gratitude to those primitive times in which Henry murdered

* Burn's Justice of Peace, title "Poor, sect. L. 1.

his wives according to the provisions of Magna Charta, or levied taxes by his own authority, in spite "of the important statute *de tallagio non concedendo.*"

One word about tithes. It is true that in early times a fourth part, not of the tithes only, but of church property in general, was set apart for the use of the poor. And how did so good a custom fall into disuse? By the avarice of the *regular* Roman Catholic clergy. They robbed the *seculars*, the parish priests, the working men, of their livelihoods, and *appropriated* the tithe of their livings to the monasteries. When the wealth and corruption of those institutions involved them in one general ruin, the church lands and the appropriated tithes passed into lay hands; and nobody but Cobbett is absurd enough to say, that equity requires the clergy to maintain the poor out of the small remainder of their antient possessions. But Mr. Butler affirms, that immediately before the Reformation one-fourth of the tithe was set apart for that purpose, and refers to Burn's Justice for his authority. We have searched in vain for the passage, and shall be much obliged to any one who will produce it. In the mean time Mr. Butler may rub up his law by consulting Blackstone's Commentaries, which will tell him, Book I. chap. IX. 6. that, "The poor of England, till the time of Henry VIII. subsisted entirely upon private benevolence and the charity of well disposed Christians;" and that though, "by the common law, the poor were to be sustained by parsons, rectors of the church, *and the parishioners*, so that none of them die for default of sustenance," "he finds no compulsory method chalked out for this purpose, but the poor seem to have been left to such relief as the humanity of their neighbours would afford them."

We must request the reader's attention to one more passage. It professes to state the spiritual advantages which England has reaped from the Reformation:—

"Her great gain, in this respect, is asserted by you in every part of 'the Book of the Church:' I shall mention a single fact, then leave yourself to decide on the truth of your own repeated assertion.

"From 'the Book of the Church,' I conclude that you are a sincere believer in the doctrines of the established church of England, as they are expressed in the thirty-nine articles,—the authentic formulary of her faith. You therefore believe all that the Roman Catholic church believes respecting the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement; but are these doctrines seriously and sincerely believed by the great body of the present English clergy? or by the great body of the present English laity? Do not

the former, to use Mr. Gibbon's expression, sign the thirty-nine articles with a sigh, or a smile? Is a sincere and conscientious belief of the doctrines expressed in them, generally considered by the laity to be a condition for salvation?

"Indifference to the thirty-nine articles being thus universal, or at least very general, among those who profess themselves members of the established church, must not you, who deem so highly of them, admit that,—as the Roman Catholic church believes all that is said in the thirty-nine articles respecting the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement,—there existed when the Reformation peered, and all these articles were universally believed, more spiritual wisdom in England than exists in her at this time, with her present scanty creed?

"Thus the balance, in respect both to temporal happiness and spiritual wisdom, *now* stands; but if you look at the period between the first introduction of the Reformation and its present æra, what years of havoc, what disputed successions of the crown, what wars, what legal murders, what demolitions of magnificent edifices, what destructions of manuscripts, of printed books, of sacred and profane monuments of art; what proscriptions, what confiscations, what calumnies, what imaginary plots, and what other grinding oppressions, in every form, have been often found necessary to extirpate the antient creed, and to introduce and establish the Reformation! Surely you will acknowledge, that an infinity, both of public and individual misery would have been spared to England, if the Reformation had not been carried to the extent to which it was carried:—but,

——"Vicisti! et victos tendere palmas
"Ausonii videre!" VIRGIL.

"The Reformation, and all that is connected with it, are now established by law; and never have a vanquished people more completely submitted to the conquerors, have conducted themselves with greater propriety, or received alleviations of their condition with greater gratitude, than the Roman Catholics have done: none of his Majesty's subjects are more attached to his government. When we think of past grievances, we bless the hands which have removed so many of them; an angry feeling seldom rises, except when, as in 'the Book of the Church,' we find our religion traduced, and our ancestors vilified in such a manner, that we should deservedly be thought either more or less than men, if we did not exert ourselves to repel the unmerited aggression." P. 170.

The grateful and forgiving spirit of modern Roman Catholics commands our admiration; and if they resent our condemnation of their forefathers, we can make great allowance for so natural a feeling. But we do not perceive the propriety of schooling Mr. Southey for his reflections upon defunct Papists in the page which teems with calumnies against living Protestants. Mr. Butler is indignant at the mention of Becket's frailties; heaves a sigh over the

infirmities of Bonner; and 'repels the unmerited aggression' of those who 'vilify' cardinals or popes. And in the very same breath, he accuses 'the great body of the present English clergy' of hypocrisy and unbelief!! The charge is scandalous and false. By preferring it, Mr. Butler descends from the gentlemanly elevation which he had hitherto maintained, and places himself upon a level with Cobbett, Baines, and Milner. But putting the falsehood of the charge out of sight, its impudence is entertaining. Rome, the cradle and nurse of infidelity, Rome, which was formerly reported to contain more atheists than all the rest of Europe, which within our own memory has witnessed the progress of the French revolution, and seen the goddess of reason worshipped by her Catholic children, ventures to tax the church of England with indifference, and to denounce the Reformation as the parent of unbelief! A more flagitious or a more groundless accusation cannot be conceived; it recoils with tenfold weight upon the head of that infatuated communion whose champion has ventured to hurl it, and justifies us in bringing our remarks abruptly to a close, without following Mr. Butler (alas! no longer the pupil of St. Francis of Sales) to the conclusion of his jesuitical volume.

Enough, however, has been said, to give the reader a general idea of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church. It is not the repository of new facts, or the result of original research: the ground-work is borrowed from Lingard; Mr. Butler's ingenuity has been principally employed in the introduction of graceful sinuosities, and the removal of rugged obstructions; the surface of the stream is smooth, but there is a deep and turbid under-current which exposes itself here and there to our view, and belies the apparent tranquillity. The letters are not strictly historical, defensive, apologetical, or criminatory; they are skilfully compounded out of all these qualities; and their object is to make an impression favourable to Popery, and unfavourable to Protestantism, without exposing the weak points of the one, or grappling with the strength of the other. From first to last, there is nothing that can be called a comparison between the doctrines of England and Rome; there is no defence, that deserves the name of a defence, for the supremacy of the Pope, the sacrifice of the mass, prayers in an unknown tongue, communion under one kind, or works of supererogation. There is not an attempt to prove that the Gospel sanctions these things. But we are told that Cranmer was guilty of equivocation, that queen Elizabeth persecuted Roman Catholics, and that Titus Oates was a liar. We are told that con-

fiscation was the mother of the Reformation, and that sch
and dissension are its offspring. Upon these miserable
shallow pretexts, the English people are required to beli
that their dislike to Popery is a prejudice; that its anci
establishment in this country was a blessing; and that
might now be restored with advantage. Mr. Butler conce
that Cranmer's wife was a greater scandal than Wol
mistresses and bastards. Mr. Butler reproaches Protest
with robbing the church. He forgets that the unconscion
avarice of Papists was the great cause of confiscation,
that the corruptions of the priesthood were its excuse.
forgets that when once the Reformation was settled,
system of plunder ceased, and that the Restoration of Char
II. was signalized by the restoration of all the property wh
had been seized under Cromwell and the puritans. Mr. B
ler reproaches us with infidelity and schism. It never occ
to him to ask whether his own communion is sound; he
never heard of the infidel bishops and clergy of France bef
the Revolution; he supposes that transubstantiation is a c
for scepticism, and that the legendary lies of Rome
strength to the evidence of Christianity. With respect
schism he is equally unfortunate. The tyranny and usur
tion of the Pope is the root of that evil. The blasphem
title of God's Vicar on earth, the ludicrous claim to
rights and authority of St. Peter, the denial of justificat
through faith, and the pretended merit of good works; th
produced, and in some measure they excuse, the sectariani
and fanaticism of modern times. It was impossible for
Christian world to abjure the corruptions of Rome, witho
running in some instances into the opposite extreme.
the guilt of such errors does not lie at our door. The P
is the real author of the mischief; and the church of E
land, which Papists more especially revile, was enabled,
the blessing of God, and through the instrumentality of h
beloved, calumniated and martyred Cranmer, to avoid
to steer a middle course between the two extremes, and b
come a leader and a help to all who place themselves und
her care.

Lastly, Mr. Butler insinuates that the temporal prosperi
of the country has suffered by the Reformation. He do
not appeal, in proof of the good effects of Popery, to Fran
or Italy, or Spain; in each of which nations it has be
professed in its purity, and backed by all the power of stat
He does not appeal to Ireland, where the countenance
government has been turned away, and it has been left
" an uninterrupted chain of miracles," and Mr. Plunkett

exemplary priesthood; but he refers us to the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. and prays for the return of those halcyon days. He dilates with eloquence upon the Great Rebellion, and attributes it entirely to Luther. But even there he omits to tell us that it was a Popish wife who cost king Charles his head; that it was a Popish church which absolved his infamous son; and that it was the infatuated bigotry of our last Popish king which finally established the liberties of England, and paved the way for its present prosperity.

If Mr. Butler wishes to give the best possible specimen of his church, let him direct us to himself and his associates. For the English Roman Catholic laity we entertain a sincere respect. They embrace their creed as an heir-loom from their ancestors, and cherish it with becoming respect. They live in the midst of a Protestant people, and have imbibed no small portion of our sentiments. Let them cast off the chains in which the priesthood still binds them; let them abjure Dr. Milner, silence Dr. Baines, and read no more of Dr. Lingard; let them consult their own good sense, and defy their vicars apostolic, and doubtless they will be entitled to as much consideration as any class of seceders from the national church.

ART. IX. *Apology addressed to the Travellers Club; or, Anecdotes of Monkeys.* 8vo. pp. 183. London. Murray, 5*s.* 6*d.*

We are by no means ashamed to confess that the precise object of this little volume has wholly eluded our sagacity, and that we rise from its perusal with an utter inability to discover the intention of its author in committing it to the press. At the first glance, we imagined it to be a grave piece of irony; and recollecting Gay's amusing fable of "The Monkey who had seen the World," we formed to ourselves some vague association between that harmless little satire, and the Travellers Club, which we supposed would be more fully developed as we proceeded; but in this notion we were plainly wrong. The book before us (as its unpunctuated and therefore diversely-to-be-rendered title page holds forth), is no more than "Apology addressed to the Travellers Club or Anecdotes of Monkeys." For *what* it is an apology, or why it is addressed to the Travellers Club, we are at a loss to determine: unless indeed it be that "Travellers *(ut aiunt)* tell strange things," and that as many strange things are told

in these pages, it is on that account thought most decorous and appropriate that they should be dedicated to travellers.

Be this as it may, some of the stories are worth telling again; and moreover they are told with such irresistible simplicity, and meet either with such hearty attestation from their recounter himself, or at least with such a hearty wish that the reader, if ever he in turn recounts them, should afford *his* attestation, that without stopping farther to consider the reasons which have actuated the writer, or to inquire into the foundation of his pretensions to veracity, we shall freely borrow from his narratives as we find them.

The idea of his work, as the author informs us in the outset, was suggested by that most interesting, and, as we believe, in most points well accredited, publication, Bingley's *Animal Biography*. There is also an untranslated French book, *Jocquot*, which in some degree has anticipated his present purpose, but it is wholly different in its details. Jumping at once without longer preliminary, *in médias res*, he proceeds to acquaint us with the habits of monkeys in different relations and circumstances. One of these, on shipboard, had got a sly trick of stealing preserved apricots. The captain, in order to cure him, had plentifully dosed a jar of these sweatmeats with manna. The beast having swallowed the bait, as if aware of the stratagem by which he had suffered, appeared determined upon revenge; and having observed the purpose to which the quarter-galleries were appropriated, he kept his seat in one of them as long as he was under the influence of the drug, and was dislodged only by breaking down the bulk-head. In order to "steady" him, the captain, with whom he was a great favourite, procured him a wife; but their domestic peace scarcely outlasted the honey-moon. One fine day, during a summer cruise, the traitor decoyed his *cara sposa* to the end of the foretop gallant yard, and here pretending to shew her something at sea, he slipped his hand under her tail, and adroitly canted her overboard. The whole crew were horror-struck at this deliberate murder, with the exception of a French captain, then on board as a prisoner, who remarked, with a quiet shrug, "*Parbleu, ce drole-là a beaucoup de caractère!*"

Another monkey, on board ship, used to make an unhappy bear his particular but, twitching out each separate hair which was matted by tar or pitch, and lifting up his eyelids whenever he caught him asleep on deck, as if to ascertain the fact. His favourite position was on the foretop, from which he used to make signals with great energy, chattering loudly whenever any vessel was in sight, and indicating its

direction by intelligible signs. He died from an unlucky effort of imitation: having observed the process by which a sick officer made his tea, and soon after having by accident been left alone in the gun room, he infused a paper of tobacco into the pot, and killed himself by the decoction.

There are other animals besides Geese which merit national gratitude; and if Gibraltar may be considered to England what the Capitoline Hill was to Rome, the *argenteus anser* would not be the only saviour of the State to which a statue has been erected. Even yet we may live to see the monkey receive due honour, and on the strength of the following anecdotes, the day may come on which the public gaze will be diverted from the site of the present bronze Achilles, to that on which

Effigies sacri nitet aurea. CERCOPITHECI.

The author of the book before us, who is clearly an old soldier, speaks of the occurrence which he relates, and which is obscurely alluded to in Drinkwater's narrative of the siege, as falling within his own personal knowledge. A few weeks before the memorable sally, the Spaniards had concerted a surprize upon one of our outposts, which could not have failed of success, if, in their advance, they had not had to pass a party of monkeys, who by their loud screams alarmed our sentinels.

The next anecdote, though on the same scene, draws somewhat more largely on our credulity.

"When Lord Howe came out to our relief he brought with him, amongst other re-inforcements, the twenty-fifth regiment of infantry.

"Shortly after the conclusion of peace, a party of officers belonging to this corps, were amusing themselves with whiting-fishing at the back of the rock; but were disturbed and obliged to shift their ground, from being pelted from above, they did not know by whom. At last, however, they gained a station, where they were left in peace, and where they caught plenty of fish. At this time the drums beat to arms, on some unexpected occasion, and the officers rowed their boat ashore, and left it high and dry upon the beach, hurrying where their duty called them.

"On their return, their surprize was excessive to find their boat beached, not half so high as they had left it, and at some little distance from its former position. Their amazement was increased, on examining their tackle, to find some hooks baited, which had been left bare, and to see the disposition of many things altered. The cause was afterwards explained. An officer of Hanoverian grenadiers, who was amusing himself with a solitary walk, happened to be a close observer of animal and vegetable nature. This man, hearing the chatter of monkeys, stole upon a party of young ones,

who were pelting the fishers from behind some rocks. While they were so employed, arrived two or three old ones who drove the youngsters away, and then remained secretly observing the proceedings of the whiting-fishers.

"The fishers having beached their boat and retired, the monkeys apparently deemed the time was come for turning their observation to account. They accordingly launched the boat, put to sea, baited their hooks and proceeded to work. Their sport was small, as might be anticipated, from the impatient nature of the animals; but what few fish they caught, were hauled up with infinite exultation. When they were tired, they landed, placed the boat (as nearly as they could) in her old position, in the friendly spirit on which I have before remarked, and went up the rock with their game." P. 29.

Crossing over the straits, we are presented with a story, which we think we have before found in other *Facetiæ*.

"A man, who had been a muleteer at Cadiz, and who afterwards established himself as a barber at Gibraltar, in the spirit of restlessness shifted to Ceuta, and having invested a very small capital, of which he was possessed, in the purchase of those woven red caps, which form the crown of the turban throughout Turkey and Africa, set out alone, to seek his fortune, in the interior of the country.

"He was off long before sunrise, and reached a wood before the noon-tide heat became insufferable. This period of the day is, (as is well known,) in hot countries, appropriated to repose. He accordingly opened the valise, which contained the treasure of red caps, put on one of them instead of his hat, and stretched himself under a tree. He slept comfortably till the sun was somewhat low in the horizon, when imagine his horror, at waking, to perceive the boughs of the tree under which he was sleeping covered with monkeys in red caps!

"They had seen the Spaniard put on his, and, as soon as he was asleep, had, one and all, followed his example. The poor Spaniard, with all the gesticulation of his country, cursed his hard fate, stamped with vexation, and cast his red cap on the ground. When—blessed and unexpected result!—all the monkeys did the same, and the happy man repossest himself of his treasure." P. 39.

Of the circumcision and vaccination of monkeys, far be it from us to express any doubt. We firmly believe in the Italian female monkey who, whenever she was vexed or offended, ran to the chimney, and, out of spite, thrust the end of her tail into the fire. The spirit, if not the letter of this action may be observed every day in animals claiming a far higher rank in the standard of nature than is as yet allotted to monkeys. The Irish monkey, whom we shall next mention, was too wise to burn *himself*.

"He had seen his master and mistress lying in bed with their heads reposing on the pillow, and had treasured the circumstance in

his recollection: he turned it to an odd account. Being present when the bedchamber was prepared for their reception, he secreted himself till the maid was gone, then opened the bed-clothes, laid the two lighted toilette-candles carefully on the bed, with their wicks upon the pillow, and tucked them up in form. The bed furniture was, as may be imagined, soon in a blaze, and the smell of fire and crackling of the flames brought the whole household to the room.

"Pug seemed to have some notion of the result of his experiment; for he posted himself near the door, and, on the first irruption of the servants, sprang out; overturning the first who entered the bed-room in his sally.

"Another Irish monkey played a trick of something of the same description.

"This monkey lived in the service of a small milliner in Dublin. In the same room with him, was a basket of kittens, and his mistress had put upon the fire some sort of soup or porridge with mutton chops. The monkey fished out these and ate them, and put the poor kittens in their place." P. 71.

But monkeys, if all that has been said of them is true, (and who is there shall prove its falsehood?) exercise their superiority of instinct in social intercourse, as well as in acts of solitary intelligence:

Oppida cœperunt munire et ponere leges.

A Dane, whose papers were purchased by the late Lord Melville, stated, that having fled from the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of an unjust charge of peculation brought against him by the old Dutch government, he penetrated due North, through the interior of Africa, till he reached the opposite coast. Among other marvels he arrived at a town of monkeys.

"I regret that I do not recollect time, bearings, or dates, which he was said to have specified with great apparent consistency: but I will give, as accurately as I can, the substance of his narrative.

"Here again he was arrested, and, to his great surprize, by what he called a swarm of tailless monkeys, inhabiting a sort of wigwam of low hovels. He described the supposed monkeys as communicating amongst each other, in guttural and other indescribable sounds, which were, I suppose, what are denominated palatic. He spoke of them as living on *roasted* roots, as pursuing agriculture, as acquainted with a homely description of architecture, and making use of barrows in their labours, which he (who had probably been a sailor) called small rafts upon wheels.

"The first act of this people of pigmies was to strip the Dane and his Dutch servant, put a clog upon their legs, and employ them in their works. For this purpose, they were each furnished with two of these flat barrows lashed together, which they were compelled

to wheel; their strength being apparently calculated by the inhabitants as double their own.

" After some weeks spent in this melancholy employment, master and man contrived to effect their escape." P. 99.

The writer of this volume contends, and as we think, on good grounds, for the probability of this narrative, which, it must be admitted, looks at first as if it had been coined in the mint of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto or Sir John Maundeville. We will furnish him with a fresh argument in support of the Dane. If the monkeys were not, in fact, real, original and genuine monkeys, but a horde of Bosjemen, may they not be descendants of the same Lilliputian race, ἄνδρες μικροὶ, μετρίων ἐλάσσονες ἀνδρῶν, whom the Nasamonians encountered in their trip into the interior of Africa (Herod. ii. 32.) These spoke a language unknown to the maritime tribes, and lived in a city ἐν τῇ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους. If the Dane had but mentioned the colour of the complexion of his monkeys, we have little doubt that we should have found, even on this point, the modern discoverer and the Father of History mutually confirming each other's veracity.

Hear what Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, tells of the forethought of these animals. They seize serpents behind the head, grind their teeth out against a stone, and having thus rendered them harmless, toss them as playthings to their children. Hear Tavernier's relation of the confederacy of monkeys, which nearly wrought him so much ill.

" ' The famous M. Tavernier tells us that, returning from Agra with the English president to Surat, they passed within four or five leagues of Amenabad, through a little forest of mangoes. ' We saw here (says he) a vast number of very large apes, male and female, many of the latter having their young in their arms. We were each of us in our coaches, and the English president stopt his, to tell me that he had a very fine new gun, and knowing that I was a good marksman, desired me to try it by shooting one of the apes. One of my servants, who was a native of the country, made a sign to me not to do it; and I did all that was in my power to dissuade the gentleman from his design; but to no purpose: for he immediately levelled his piece and shot a she ape, who fell through the branches of the tree on which she was sitting, her young ones tumbling, at the same time, out of her arms, upon the ground. We presently saw that happen which my servant apprehended, for all the apes, to the number of sixty, came immediately down from the trees and attacked the president's coach with such fury, that they must infallibly have destroyed him, if all who were present had not flown to his relief, and by drawing up the windows, and posting all the servants about the coach, protected him from their resentment. I must confess, I was not a little afraid, though they did

not offer to meddle with me, because they were very large and of incredible strength, and their fury was so great, that they pursued the president's coach for nearly three leagues.'" P. 115.

Hear, in conclusion, an instance of deliberation in the Gibraltar monkeys, which is scarcely to be excelled in our own Courts of law.

"Lord Heathfield, then General Elliott, had ordered a very small advanced post to be established on a part of the rock hitherto undisturbed by military operations; and the officer commanding it, had received directions to conceal his little party with the greatest care.

"The post was taken possession of at night, and the men, ambushed in the hollow of an overhanging crag, were the more easily hidden, in that a *Sirocco* had just risen, driving wreaths of mist before it, as thick as those which issue from the mouths of a battery.

"While they were thus lying under cover, a party of monkeys was seen advancing with an old gray-headed baboon, carefully guarded in the centre. They arrived, halted, and detached their prisoner to a small distance; where he remained between two monkeys who had the charge of him. The rest formed a sort of court, before which an advocate evidently accused the prisoner of some offence, he weeping, screaming, and frequently interrupting the attorney-general. Indeed, the proceedings seem to have been altogether irregular; for the officer represented judges, advocate and prisoner, as all chattering together.

"At length, however, an old monkey, who, the soldiers insisted, was the Chief Justice of the woods, screamed louder than the rest, and the prisoner was instantly hurried off and precipitated over a projecting rock.

"Our people were much scandalized at this proceeding, being convinced that the old baboon was too helpless to have deserved his punishment, and that he was sacrificed, under some false accusation, to prevent his being burthensome to his parish!" P. 169.

These anecdotes may be startling to the dignity of human nature: and man, in his pride, may perhaps be more inclined to admit the approaches with which the half-reasoning elephant has sometimes evinced his intellectual superiority, than those of the Pongo and the Marmazet. But the fact, we believe, must nevertheless be received. This is not the first time in which the resemblance has been exhibited, and we must be content, after all, to acknowledge, with Ennius,

Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis.

ART. X.—*Lisbon in the years* 1821, 1822, *and* 1823. *By Marianne Baillie.* In Two Volumes. London. Murray. 8vo. 15*s.* 1824.

IT is with the most unfeigned pleasure that we perceive, and with the most willing readiness that we acknowledge, a great improvement in the fair authoress of these volumes, since her first appearance before the public. On that occasion (Brit. Critic, Aug. 1819), we took the liberty (certainly with no ill will, and therefore we hope with no occasion for offence) to point out a few particulars which struck us as demanding notice of disapproval. We are scarcely vain enough to attribute the better taste (and we apply this word to matters of grave and serious import, as well as to the contexture of style), which pervades the present work, to any effect produced by our admonition; and perhaps it may be more fairly assigned to that corrective power which a good mind, for the most part, possesses in itself; which sooner or later is brought into operation, unless it is checked by the obstinacy of pride; and which, if time is happily allowed it, succeeds in the end in making the crooked straight, and the rough places plain. Certain it is that Mrs. Baillie, who appeared in her "*First Impressions*" to be in some danger of becoming an *esprit fort*, and a *liberale*, has now emancipated herself from those ugly prejudices which so often beset very young and very ardent temperaments; and instead of shewing her contempt for the opinions of the good and wise, like Lady Morgan, more and more in every new publication, she now approaches Religious topics with piety, and descants on Politics without anathematizing all established authority.

It is a standing literary maxim, that no published letters should ever have been written for publication. Those of Walsh perhaps are an exception; but these clearly were never committed to the postman, and were indeed addressed to imaginary mistresses. The coquetries of Pope, who wrote to real correspondents of flesh and blood, is well known; and the pious fraud by which, through the medium of a clergyman's gown, and a lawyer's band, he tossed the bait to the avaricious greediness of Curll, was easily detected, in spite of the Poet's subsequent shew of anger. From his time to our own we scarcely recollect any epistolary collection, which accident, the surreptitious arts of some coveting bookseller, or the tender violence of admiring friends, has not forced to the press, much to the discomfiture of the

reluctant (ἑκὼν ἀκόντι δὲ θύμῳ) and resisting writer. Mrs. Baillie is not to be blamed for continuing in the fashion; and as she says, in her Preface, that "it will be easily perceived" that her Letters were not written for publication, we will not endeavour to take a more difficult view of them.

It was in June 1821, that Mr. and Mrs. Baillie and their infant boy arrived in Lisbon, where Mr. Baillie had an official appointment. Their first abode was in Buenos Ayres, a suburb which is the favourite resort of the English, from its comparative want of filth. Alas! in Lisbon, Jove himself would find no Goddess to "minister with purest hands" to him, and we cannot wonder if the complaints are both loud and numerous which an elegant and delicate Englishwoman is compelled to utter at the indescribable abomination of this most foul of cities. The season at which the travellers commenced their residence, was peculiarly interesting in a political light. The King was expected every moment from the Brazils, and on the 4th of July he landed. The Monarch returned to his European throne, under the protection of two Russian ships, and an English frigate; and the Cortes, as soon as he entered the Tagus, informed him that he could not be permitted to set foot on shore, unless he confirmed and sanctioned their proceedings. To all these demands he gave perhaps an unwilling, but certainly not a tardy consent.

In a few days after the arrival of the King, Mrs. Baillie removed to Cintra. The party travelled in a *sége*, an open two-wheeled carriage, resembling those in the prints to Gil Blas, crazy, ill-contrived, and shabby, and drawn by two horses, one of which was in shafts. The luggage was piled inside, and grated piteously against the flayed and indented shins of the passengers. The wheels were never greased, for their noise is supposed to keep off evil spirits from man and beast. Jangling, shattering and jolting over a rude and narrow *pavé*, under the guidance of a gaunt swarthy postilion, in a loose chamois doublet, and rusty hat, they performed fifteen miles in four hours. Cintra, when reached, proved to be a Paradise; all oranges and lemons, lavender, rosemary and carnations, wood strawberries and red raspberries, palm hedges, lettuces, wild bees, singing birds, and blue sky. Mrs. Baillie is a poetess, and she celebrated her entrance into these delights, by some very pleasing lines, descriptive of the beauties above-mentioned, and many more.

The Portuguese have odd customs; the women wear very scanty petticoats, if any; none wear night caps, and several sleep stark naked: they bring up children on a pap of bread,

water, garlic and rancid oil: they sleep upon boards, and marry their aunts if they please: they eat hot beef steaks and fish for breakfast, to which the ladies add a large thick slice of hot leavened bread, strewed with salt and pepper, soaked in vinegar, seasoned highly with garlic, and swimming in oil. They pick their teeth very much; two *palitos*, slips of orange or myrtle wood, being set by each persons plate at dinner; but they pass whole days without washing or shaving; they keep fowls apparently for little other purpose than to breed fleas. Their chambermaids wear diamond ear-rings when in full dress; and Mrs. Baillie has seen a huckstress in her booth, with brilliant drops which nearly touched her collar bones. In the palace of the Condeça d'A., a river flows through the middle of the kitchen, from which it is the common practice of the cook to catch such fish as are ordered for dinner, a few moments before they are served up. All husbands go out with their wives in public, and no other male is permitted to enter the carriage, however near his relationship may be.

"At the house of a nobleman in this neighbourhood, I observed a singular ceremony: every master has an arrangement with his servants relative to the arrival of the guests;—if a carriage with one gentleman in it appears in the court yard, the porter rings a sonorous bell *once*, the master hears it but perhaps does not rise from his seat, as it announces only the arrival of an individual, who is not considered to be a man of any particular consequence; if the bell sounds *twice*, he will generally rise, for this means that a grandee is coming; but when the warning stroke is *thrice* repeated he always leaves the room to meet the visitor at the door of the house, for then it is a lady who arrives." Vol. II. p. 3.

They build their best sitting rooms immediately over their stables, and crowd them with doors, that in which Mrs. Baillie lived at Buenos Ayres had two windows and six doors, none of which would shut close. The ladies look out of their balconies all morning, and sit cross legged on the floor, and tell stories with their maid servants all evening. Living in the midst of the most nauseating fumes, they dislike all fragrant waters except *eau de cologne*, and particularly object to the smell of a geranium. At the funeral of the Queen dowager, who had been dead six years, and had been brought over from the Brazils, without being embalmed, two of the young Princesses were appointed to dress her corpse. When it was taken out of the coffin for this purpose, one of them fainted twice. The other persevered, and assisted by her ladies, reclothed the body in a black robe, a dress cap, gloves, shoes and stockings, and some splendid orders on the breast.

The King, though compelled to yield to the Cortes in matters of serious import, would make no surrender of etiquette. On entering one of the state apartments, he observed chairs set there, an unusual circumstance in a royal palace. The attendants answered his inquiries as to their destination, by saying, that they were intended for the use of the Cortes, when they came to pay their duty to his Majesty, "The Cortes," he replied quickly, "take them away instantly! No person shall ever use a chair in my presence." All the Royal family are approached on the knee, and some ladies assured Mrs. Baillie, that the fatigue of a visit to the Queen and Princesses was so great, in consequence of their being obliged to remain kneeling as long as these illustrious personages chuse to prolong the conversation, that they usually went to bed on quitting the Royal presence. In the streets every body of how exalted rank soever, dismounts and salutes them as they pass.

On Mrs. Baillie's return to Buenos Ayres, she was present at a ball given on the 26th of January 1822, to celebrate the first sitting of the Cortes. The Directors ventured upon an experiment hitherto unthought of in Portugal; that of inviting the King and Royal family. His Majesty gave a troublesomely ambiguous answer, *muito obrigado senhores, muito obrigado*; he had never been present before at any public assembly, save an opera and a church feast. His party, the *Corcundas*, were outrageous at the proposed contamination of his dignity; wagers were laid to a large amount, that he would not go; and great pains were taken to prevent his attendance, by anonymous letters threatening a gunpowder treason. Nevertheless he *did* go, and Mrs. Baillie's account of the solemnity is so vividly and strikingly given, that we cannot refrain from extracting the whole of it.

"At seven o'clock, we left our hotel, and arrived safely at the scene of action, having passed through Lisbon, the whole of which was illuminated, (even to the topmost story of each house,) and large bonfires lighted in the principal squares. The population were all abroad, decked in their holiday finery, many of the women in the lower classes treading, as usual, the muddy pavement in white satin slippers; the carriages were flying about in all directions, the horse police steadily arranging every thing according to order, with drawn swords, but civil and conciliatory demeanour, guns firing, and the bells of every convent and church pealing most tremendously; when we entered, the spectacle was really charming; the staircase is particularly fine, and on this evening it appeared like the entrance to an enchanted palace; the ballustrades and pillars were wreathed with the freshest flowers, and costly vases, ranged on each side of every landing place, were filled with the rarest and most beautiful plants;

the pavement of the outer court was also thickly strewed with rosemary, lavender, and other aromatics, newly gathered, which trampled beneath the feet of the horses and servants, diffused a delightful and refreshing odour. High over our heads, in the hall, fronting the entrance gate, was a transparent painting of Justice, holding the balance with an even hand, while a figure of love presented a large volume to the spectators, on which was inscribed "*Constituicao*;" an armed warrior on either side supported this painting; on their shields they bore the words "Cortes," and "Don João Sesto:" two doors at the top of the staircase led, one to the suite of dancing rooms, the other to the private apartment in which supper was prepared for the King and his family alone; and each was concealed by full curtains of rich crimson velvet. To lady patronesses and directors of fetes in London, all this would have appeared a matter of course, and nothing more than what they were in the habit of seeing every season; but in the eyes of the Portugueze, it was novel as well as elegant; I confess, for my own part, that the effect which the fragrance and brilliancy of the roses and other flowers produced upon my senses, was indescribably exhilirating. I believe I expressed my delight too audibly, which might perhaps have led a London circle to have set me down at once as a country cousin; but I do not envy those persons, who would have viewed the scene with apathy; the English alone, among civilized nations, feel ashamed of expressing their pleasurable feelings. Soft music (from the opera of la Festa de Rosa) resounded as the doors opened, and a coup d'œil of dazzling magnificence was discovered; an immense assemblage of persons splendidly dressed, among whom were the six directors, habited in court suits of blue velvet, relieved with white, being the constitutional colours; the latter were indefatigable in their polite attentions to the company, who perpetually arrived in endless succession, so as to render their office no sinecure. One of them immediately advanced, and taking me from under the protection of my husband, led me into an anti-room, where he assigned me a place amidst a crowd of ladies, who were ranged in rows, three and four deep, (the gentlemen all standing,) awaiting the arrival of the King, who was then at the opera, from whence he had arranged to come to the ball. After waiting full two hours, a message arrived from the royal box, which put the directors into a bustle, and all the ladies into a flutter of expectation; "El Rey, el Rey!" burst from every lip—but no! it was only a gentleman of the court, who brought tidings that his Majesty intended to stay the ballet at San Carlos. I could perceive an evident though repressed feeling of anxiety and doubt at this information, and one or two of the liberal party who sat near me, began audibly to murmur an indignant apprehension that the King would, after all, delight in dssappointing us.

"At length, the noise of his heavy coach was heard, resembling the dull lumbering sound of a hearse; then a thundering roll of the drums, and the loud pealing of bells; and while the musicians in the gallery played up the constitutional hymn, the directors went

forth in a body, to receive the sovereign at the foot of the stairs, from whence they conducted him into an anti-chamber, to rest for a few minutes upon a gold and crimson velvet throne, erected for the purpose. Here the six directors kissed hands, and, after a short interval, Don João, accompanied by his second son, Don Miguel, (the eldest having remained, as you know, as regent in the Brazils,) his married daughter, widow of the late Infante of Spain, the second princess, Donna Isabella, and his little grandson, child of the widowed princess, passed through the anti-room in which we sat, attended by the chamberlains and ladies in waiting. The moment they had placed themselves upon their elevated seats at the top of the ball room, the dancing commenced with great spirit; the ladies, of course, all rose as they passed, and both gentlemen and ladies (at least those who were personally known to them) kissed their hands as they moved through the glittering ranks which opened with difficulty to afford them a passage.

"The king was dressed in a scarlet uniform covered with diamonds, and rendered more ceremonious by a sort of scarf drapery, depending from his shoulder, being the ribbon of the principal orders: we had both seen him before; indeed, my husband had been presented by the English minister only a few days previous, therefore we were aware of the difference in the usual expression of his countenance, and that which appeared this evening. Terror (extreme, evident, but gradually yielding to the encouraging influence of female beauty and the general respectful devotion of manner exhibited by the gentlemen,) was its predominant character. Don Miguel walked next: a thin slight youth, with pale and rather elegant features, from which, however, every ray of intelligence seemed banished: solemn, upright, and immoveable; when once seated, he had the air of a statue or an automaton. The little grandson was, this evening, very tired and sleepy, and as he sat perched up in state by his royal grandfather's side, with his small legs dangling from a very high and uncomfortable seat, I longed to have possessed the power of carrying him off to bed. Six chamberlains stood ranged behind this regal group, dressed in scarlet coats embroidered with gold, with outrageously long waists, which made them appear all back and stomach. Their various orders, stars, and collars really dazzled the eye, and they appeared altogether so loaded with finery, and so stiff with embroidery, that they could hardly turn their heads, or make use of their limbs; perfect specimens of the ancient courtier—stiffened, cramped, confined and unnatural. The dress of the ladies was splendid, and their jewels of incredible beauty and value. The venerable Don Bernardo Paes led me to view the royal supper table, to which, by Portugueze etiquette, no person is admitted but the family of the king. As I leaned on the old man's offered arm, I really paused to admire my supporter, for he is the most perfect specimen of unaffected dignity that Lisbon now affords.

"The royal banquet was not particularly magnificent; and the prettiest appointments of the table were some gold knives and forks,

and a set of alabaster vases crowned, a l'antique, with roses: the apartment was fitted up with white muslin, so as to resemble a tent. We came away early, leaving Don Joao viewing the dancers, and I learnt that every thing concluded amicably and prosperously; the king went quietly to bed, instead of being blown up, and the ultra faction will, I hope, suffer him to retain the tranquillizing conviction, that his life is perfectly safe from the *bloody* designs of a Constitutional government!—Adieu." Vol. II. p. 33.

To go to Lisbon without witnessing an earthquake, is scarcely worth while. Mrs. Baillie accordingly was present at two. Both, however, were slight; only sufficient to shake the beds, rattle the windows, clap the doors, and knock the candles out of their sockets. But these struggles of Nature were trifling compared with the political convulsions to which this unhappy country was exposed. Mrs. Baillie was still in Lisbon (May 1823) when the young Prince, Don Miguel, disgusted by the faction which surrounded his father, fled from the palace and betook himself to the revolting troops. The king in consequence was immediately declared *Rey Absoluto*, and the *liberals* in their turn were discontented. The Royal family made a grand entry into Lisbon, on the return of the Prince. The Princesses were clothed in the military uniforms of colonels, with a petticoat attached; and the whole party celebrated *Te Deum* at the cathedral.

"The King has had the good policy to enact a farce, called "The Reconciliation," a few days ago. He went in state to the Ramallao, to bring back the Queen in triumph, to hold a drawing-room at the palace of Queluz, and placing her in the same carriage with himself, (a circumstance which has not occurred for the last twenty years,) embraced and kissed her cheek; upon entering the neighbourhood of Queluz, they were met by the whole of a most brilliant court, and an immense concourse of the people. The latter, taking off the horses, drew the royal carriage as far as the gates of the palace, and the former followed *on foot*, in grand procession. Their Majesties, upon alighting, again kissed each other, before all the assembly, and then proceeded, hand in hand, to the audience chamber, where such numerous "beije maos" (kissing of hands upon presentation) took place, that the ceremony was not concluded under six hours. Several ladies, who were present, assured me that they dropped into a deep sleep the instant they entered their carriages, on coming away, completely worn out by fatigue and exhaustion." Vol. II. p. 181.

Balls, fetes and illuminations without end succeeded. Sir Robert Wilson came into the Tagus, was arrested and deprived of his order of the Tower and the Sword. The Queen was "in a terrible state of temper." Sir George Nayler arrived with the Garter, and the King was so impatient for the investiture

that he peremptorily ordered his surgeon to cure a sore leg under which he laboured, several days earlier than they projected; but before this desired ceremony could take place Mrs. Baillie, to the great joy of her heart, once again set sail for England. It is most refreshing to turn from the sickly and unnatural preference which most travellers affect to feel for their foreign abodes, to the simple and affectionate delight with which Mrs. Baillie contemplates her return home.

We have omitted sundry visits to nunneries, and conventual anecdotes, as they are such as may be found abundantly in similar publications. One or two instances of the extent of the prevalent superstition, may, however, be cited; and they are such, be it remembered, as may be expected to exist in every country which professes the Roman Catholic religion. A person who had been urged to pray *directly* to God, instead of indirectly addressing him through the saints, replied as follows:—

"It is proper and right, (said he,) to apply to the saints, when we want any thing; they are in favour with God, and can (if they are pleased with our offerings) obtain for us every good gift. With regard to addressing ourselves to God himself, that would be a very unwise method of proceeding: would any prudent person present a request to the king, when he knows that his ear is open only to the persuasions and representations of the fidalgos who surround him? Now the saints are *God's* fidalgos and therefore we pray to *them*." Vol. I. p. 92.

"A woman in the lower class of society, being oppressed by the weight of some family misfortune, went to one of the churches to pray; she was found by this priest upon her knees, pouring out her supplications to that Almighty Redeemer, who alone is able to save! "Why do you pray to Jesus Christ?" said he: "apply rather to such and such *saints*, for they are so powerful in heaven, that they are able to do every thing for you, and may ask *whatever they choose* of Jesus Christ, *who dares not refuse them!*" Vol. I. p. 52.

A discovery of great importance to religion, (if we may so abuse the word), was made during Mrs. Baillie's residence.

"At the distance of a few miles from hence is a certain field, in which a peasant boy was chasing a rabbit; the animal crept into an aperture in the side of a bank, closely followed by a dog; the boy, surprised to find that the latter did not return, determined to ascertain what had happened to prevent it, and, accordingly, groped his way into the bank, through the same narrow entrance; what was his astonishment, upon finding himself in a sort of cave, or hermitage, at the upper end of which he beheld an image of the virgin! The discovery was soon made public, and the miracles affirmed to be worked by this image go on daily increasing; all ranks of persons

are hastening to the spot, and it is asserted, among other popular tales, that when the boy first entered the cave, he found both the rabbit and dog upon their knees in devout adoration of the image." Vol. II. p. 112.

" Every creature in Lisbon and its environs is hastening to pay due adoration at the shrine of the newly discovered virgin, who is about four inches long, and being found, as I before mentioned, in a cave near this place, is consequently denominated " Nossa Senhora da Barracca," (our lady of the cave.) Here, every evening, a friar descants upon the miracles said to have been performed by her; and a small book, descriptive of them, has been published by *authority*. The image is already covered with costly ornaments, among which are, a crown set with brilliants, and numerous gold chains; the gifts of those votaries who are able to afford such demonstration of their faith. An aged fidalga, and somewhat fanciful withal, living in this neighbourhood, and who has been bedridden for years past, has caused herself to be carried to the cave, and has in consequence, (as she declares,) recovered the use of her limbs; the circumstance being well authenticated, affords additional proof of the extraordinary power of the imagination in nervous and hypochondriac complaints. The Queen goes in grand state this evening, and makes an offering of a silver lamp. The field resembles an immense fair, and restaurateurs regularly attend in their booths, to provide for the refreshment of the company. Last night, there were no less than thirty carriages upon the ground, and it is common to see more than a thousand of the peasantry and townspeople upon their knees, at one time, surrounding the mouth of the cave. The friars have thought proper to declare, that a balsamic fragrance flows constantly from the image; and though there is always a strong smell of garlic and oil in the grotto, it is the fashion, upon entering, to exclaim, " What a delicious odour!" I ought to tell you, that the Senhora is not very easy of access, as the entrance of her cave is so narrow, that persons are under the necessity of squeezing themselves in, creeping upon the hands and knees, and the heat of the interior is so insupportable, that several women have fainted." Vol. II. p. 128.

The king, queen and royal family, accompanied by the minister of state, went in solemn procession to the cave, and there paid their devotions to the newly found image, expressing a grateful belief that the recent political change was owing to her benign influence.

One other story is almost too *piquant* for our pages; we give it, however, to show the extent of profaneness to which superstition united with pride may lead its votaries. It is only necessary to premise, that *puritana* is not a religious *soubriquet*, but is applied to those families whose blood has never been contaminated by any plebeian alliance.

" Once on a time then, it happened, that a knot of puritana dames

were discussing the subject of who was, or who was not, properly qualified for the high honour of their acquaintance. 'If the Virgin Mary were alive,' said one, 'we could not visit her, you know, on account of her plebeian rank in life.' 'I can hardly decide,' replied another—'she is entitled to our adoration dead or alive.' At length the matter was settled to the satisfaction of everybody, by the fiat of an ancient Marqueza, the oracle of the party.—'Yes,' said she, 'we *might* visit the Virgin, on account of her being so *highly connected*; she is, you know, 'the Mother of G—d!'" Vol. II. p. 232.

Mrs. Baillie for the most part writes feelingly and intelligibly, and it is only now and then that some mistaken tawdriness or sublimities deform her style. She should not tell us, that "the pale demon of consumption may here plume her spectral wings, and grin a ghastly smile of complacence;" nor, that "these iron times are chilled by the freezy influence of the sneering demon of ultra refinement." In justice, however, we must add, that these flights are few, and that the general matter and manner of her volumes is such as we must be indeed fastidious if we did not approve.

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This was the last number of the monthly series

THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR MARCH, 1825.

ART. I.—*The Evidence of Christianity, derived from its Nature and Reception. By J. B. Sumner, M.A. Prebendary of Durham; Vicar of Mapledurham, Oxon; and late Fellow of Eton College.* 8vo. 429 pp. 10s. 6d. Hatchard; Rivingtons. 1824.

AN author, when he comes before the public, is in some respects in the situation of an actor. Except on the supposition of a certain quantum of talent, he ought not to appear upon the stage at all; but whatever his talent may be, the public have a right to expect that he shall do his best to please them: and if he is able to perform much better than others, not content himself with merely doing as well. Now, if this canon were introduced in the criminal law of criticism, we think that, as impartial judges, we should be fairly authorized in condemning the work now before us. The book itself contains many things that are useful; it is very pleasingly written, and in a spirit of unaffected piety. Had it been the production of an unknown author, we believe that we should have praised it highly. But either the character which Mr. Sumner bears in the world for theological learning and ability is very considerably overstated, or he is capable, if he would, of producing something very much better in every respect than we can conscientiously allow this work to be. The perusal of it, we are free to say, has much disappointed our expectation; and we are the less reserved in expressing our disappointment, because it affords us an opportunity at once of expressing the high estimation in which we are willing to hold the talents of Mr. Sumner, at the same time, that we regret the little permanent benefit which the church seems likely to reap from his exertion of them.

Often have we wished that writers, and more particularly theological writers, could be persuaded to adopt that wise

regulation of the college of physicians at Memphis, which assigned a specific disorder to each separate practitioner, and forbad him to study the treatment of any disease, except that which he was allowed to cure by law. In imitation of this admirable provision, we should be glad if no divine were allowed, by the canons of the church, to devote himself to the investigation of more than one department of his science; or even were forbidden to appear more than once in the course of his life before the public, in the character of an author. For want of some such enactment, it is quite grievous to see how the press teems with publications on divinity; and at the same time to notice how few of them are calculated, or even seem intended, to survive the season in which, and for which, they are brought out. In ordinary cases this does not much matter; but it is a subject of serious regret, when we find men, such as Mr. Sumner is thought to be, lending themselves to this vulgar scramble for reputation.

There may have been a time, when the literature of the country was in its infancy, in which some apology might be offered, for the publication of works hastily composed. While every subject was new, and every path untrodden, allowance perhaps was due to the eagerness with which men communicated what was no less eagerly sought. But all the high roads of learning have now been trodden down and beaten; and nothing valuable, on any important subject, can at present be added to the general store of knowledge, except at the expense of a degree of labour which was not heretofore required. In theology, this is more particularly the case. Here every path has been explored, every nook and dingle has been surveyed. All that seems now wanting to complete the science, is some such general map of the country, or of particular provinces in it, as would bring the bearings of all the different parts in one view before the eye. The theological student, at present, is overwhelmed with the vast mass of materials that are before him; and we really think, that every work, by an author of reputation, that does not add very materially to the truths already known, or at least place them in some clearer and more philosophical arrangement, is in the nature of a positive grievance.

We are perfectly willing to do justice to the merits both of this and of the preceding publications of Mr. Sumner. Considering them merely as new publications, no doubt they are entitled to rank high in the popular divinity of the day. But if our author's ambition is satisfied by this kind of praise, we confess that our expectations are not. Mr. Sum-

ner possesses a degree of reputation, and especially among his friends, which is very evidently not fully warranted by any thing which he has hitherto atchieved, allowing to his productions all the excellence to which they can possibly pretend. They are written uniformly with much beauty of style; often much eloquence of manner. They display acuteness; are not deficient in learning. There is, we are free to confess, a want of terseness, and of that masculine consciousness of ability, which stamps the writings of our great divines; but still there is sufficient in them to enable us to understand the grounds of the deference which we have heard expressed for his opinions; and it is because we wish to participate in this feeling, that we are now expressing ourselves with so much frankness. We wish to see Mr. Sumner not as a competitor for fame among the fashionable divines of the day, but as a competitor among the standard writers of his country. And it is because we are willing to believe that he is able to take this high place, that we have thought it our duty to make these remarks, which have been extorted from us by a perusal of the work before us.

We have seldom met with a book of any considerable pretension, such as is implied in the very name and title of this to which we are now directing our remarks, apparently composed with fewer marks of labour and study; or where so many topics were handled, and so few pursued to any full conclusion. Instead of carrying his reader straight onward to the point, which he sets out by proposing to prove, in the manner of a person who, having been over the ground before, knows precisely in which direction his object lies, Mr. Sumner compels his readers to accompany him round and round the field, backwards and forwards, merely following the scent of his subject, if we may be allowed so violent a metaphor; and then, as soon as he has put up his quarry, he seems to be content. As to persevering in the pursuit, until, in sportsman's phrase, he has fairly *bagged* his game, this is a labour which he rarely undergoes.

Now, there can be no doubt that such is partly the way in which all truths are for the most part discovered and demonstrated, in the first instance, by the author himself. Every conclusion, that is of importance, must be traced and detected in this method of analytical research. But, as is well known, the method in which truths are to be taught, is precisely the reverse method of that in which they are discovered; and every good writer in matters of reasoning has experienced, that the great difficulty, the irksome part of

philosophical composition, consists precisely in this very task; we mean, that of reversing the original order of our ideas, and giving them that synthetical arrangement, upon the perfection of which the whole beauty of a philosophical work depends, considering it as a composition. If, indeed, a writer has any new truths to communicate, if he has made discoveries in his science, and brought to light principles that had never before been known, no doubt, in this case, he might use the freedom of dispensing with what could otherwise be considered as indispensable. But there are no pretensions to any thing of this kind in Mr. Sumner's work. It was not to be expected, upon a subject so often and so ably handled, as that of the Evidences has been, that any new truths of importance could be communicated. In the groundwork and substance of the work before us, Mr. S. has very properly followed the path which others before him had prescribed; and we may be allowed to add, that it is in those portions of his work, where he was merely going over established ground, that we think the best passages of it are to be found. In those parts of the volume in which Mr. Sumner aims at throwing *new* light upon the subject of the Evidences, and the value of which was doubtless the reason which engaged him to write his book, we do frankly confess, that we cannot equally trace the hand of the master; sometimes even we doubted, whether we did not miss the knowledge of the sound theologian.

The work is divided into thirteen chapters, of which the the last is chiefly a recapitulation of what had gone before. Of these, the two first chapters are very much the best, and undoubtedly display much talent. The subject of them is, the 'Origin of the Christian Religion,' and the 'Opposition of Christianity to the Opinions prevailing among the Jews.' In the first of them, Mr. Sumner points out briefly, but very pointedly, the many difficult suppositions, in matter of fact, which are involved in the denial of the Evangelical History. In the second, he marks with a very nice and discriminating hand, the wonderful way in which Christianity was grafted upon the Jewish stock, at the same time that the whole conception of its doctrine, excludes even the possibility of its having been a Jewish invention. We cannot do justice to the merits of this chapter by a mere extract; but the following passage will exemplify what we consider one of the peculiar merits of Mr. Sumner's writings: we mean the clear and perspicuous manner in which he expresses himself, whenever he has to reason upon matters of fact.

"There is no doubt, that at the time when Jesus appeared,

the Jews were expecting a prophet, or a king, or a deliverer, known from their ancient writings under the title of the Messiah. This expectation had even extended through other parts of the East. Such a belief is implied in the inquiry of the Magi who came to Jerusalem to pay homage, asking, 'Where is he that is born King of the Jews?' We read, too, of 'devout men,' who were 'waiting for the consolation of Israel.' All were desiring 'one who should come.' He was anticipated, moreover, under the very title which Jesus assumed. The Samaritan woman spoke the general opinion, when she said, I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ: when he is come, he will tell us all things. And the impression produced by the appearance of Jesus is represented as this; 'Come, see a man which told me all that ever I did: is not *this the Christ? When Christ cometh*, will he do greater things than these?"

"Now, suppose the case assumed: that a person, with no divine commission, resolved to claim to himself the character of the expected Messiah. He would lay hold of the popular hope of such an appearance, as the most reasonable chance of his success. Such an expectation would be likely to go far towards accomplishing the event to which it referred.* Therefore he would ascertain what sort of deliverer his nation anticipated, and assimilate himself as nearly as possible to that character.

"But it happens very unaccountably, that the actual character of Jesus was decidedly opposed to the expected character of the Messias. They looked for a conqueror, a temporal king; and had been accustomed to interpret in this sense all the prophecies which foretold his coming. And whether we suppose Jesus to have been impostor or enthusiast, this is the character which he would naturally assume. If he were an enthusiast, his mind would have been filled with the popular belief, and his imagination fired with the national ideas of victory and glory. If he were an impostor, the general expectation would coincide with the only motive to which his conduct can be attributed, ambition, and the desire of personal aggrandizement.

"How, then, can we explain his rejecting from the first, and throughout his whole career, all the advantage which he might have derived from the previous expectation of the people, and even his turning it against himself and his cause? Why should he, as a Jew, have interpreted the prophetic Scriptures differently from all other Jews? Why should he, as an impostor, have deprived himself of all personal benefit from his design?" P. 24.

In chapter III. Mr. Sumner extends the line of reasoning which he had been following with respect to the Jews; and endeavours to show, that Christianity bears upon its face the

* Volney treats this as so certain and important, that he thinks little else necessary in order to account for the origin of Christianity, than to be able to assert, that a mediator or deliverer was expected, who should relieve the nation from its present calamities.

same stamp of originality in its relation to other prevailing or merely probable opinions. Speaking of the Koran, he says,

"When I subject Christianity to a similar test, no such result appears. I cannot account for its fundamental doctrines. They are agreeable, indeed, to experience and observation: they explain appearances which are and always have been universal throughout the world: they suit the character and meet the necessities of mankind; but they are so far from being on that account 'as old as the creation,' that a moment's reflection on what the tenets of the Gospel really are, will show them to be in the strictest sense original. Like the theory of attraction, they explain phenomena long observed and every where observable; but like that theory, the explanation was perfectly novel. It is difficult to suppose that unauthorized men, of any rank, education, or country, could ever have undertaken to promulgate such doctrines."

The remark which is here made, is true and important; and the proposition which it lays down, forms, in fact, the real subject of the book itself. The argument, however, by which the proof of it is to be established, is one of extraordinary nicety and difficulty, and which would well repay the labour of any time or talents devoted to the simple object of demonstrating this one truth. But neither Mr. Sumner nor any man living can manage this argument off hand; or without long and cautious deliberation, both as to the matter of proof, and as to the manner in which that proof is to be presented. We have little doubt, but that the volume before us, originally formed the subject of some of Mr. Sumner's sermons. And had it appeared in that shape before the public, he would have avoided considerable trouble. Because a book of sermons is professedly for *believers* in the great doctrines of Christianity; whereas when a writer puts forth a book upon the 'Evidences,' it is professedly for *unbelievers*; and with these last to urge the *difficulty* and *originality* of any part of Christianity, as a proof of its *divine authority*, is a very tender ground of argument indeed. On the face of it, it would appear to involve an evident *petitio principii*; but it is not necessarily that, although perilously near to it. Let, however, this argument be pushed one single step beyond the true point at which it properly stops, and we at once fall into the principle of Tertullian: *credo quia impossibile est*. Of all the doctrines of the Gospel, what most shocks the prejudices of the philosophical unbeliever, are those of the original corruption of our nature by Adam's sin, and the remission, through the blood of Christ, of the penalty incurred. To lead mankind to a belief in these great truths, as connected with the divinity of

Christ, was the object of all the miracles of the New Testament, of all the prophecies and revelations of the Old. But to turn sharply round upon a man who, with the Greeks, thinks all this "the foolishness of preaching," by telling him that you mean to show, that the very *originality* of these truths, and which he calls their *improbability*, is when properly considered a substantive part of the very Evidences themselves, on which the proof of the truths in question depends, is plainly giving a very unexpected turn to the argument; and requires very delicate and cautious management in the handling. As part of a sermon, to a congregation of pious believers, nothing can be better; but in a book of the *Evidences*, unless the matter is managed with extraordinary prudence, we confess that we had much rather that such ground had been left alone.

To say, that we think Mr. Sumner has managed the argument with peculiar skill or felicity, is a declaration which with all our respect for his talents, we are not prepared to make without some qualifications. It is not our business to take up the opposite part, in a question upon the Evidences of Christianity; but were we disposed to perform in the character of the 'Minute Philosopher,' we doubt whether we could not put some objections into the mouth of Alciphron, which Euphranor would have some difficulty in answering. Our own opinion coincides indeed with Mr. Sumner's; but that is not to the purpose. A book upon the Evidences is written for those who doubt the truths of Christianity. By these the proposition with which the fourth chapter concludes, will not be immediately admitted: and most certainly the conclusion is too broadly stated.

"But if this argument is set aside; if it is thought that the anomalies of human nature make it impossible always to determine, from any ordinary rules of conduct, what enterprise men may or may not take in hand: then I look to another test, to the religion itself, instead of the persons who introduced it. And I argue, that the main doctrines of Christianity—the condemnation of mankind as corrupt in the sight of God, and the atonement made upon the cross by Jesus as a Mediator between the offenders and their Judge,—are doctrines which we cannot, on any rational or probable grounds, attribute to imposture. Taking them as maintained by the Apostles, with all their attending circumstances of the resurrection of the dead, the future judgment, the final punishment of the wicked, and the eternal happiness of the redeemed, we cannot trace their origin to any known or accessible source in the belief of those times and countries. Neither can we account for their reception. There was nothing in the doctrines themselves to allure or conciliate; and the minds, both of Jews and Gentiles, were utterly unprepared to em-

brace a religion which had nothing in common with their former opinions, and directly opposed some of their strongest prejudices." P. 101.

In chapter the fourth, the same line of reasoning is pursued; and in order to carry on his proof of the impossibility of doctrines such as those of the Gospel, being merely fictions of the human imagination, he proceeds to take a new position, though still on the same ground. Most of our theological readers are probably aware, that the manner in which the Socinians endeavour to account for the origin of the doctrine of the atonement, is by supposing the whole to have been merely an accommodation to Jewish prejudices and forms of speaking. The whole language of the Christian mysteries was borrowed, they tell us, from the Jewish law; insomuch, that had the service of the Temple never existed, such notions as those, which Christians now believe concerning the sacrifice and atonement of Christ, would never have entered into the minds of men. Now it is plain, that if an orthodox believer should be able to prove that, the service of the Temple was instituted by God, expressly with this very design, that is, of familiarizing the minds of men to the connexion of ideas, which is implied in a propitiatory sacrifice, and to the language and phrases in which such a notion was to be expressed, we should at once be put in possession of a *demonstration* of the truth of this great doctrine of Christianity. Instead of the doctrine of the atonement being merely a figure borrowed from the Jewish ceremonial, the Jewish ceremonial will be a figure foretelling the doctrine of the atonement; and the whole will rest upon that, which, if *properly authenticated,* is the most immoveable of all bases; that of prophecy.

That this is the *theory* of the connection of the Old and New Testament, will not, we think, be called in question, by any sound theologian. The difficulty, however, in the instance of the types, to establish this hypothesis to the satisfaction of reasoners in the present day, is by no means small. When the subject of the prophecy is a matter of fact, the fulfilment is easily brought to an intelligible criterion; but when the subject, as in the case of the typical prophecies, is not matter of *fact,* but matter of *doctrine,* it is extremely difficult to bring the proof into the form of a sound argument. Until we have established, to the conviction of those with whom we reason, that the types were actually in the nature of prophecies, by arguments antecedent to the question of the truth of Christianity, we can make no progress whatever; for unless this point be admitted, the mere naked cir-

cumstance of the coincidence between the Christian doctrines and the Jewish rites, falls in, at least, as aptly with the Socinian hypothesis as with the orthodox belief. Because, supposing the orthodox belief to be, what the former assert, no doubt, such a coincidence will afford an intelligible explanation, so far as it goes, of the existence of opinions, for which otherwise it might be difficult to account.

We shall not enter upon this wide field of argument, more than we can help; but we must observe, that there is one condition, which we really think indispensable to the supposition of the prophetical character of the Jewish ceremonial law; which is, that this supposed character, should not be an *after-thought* of the Christians. If the theory of types was unknown to the Jews, and only introduced after the revelation of Christianity, we are free to confess, that we do not see our way very clearly in the argument which is to be built upon it. It may furnish a useful and elevating topic, in a discourse from the pulpit; but it affords a very doubtful kind of topic, in a book upon the Evidences.

Surely it was therefore somewhat inexpedient, to say the least of it, in Mr. Sumner to assert, in broad and positive terms, that the Jews had no knowledge or suspicion, that the service of their Temple was only figurative and prophetical; nor do we think that the reasons which he produces to be such as fairly warrant so startling an opinion. He tells us,

"It was before mentioned, that no expectation of any such fulfilment of the law existed among the Jews. They observed the type, without looking towards the antitype. They considered their law to be perfect in itself; and it does not appear that they generally interpreted it in a figurative point of view. Jesus was not understood, when he made allusions to the historical types, and applied them to himself. And the Apostle, who explains, in an elaborate treatise, the prophetical institutions of the law, and their fulfilment in what Jesus had done and suffered, thinks it necessary to prove the agreement point by point, as if he was laying before his countrymen a novel and unexpected interpretation." P. 108.

Now, we cannot but think that a little more consideration of the very Epistle which Mr. Sumner quotes, will afford the best possible contradiction to the conclusion which he has drawn from it. The Apostle indeed "explains," as Mr. S. justly remarks, in an elaborate treatise, "the prophetical institutions of the law;" just as in other places he explains the true scope of the prophecies. But unless we suppose that the Jews believed in the prophetical character of their institutions *generally*, his argument has no consistency whatever. Had the Jews "observed the type,

without looking towards the antitype," the Apostle ought to have prefaced his reasoning with arguments to explain and establish the general doctrine. But the very assumption of this first principle, the absence of so much as an allusion to any doubt or difference of opinion, as to the premises from which he is evidently reasoning, establish the fact of the Jewish belief in the general doctrine, much more unambiguously, according to our opinion, than we can hope to do, on the strength of any direct Jewish authority. If this last, however, is thought necessary, the proof is ready at hand; for, in fact, the whole of the writings of the Jewish doctors furnish an evidence of the strong hold which, the doctrine of types must have taken upon the imagination of that nation. It is almost the single important fact, which can be deduced from their Talmudical interpretations of Scripture; which appear to have proceeded upon a supposition, that not only the rites and institutions of their law possessed a prophetical meaning, concealed under the literal, but that even the very words and letters of it were types and symbols. The extravagant dreams into which the doctrine of types appears to have the Rabbinical commentators, were probably of an age posterior to Christianity. But for the doctrine itself, we have better authority than that of these writers; for we have the authority of writers who were contemporary with the very age of the Apostles. In proof of this, we would refer to the seventh section of the third book of the Jewish Antiquities, in which Josephus rebuts the ridicule which, as he says, had been cast against the Jews, by the enemies of his nation, on the subject of their worship. His answer is, that the things which were derided, in their institutions, were all of them intended to signify and prefigure certain important truths, which he proceeds to name: *ἀπομίμησιν καὶ διατύπωσιν*, are his words. In Philo, the same things are called *παραδείγματα τῶν μελλόντων σωμάτων*; and in other places *τύπως τῶ παραδείγματος*, and *ἀπεικονισμὸς τῶν νοητῶν*. He tells us, that the recesses of the tabernacle were only to be understood symbolically: *τὰ ἔδυτα τῆς σκηνῆς εἶναι συμβολικῶς νοητά*. But in order to set this question at rest, we think it will be sufficient to extract the following passage from the same writer, in which it will at once be seen with what justice Mr. Sumner so broadly asserts, that "the Jews observed the type without looking to the antitype;* and that they considered their law to be

* Mr. Sumner seems to suppose that type is opposed to antitype. But we have always understood type and antitype to mean nearly, if not quite, the same thing.

perfect in itself." In the third book of the life of Moses, p. 146, Ed. Mangay, we have these words: Σκηνὴν ἂν ἔργον ἱερώτατον, δημιουργεῖν ἔδοξεν, ἧς τὴν κατασκευὴν, θεσφάτοις λόγοις, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Μωϋσῆς ἀνεδιδάσκετο, τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι σωμάτων ασωμάτους ἰδέας τῇ ψυχῇ θεωρῶν, πρὸς ἃς ἔδει, καθαπερ απ' ἀρχετύπου γράφῆς καὶ κοντῶν παραδείγματων ἄισθητὰ μιμήματα απεικονισθῆναι. *Ergo tabernaculi sanctissimum opus ædificari placuit, cujus constructionem, divinis oraculis Moses in monte edocebatur, rerum corporearum species corporis expertes animo intuens, ad quas oporteret, tanquam archetypæ imaginis et exemplarium quæ intelligentia perciperentur, imitationis sub sensum cadentis effingi.*

We trust that the importance of this subject will excuse the length to which our remarks have been drawn out. A proposition, which comes before our readers upon the authority of a person with Mr. Sumner's character, must not be passed over lightly, if there be any reason to doubt its truth. It is evident, we think, from what we have said, that the types of the Old Testament follow, as exactly as the difference of the subjects would admit, the analogy of the prophecies in general: at least, of those prophecies which regarded our Saviour. These, like the types, were known to possess a meaning, the exact import of which was concealed from the Jews until the moment of fulfilment, when a key was to be put into their hands by which the true sense was to be opened. But we have every reason to think that they as fully understood that their *law* was typical "of good things to come," σκιὰς τῶν μελλόντων αγαθῶν, as St. Paul expresses it, as we have for supposing that they regarded the *prophecies* in this light. And, indeed, unless we believe this, we do not very clearly see what use can be made of them in a work upon the Evidences; for, as we before said, the coincidences of many facts in the Old, with others in the New Testament, is by itself an argument with two edges. But if once we can establish the truth of the general doctrine of types, *upon testimony independent of Christianity*, it then takes the same place in the evidences of the *doctrines* of the Gospel, as is occupied by the other prophecies in relation to the general facts. The same place which the latter holds in the proof of the divine mission of our Saviour, is held by the former in the proof of his mediatorial office. When the Jew compared the birth, and life, and death of our Saviour, with the predictions of the prophets, he could not but be forcibly struck with the exact, though unexpected, manner in which they had been fulfilled in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. And when he compared the doctrines which the Apostles taught with the rites and institutions of their law, he could not but

be equally struck with the coincidence between these also. This is well put by Mr. Sumner.

"When the teachers of the Gospel first claimed his attention, 'the Jew should have reasoned thus with himself. Do they say that Jesus died for our redemption? So did the paschal lamb die to redeem our whole nation in Egypt. Did he ascend afterwards into heaven? So did our high priest go yearly into the most holy place, carrying thither the blood of a sacrifice slain in the worldly sanctuary. Is there no remission of sins without shedding of blood? There was certainly none under the law. Has Jesus appointed a baptism with water? So had our law its purifications for the washing away of uncleanness. Numberless other questions might be asked, which would bring their own answers with them out of the law of Moses; and such was the use which the Jew ought to have made of it.*'" P. 116.

Now, in order to understand the importance of the proposition which we have here been endeavouring to establish: that the Jews, as well as the Christians, admitted the general principle, which is the ground work of the Apostle's argument in the Epistle to the Hebrews: we have only to consider in our minds, what would be the difference in the force of the above reasoning on the mind of a Jew, in the case of his believing *antecedently* in the prophetical character of the law, and in that of his only hearing this doctrine, for the first time, from the mouth of an adversary. In the one case the explanation of the Apostle would break like a new light upon his understanding; in the other, he would probably reply like the modern Socinian, that Christianity was a plagiarism from the law, not a fulfilment of it. And although this answer is altogether preposterous in the mouth of the Socinian, who pretends to believe in the divine authority of Jesus Christ, and in the inspiration of his Apostles, yet in the mouth of a Jew who denied these facts, or in that of any one in the present day, who requires to be convinced of them, it is an answer which places the advocate of Christianity upon ground which it is very troublesome to make good, even though we are willing to believe it possible.

In the next chapter, which is the fifth, Mr. Sumner argues, that the same originality which is observable in the doctrines which the Apostles taught, is also to be traced in the language which they used. The words, 'carnal,' 'grace,' 'saved,' 'faith,' 'righteousness,' have all of them a technical meaning in the Gospel. Mr. Sumner argues, that this 'is exactly

* Jones on Figurative Language of Scripture.

what we should expect, if the religion were divine.' But the same thing would probably, or might probably have occurred, if the religion be supposed to be merely new and remote from the prevailing apprehensions of mankind. There is a *congruity*, however, though it is nothing more, between the hypothesis of Christianity and the fact here noticed, which was deserving of mention.

Chap. VI. is on the "argument of the Christian Scriptures with subsequent experience." The general object of this part of his volume, is stated with great force and eloquence by Mr. Sumner, and we cannot do better than give it to our readers in the author's own language.

"Without assuming the truth of the Gospel, we may acknowledge that wherever it is received, whether justly or not, as of divine authority, it has placed men in a new situation: by discovering to them relations not before apprehended, by opening to them prospects not before known, by awakening faculties not before exercised. But the Gospel displays, within itself, a prophetic insight into the behaviour of men under these new relations and in this untried condition. And, more remarkably still, that insight is commonly shown by allusions and hints not fully developed, but manifesting in the original author of them a perfect acquaintance with circumstances and cases which should arise hereafter. Declarations, warnings, descriptions occur, which require a key. The characters or circumstances which the Gospel has produced, supply that key. But could such men as first set out to preach the Gospel, have possessed this fore-knowledge? Could any men have possessed it? If they had ventured to conjecture at all upon a subject so uncertain as human conduct in a case so delicate as religion, would their conjectures have been verified by the subsequent experience of eighteen hundred years? What would have been thought of Columbus, if, instead of merely persevering till he reached a country of whose existence he was assured, he had undertaken to describe the rivers, mountains, or inhabitants which it contained, and the reception he should meet with there? And if he had hazarded such a prophecy, and the event had turned out according to his predictions, we should look upon him as something more than an enterprising adventurer.

"The discourses, however, of Jesus, are full of anticipatory warnings and precepts, which show that the whole map of the future proceedings of his disciples was laid as it were open to his view. And many of these presumed on consequences from the doctrines to be promulgated, some of which would not have seemed probable beforehand to human expectations, and others would not have been openly declared by an imposture, if they had been foreseen." P. 149.

The first instance adduced by Mr. Sumner, in illustration of this proposition, savours, we fear, of a particular school in theology; the example he selects, is that of the frequent

warnings which our Saviour appears to have given his disciples, of the persecution, to which they would thereafter be exposed. "It is clearly intimated," we are told, "that the persecution of the Christians should be *for righteousness sake*;" and our author proceeds to say, that even to the present hour, the crime of too much religion is held in a degree of dread and dislike, which is not easily accounted for. "For, although there have been victims of fanaticism, yet let all of these, from the times of the Apostles to the present day, be summed up together, they would not appear by a hundredth part, the number of the victims of libertinism. Mischief may have been done by false views or impressions of religion. But if the whole of the mischief could be brought before us, it would not amount to a thousandth part of that which has arisen from the want of any religion." Mr. Sumner goes on immediately after to say, that this dread with which people, even of "irreproachable moral character," are haunted, lest those in whom they are interested, should be guilty "of the crime of too much religion," which they "think worse than the extreme of vanity or extravagance;" all this, he tells us is a fact, which "could not have been foreseen by human intelligence;" that "silent piety, conscientious temperance, and unresisting patience, should be treated as contemptible, and opposed as pernicious," this is a "new case," as he justly remarks, though it is "one which was clearly foreseen by the authors of the Gospel."

Now, as we like openness and frankness, and are no friends to hints and insinuations in others, we will not pretend to conceal what we conceive to be the secret allusion in Mr. Sumner's mind, in the above passages. We understand then, and whether he meant it or not, we are certain most of his readers will understand, that by "those persons of irreproachable *moral* character," who are afraid lest those in whom they are interested should become "too religious," and who oppose "silent piety, conscientious temperance, and unresisting patience," as "contemptible and pernicious," Mr. Sumner means generally to describe those who are called regular church people in this country. The objects of this unhappy persecution, are to be sought among the evangelical clergy and their followers.

In the days of the Apostles, "silent piety, conscientious temperance, unresisting patience," "humility," "moderation," and "purity," were the weapons by which Christians were instructed to *disarm* their Heathen persecutors, whose hostility, we may remark, was otherwise very naturally provoked by the manner in which their vices and errors were attacked. But the *High Church* persecutors of true religion,

are worse than Heathens; for the very conduct by which St. Peter instructs the early converts to make those "who accused them falsely" to be "ashamed," now, it seems, provokes only hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness.

To say that we are not mortified by the conclusion which is here forced upon us, would, perhaps, be consistent with the supposed pride of our High Church feelings, but not at all consistent with the respect which we entertain for the talents and character of Mr. Sumner. The best refutation, however, which we can give of his unfavourable opinion of so large a portion of his brethren, is a practical refutation; and, so far as we are individually concerned, it is complete. Mr. Sumner will, we trust, believe us, when we assure him, that we do most sincerely rejoice in the knowledge that his unaffected piety and unquestionable zeal for religion, have at least not stood in *his way in life*. As he is a *splendid* exception to the general rule of *persecution for righteousness sake*, according to his peculiar interpretation of the words, so, after this declaration of ours, we trust he will allow that the conductors of the British Critic, are also exceptions to it in an opposite sense. If, however, he should decline to release us from the application of his rule, we can only further reply by "unresisting patience;" which is in reality no great effort on our part. For although we do not think that this part of Mr. Sumner's volume is the very best portion of his book, as some, no doubt, will judge it to be, yet we are certain he meant to wound no feelings, nor to create any hostility, by what he has said; and we can very truly say, that it has been in our office of critics and judges, that we have said any thing on this part of his book, rather than as parties concerned. This part of the work is by no means one which displays much discrimination: to defend fanaticism, because it has not done so much mischief in the world as atheism and irreligion, is really saying nothing at all. Mr. Sumner cannot doubt but that it is the schismatical spirit, the arrogant pretensions, and the many unsound opinions, both as regards faith and practice, which the church opposes, and not the *virtues* of the sectaries. He must indeed be blinded by the prejudices of party, if he does not admit this. The church may be wrong in her estimate; but at the most it is an error of judgment: the error in charity, lies with those who can seriously suppose, that any class of Christians, that are any thing more than Christians in name, should be found to persecute their brethren, because they are *too religious*.

The next example which Mr. Sumner selects in prosecution of the line of argument, here taken by him, is less objectionably

chosen: and except, that in this instance also, he is afterwards guilty of the same fault, which in fact pervades his book, of stating the conclusion in terms much more general and comprehensive, than the particular nature of his premises will warrant, we should praise the passage which we are about to extract, very highly. After noticing the language in which our Saviour foretold the success which his religion would meet with in the world, under the similitude "of a grain of mustard seed," Mr. Sumner then adverts to the different manner in which the reception of the Gospel, by different classes of men, would be marked.

"The parable of *the sower* is remarkable on this ground. "Behold there went out a sower to sow; and it came to pass, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of the air came and devoured it up. And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much earth; and immediately it sprang up, because it had no depth of earth; but when the sun was up, it was scorched; and because it had no root, it withered away. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it yielded no fruit. And other fell on good ground, and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased; and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty, and some an hundred.

"The sower who goes out to sow his seed, that seed being the word of God, is a just and lively representation of the manner in which the Gospel was originally taught, and is still maintained and disseminated throughout the world. The sower resembles Jesus and his Apostles, and the Christian teachers, ministers, and missionaries which have succeeded them: and if any one were now describing the office of these various labourers as it has been exercised since the introduction of Christianity, the comparison would be no less obvious than it is apt and natural. But nothing similar had been seen in practice when this parable was delivered, The sower had no prototype in the commentators of the law, the Scribes or Pharisees: nor even in the occasional exhortations and warnings of the prophets: still less among the various priests and hierophants of heathen superstition.

"The application of the parable is still more original and extraordinary. It describes, with a sort of graphical illustration, the different reception which was to be expected for the "Word of God." The Gospel claimed this title; and there are four distinct ways, and no more, in which a doctrine professing this claim may be treated.

"It may be at once rejected. It may be admitted for a while into the heart, and be afterwards excluded by rival interests. It may be admitted and retained there, but exercise no active influence over the conduct; or it may be made the ruling principle of a man's sentiments, desires, pursuits, and actions.

"Every modification of faith and of unbelief falls naturally into one of these four classes; and all these classes have existed wherever the Gospel has been generally made known. None of them, however,

had existed at the time when the parable was uttered. The Jewish law was so different in its nature, and so differently taught, that it produced none of those marked effects which have always attended the promulgation of the Gospel. Therefore the parable was at the time unintelligible to those who heard it. The characters which should hereafter appear, existed only in the mind of the Author of the religion under which they were to spring: as the forms and lineaments of the future world are supposed by the philosopher to have been present in the mind of its divine Architect, though the lapse of time was required to unfold and exhibit them. The parable, when first pronounced, was as much a *prophecy* as the declaration which foretold the destruction of Jerusalem. P. 172.

We approve of every part of the above passage, except the conclusion which Mr. Sumner draws, that the parable "was as much a *prophecy*, as the declaration which foretold the destruction of Jerusalem." Surely this is very loose and inconsiderate; at all events, it is a very *untheological* way of speaking. It is lowering the evidence of prophecy in general, in order to exalt a particular argument. If Mr. Sumner would only consider for a moment, and define to himself what it is which is meant by *prophecy*, he will at once perceive, that this way of confounding the perfect wisdom of our Saviour's character and instructions, with the miraculous evidence on which the proof of his divine authority rests, can be productive of no possible advantage; it only gives a handle to unbelievers for questioning the judgment of divines in matters of theological reasoning. Instances of this kind of carelessness are so numerous in the work before us, that even upon ourselves an impression has been made, that Mr. Sumner is a writer upon whose conclusions a reader cannot implicitly rely without a careful examination of his argument.

We have expatiated at so much length upon this and other topics, that we have left ourselves but little space for any remarks upon the remaining part of the volume. And as the subject of the concluding chapters of the work leads us along a path that has been already beaten by writers upon the evidences, the haste in which we must run to the conclusion of our review, needs the less to be regretted. The subjects of the remaining chapters are, the "wisdom manifested in the Christian Scriptures,"—the "Originality of the Christian Character,"—the "Reasonableness of the Christian Doctrine,"—the "First Promulgation of Christianity,"—its "First Reception;" and its "Effects." Except in the chapter on the "Originality of the Christian Character," in which we cannot help thinking that Mr. Sumner lays a somewhat more *exclusive* stress upon the doctrine of human corruption, than is warranted by the example of St. Paul, or than seems either expe-

dient or profitable in itself, we do not remember any remarks which have struck us as requiring comment. We have to complain of desultoriness and want of method in this part of the work; but this fault is compensated by many detached passages, which, if they do not display any very extraordinary powers of mind, as connected with theology, are yet often striking in themselves, and are almost always expressed with elegance. There is, indeed, an ease and fluency in Mr. Sumner's style, which whenever it does not spread into diffuseness, are singularly attractive; and must always ensure to him a high place among the popular writers of his own day. Whether he will continue to occupy the same place in the days of our children, depends, perhaps, upon himself: but we do not think the work before us, to be one which will then be considered as a manual. It has many merits even as a whole: very great merit in parts: but neither in parts nor as a whole, are its pretensions great, if regarded as a work upon the evidences. Its merit at all events is not of a high and difficult kind; since with whatever advantage it may be studied by those who believe beforehand in all the facts and all the truths which are here explained and confirmed, we doubt whether it would make any serious impression upon the mind of an acute unbeliever. Mr. Sumner often argues with much acuteness; but we doubt whether he can be considered in the comprehensive sense of the word, a good reasoner. Neither would he have been thought a good systematic divine in the days when there were giants in the world; but οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν he is a very considerable writer.

ART. II. *The Crisis; or, an Attempt to shew from Prophecy, illustrated by the Signs of the Times, the Prospects and the Duties of the Church of Christ at the present period. With an Inquiry into the probable Destiny of England during the predicted Desolations of the Papal Kingdoms. By the Rev. Edward Cooper, Rector of Hamstall Ridware, &c.* Cadell. 1825. pp. 253.

WE have always been disposed to regard Mr. Cooper as one of the most useful and judicious writers of that school to which he belongs; for though his writings are tinged with the peculiar phraseology of his party, yet there is a vein of practical good sense mingled with his piety, which generally keeps him from becoming fanciful or enthusiastic. His sermons, if not distinguished by much depth of thought or originality of manner, are very useful and respectable dis-

courses on the most important topics of faith and morality, and, as such, they have obtained a very wide circulation amongst the clergy and laity of our church; and, though we could here and there wish an expression altered, yet we have no hesitation in saying, that, taken as a whole, they are fully deserving of the esteem and popularity which they possess.

With such feelings of respect and gratitude to this author, it was really with no little alarm and disappointment that we took up the big and bowwow title of his present publication. We had vainly hoped that we had outlived the time when the din of wars and rumours of wars could raise every author on the tiptoe of expectation, and when "the Crisis," "the Alarm," or "the Tocsin," were the ordinary sounds which ushered in every pamphlet. We had vainly hoped, that Mr. Faber no longer expected to meet with the name of Buonaparte in the Revelations, and that Messrs. Brothers and Bickers had ceased to alarm the timorous by foretelling the end of the world; but we have been premature, it seems, in our expectations, and here comes Mr. Cooper with his "Crisis" and his "Prophetical Chart," by which every event from the period B. C. 603, down to the Millennium, may be accurately known and calculated.

We have long beheld in sober sadness this restless irritability for accommodating passing events to the predictions of Inspiration. We have seen the endless conjectures of mortals piled upon the obscurities of prophecy, till even the evidences of Christianity seemed to suffer in public estimation. In former days, such researches might occasionally employ the learning of a Mede, or the genius of Sir Isaac Newton, but now every scribbler who writes in "the Christian Observer," or the "Evangelical Magazine," has some new interpretation to propose; and scarcely has the folly of one been demonstrated, ere another comes forward with a fresh host of absurdities. Though this spectacle may present the appearance of "many who shall run to and fro," yet we cannot think it completes the prophecy, "that knowledge shall be increased."

Whilst the French Revolution, with all its train of wonderful events, was going forward, there was some apology for this restless expectation of marvels and mysteries. The human mind was incessantly racked by strange intelligence, and still stranger forebodings; but we think it betokens a very weak and puerile taste to continue harping on a string which is no longer in unison with the public feelings; to be predicting scenes of carnage and desolation when every one is desirous of peace, and is looking for prolonged prosperity;

and all this on no better nor stronger grounds, than that Mr. Faber and some writers in the Christian Observer, are pleased to suppose we are standing on the verge of the period which is introductory to the Millenium.

As conscientious believers in Christianity, we enter our decided protest against this spurious and apocryphal kind of theology; a theology which we are persuaded has already done infinite harm to the evidences of our religion amongst many sound and considerate persons. Supposing even there was far greater probability in such interpretations than we can bring ourselves to admit, yet we should deprecate this continually bringing them before the public mind, as tending to draw off our attention from what is useful and practical to that which is chiefly speculative and theoretical; but in the way that they are now usually advanced, they appear to us fraught with the most dangerous consequences to the cause of sound faith, and of Christian morality. The events are generally spoken of as certain and indisputable. Thus Mr. Cooper:—

"What, then, is the conclusion which these testimonies warrant us to draw? According to Christ, the 1260 years are expired; and, consequently, the period during which 'the distress of nations with perplexity' was to occur, is arrived. According to St. John, the vial of preparation is pouring out; and, therefore, 'the great earthquake' may be anticipated as fast approaching. According to Daniel, 'the king' having come to his end, Michael has stood up; and, consequently, 'the time of trouble, such as never was,' is at hand." P. 96.

And this is the usual language in which these things are described; language which appears to us far too strong and authoritative for any but an inspired interpreter to use.

For our parts, though we cannot expect to live to the year 1867, when, according to Mr. Cooper's Chart, "the saints of the Most High shall possess the kingdom, and when the sanctuary shall be cleansed;" yet we must confess, that we feel some little anxiety for our children who may be living at that period, lest their faith should be shaken if none of these wonderful things then come to pass. We do not think that any man has a right to trifle with the word of God, as if it were a book of riddles, for the purpose of guess and conjecture, much less to propose his conjectures as matters little short of truth and certainty; and, least of all, to praise or to blame his contemporaries, as they may seem to help forward or withstand his expectations. And we are sorry to say, that in all these respects Mr. Cooper seems to us to have exceeded his just limits; and, as the charge is grave,

we think ourselves in duty bound to substantiate it by proper evidence.

The first object of the 'Crisis' is to shew that the person described by the prophet Daniel, chap. xi. 36—45, was Napoleon Buonaparte. We extract the passage, with Mr. Cooper's comment:—

"The 30th verse having introduced the Roman empire into the prophecy,

"The 31st predicts the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

"The 32d and 33d foretell the Pagan persecutions of the primitive Christians.

"The 34th alludes to the conversion of the empire under Constantine.

"The 35th introduces the papal persecution of the saints and witnesses, continued during the period of 1,260 years, "*even to the time of the end*, because it is yet for a time appointed."

In the next verse "the king," who, with the circumstances connected with him, is a principal subject of this essay, appears upon the scene of action, "the king who shall do according to his will," and whose extraordinary character and proceedings are thus detailed by the angel:

36. And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods; and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is deter-
37. mined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for
38. he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones,
39. and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, *and* increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and
40. divide the land for gain. And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the
41. countries, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many *countries* shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, *even* Edom,
42. and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries; and the land of
43. Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Lybians and the Ethiopians *shall be* at his
44. steps. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to
45. destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

Such is the prophetic description of this extraordinary person; a description which, in the opinion of the writer of this essay, formed after much and long deliberation on the subject, was intended to predict Napoleon Buonaparte, the late Emperor of the French. The grounds on which this opinion is formed he will now proceed to state; and aware of the very important results to which this interpretation of the prophecy, if it should prove to be correct, will lead, he will arrange his proofs, for the greater convenience of considering them, under four separate heads, corresponding to the following particulars in the description of the predicted king; *viz.*

I. The Time of his Appearance.
II. His Character.
III. His Exploits.
IV. His End." P. 18.

The leap from Constantine, in the 34th verse, to Buonaparte, in the 36th, is the boldest leap upon record. The interpretation which ensues is equally courageous; and, for proofs of its accuracy, we refer the reader to Mr. Cooper's volume. That, "after much and long deliberation," Mr. Cooper, or any other person, should discover Buonaparte in the prophecy of Daniel, is a matter of no slight astonishment. But all Mr. Cooper's friends assure him, "that he has made out a strong case," p. x.; and "most of them recommended the publication of it." His friends, we doubt not, are very sincere; but we venture to ask, are they very judicious?

As to the time of Buonaparte's appearance, unless it can be shewn that the period of 1260 years expired in 1792, the whole of the argument falls to the ground. Mr. Cooper contents himself with telling us, "that, according to his views, the 1260 years expired in 1792," and refers us, for the proof, to Cuninghame's Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets. On this most unsatisfactory foundation, he rears a corresponding superstructure.

The proof which Mr. C. adduces of the identity of Buonaparte's character to that of "the king" mentioned by Daniel, is extremely slight. As to his "wilfulness and impiety," they are features common to most who run a career of conquest and ambition; his allusions to "fate and destiny," whilst addressing the Greeks (p. 32), are such as would be used by any artful impostor who was speaking to *Mahometans*. It was wittily said of him, that he was "an honorary member of all religions;" but this "renegade hypocrisy," though strongly characteristic of the individual, is by no means sufficient to point him out, as "the king who regarded not any god, but magnified himself above all."

Nor "is he proved to be" the king "from his exploits." His expedition to Egypt is the only part of his career

which gives any semblance to the application; but his very short possession of that country, takes away the momentary likeness, and notwithstanding all the ingenuity of Mr. C. we do not think that this "disastrous expedition" at all corresponds to the glorious events which are mentioned by Daniel.

Still less is "Napoleon proved to be the king from his end." (p. 43.) "He shall come to his end, and none shall help him." These are expressions which by no means point out the end of Buonaparte; an end so remarkable, that if he had been designated by the prophecy, we can hardly think that his exile would not have been alluded to. And yet Mr. Cooper is resolved to make up for this deficiency by the solemnity of his reflections. "Like other wilful and infidel conquerors who had preceded him, he was in his defeat and degradation to read a moral lessen to mankind; whilst in this very act he should yet subserve the particular and specific purpose, which according to the view here taken of this vision, he was ordained to fulfill." P. 46.

Writers who have a favourite hypothesis to support, find the strongest proofs where other men behold nothing but vague imaginations. Thus Mr. C. interprets the expression, "the king of the south pushed at him," to mean the "Peninsular war," by which Napoleon was "pushed" from the shores of the Atlantic, p. 50. And in like manner "the king of the north," he tells us, intimates "England," though we suppose that the Emperor of all the Russias, would think that he had as a good a title to the claim. In short, strong assertions and weak testimonies, go to make up the whole of this whimsical interpretation, which we regard as little better "than trifling with the word of God, as though it were a book of riddles." The style in which these uncertainties are proposed, is far too positive and dogmatical. Napoleon is always "proved" to be king; the correspondences are said to be "precise and circumstantial," and the subject is thus summed up by its propounder.

"Such, then, are the arguments on which the interpretation here proposed is founded. In all these particulars predicted respecting 'the king who should do according to his will,' as they relate to the time of his appearance, to his character, to his exploits, and to his end. Napoleon appears to have exhibited so full a correspondence, so clear and striking a resemblance, as seems to justify the conclusion, that he was in fact the very identical individual, whom it was the design of the Holy Spirit in this remarkable vision to designate; but respecting whom the book was to be sealed, and the designation to be unperceived, till he should have fulfilled the office assigned to him, and have 'come to his end' in the manner predicted." P. 55.

But we must still more loudly protest against the spirit of many observations in this work, in which it is more than hinted, that they who differ from these prophetical interpretations, are amongst those who hearing will not hear, and seeing will not perceive, p. 132. Nor can we approve of his denouncing all the continental thrones as "tottering at their basis," p. 28; nor of the revolutionary sentiments at p. 200, by which the people are encouraged to rebel against their rulers, as though they were fighting "the battles of the Lord." See ch. xix. Whatever may be our opinions respecting the conduct of foreign potentates, we consider that language like the following, should find no place in such a work as that before us.

"Witness, in support of these conclusions, the principles of despotism so openly avowed, so unblushingly recorded, and so practically developed in the unjustifiable invasions of Naples and Spain. Witness the systematic opposition, in most of the Papal countries, and especially in the dominions of Austria, to the free circulation of the word of God. Witness the revival, by Papal authority, of the order of Jesuits, the most experienced and indefatigable emissaries of the church of Rome; their restoration to all their former privileges; and the renewed and recognised acceptance of their services by the Holy See. Witness the Papal bulls, repeatedly issued against the principle and the objects of Bible Societies, and conveying their animadversions in language little differing from that of profaneness and blasphemy. Witness the revived sufferings and difficulties of the Vaudois churches, struggling anew in the vallies of Piedmont, with Roman Catholic oppression and tyranny. Witness in every town of Italy the idolatries and abominations of Popery universally practised, and exclusively supported, to the extinction of pure religion and worship. Witness the intolerance and bigotry of Spain and Portugal; who, in their new modelled conceptions and codes of liberty, and of the rights of man, could find no place for religious freedom, nor could grant to any others, than to Papists, the right of serving God according to their conscience. Witness in France the restless and unceasing endeavours of the court to revive the spirit of Popery, and to re-establish the follies and pageantries of the Roman Catholic church. Witness in that country (as in every other country of the beast) the allowed habitual desecration of the Lord's day, and the profane application of it to purposes far less congenial with its instituted design than even worldly labour and secular occupations. Witness in that country the continuance of the licensed abominations of the Palais Royal, and the moral degradation of the capital. Witness in that country the monstrous iniquity of the slave trade, revived and pursued with renovated vigour, under circumstances of very aggravated guilt, in the face of a direct recognition of its enormity, in a defiance of national engagements, in a violation of national honour. Other testimonies of a similar kind might be adduced, and observation will abundantly supply them. But these are sufficient for the purpose of supporting the conclusions

before us. Let us only bear in mind the additional weight which these testimonies derive from the consideration of *the time* in which these things are doing, and of *the situation of the parties* who are doing them. It is in the nineteenth century of the Christian era: it is when the full blaze of pure Christianity is illuminating the mists of Papal darkness, and even in some places, notwithstanding every precaution to the contrary, is penetrating the dense and obscure mass, and pouring its light and heat into the very centre of it;—it is at such a time that these things are perpetrated by those very nations and governments which have recently experienced, in the most signal manner, the severity and the goodness of the Lord; which having for a season been visited with some of the heaviest dispensations of his providence, were suddenly, by his interposition, delivered from the calamity of war, and blessed with returning tranquillity and peace; but which, now, forgetful alike of their mercies and their judgments, are "thus requiting the Lord, a foolish people and unwise." In the contemplation of these things are we not warranted, are we not compelled to conclude, that these nations and governments are rapidly filling up the measure of their sin, and at this moment are but little short of that dimension of guilt, which, when once attained, will expose them, without delay or remedy, to all those unprecedented judgments, which the word of truth so awfully predicts?" P. 213.

There is also in our opinion, far too much said about "the beast," and the "scarlet beast," as applied to the Papal power; but the application of the principles of "infidelity, despotism and popery," with "*frogs* coming out of the mouth of the dragon, the beast and the false prophet," p. 92, is so ludicrous, that we think no one can read it without a smile upon his visage.

Nor can we be brought to pardon this kind of theology, on account of its predicting such glorious fortune to our own country. The fleets of England, it seems, are to convey the Jews back to the promised land, and we presume that Lord Gambier is to be appointed commander-in-chief. Michael, is now, we are told, actually "standing up for the Jews;" but we are afraid that the success of the Jewish Society does not give much evidence in favour of the assertion. The Bible Society, and the Missionary Societies, are bringing in the fulness of the Gentiles, and the throne of every Papal prince will be subverted. We protest against this grotesque mixture of politics and prophecy. It is as absurd, though happily not so mischievous as Pastorini. The manner in which the state of England is commented on, p. 179, puts us in mind of the wildest reveries of Brothers and Johanna Southcot, and is calculated, we are persuaded, only to feed the delusions of zealots, or to make sport for unbelievers. Wesley and Whitfield, are alluded to as the great *regenerators* of the clergy. And Mr. Cooper's associates and friends are

employed in consolidating the work. We conjure him not to turn his Bible into a subject for wit and drollery; to remember that "the beginning and the end of all things," cannot be descried from the lattice of his rectory; that it is one thing to beat up for recruits to a party, and another to unite for the Christian church; and though he is neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, we shall thank him for another volume of "Practical and Familiar Sermons for Parochial and Domestic Instruction."

ART. III. *A respectful Address to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops, of the United Church of England and Ireland, respecting the necessity of Morning and Afternoon Service, on Sunday, in every Parish Church in His Majesty's Dominions; with a few Thoughts concerning the Residence of the Clergy. By a Churchman.* Rivingtons. 8vo. pp. 32. 1825.

THE principal object of this pamphlet is good, and if the writer had confined himself within the bounds prescribed in his title page, and strengthened his argument by a detailed examination of facts, he would have been entitled to our best thanks. Unfortunately he prefers saying a little about every thing, to saying enough upon a single subject; and the consequence is, that when we look for information respecting afternoon service, he hurries off to discuss public patronage, and to find fault with the accumulation of *dignities* upon a few favoured individuals. The abuses under these heads are over stated; and no acknowledgment is made of the great improvement which has been introduced of late years. We could wish, therefore, that the subject had been entirely passed over, or reserved for a separate and more equitable consideration. At present it only serves to distract the attention both of the writer and reader, from a very important practical question.

We shall state it in the words of the author:—

"The opinion of the writer, founded on extensive observation, and very mature reflection, is, that separation is promoted, the reputation of the church injured, and the influence of her ministers diminished, by the custom of divine service being performed, on Sunday, once only, in many parts of the kingdom.

"This custom, however the motives, on which it rests, may appear, in any *particular* case, to justify it, will excite suspicions of general indolence or neglect, injurious to the character of the clergy, and hurtful to the church.

"But, let not the clergy be condemned by any friend of the church, and of the cause, in which they have the honour to be engaged, by *unqualified* reference of the custom of single service, to indolence or neglect. The custom will be found to have arisen, often, neither from indolence, nor neglect; but from an idea that, when two churches are so situated as to suit, equally, or nearly equally, the population of two adjoining parishes, an alternation of service, once in each church, morning and afternoon, answers the purposes of two services in both. It may, too, be added, that, in some cases, where the population of both parishes is so small, as not to afford two full congregations, in both churches, on both parts of the day, and when the distance of the majority of inhabitants from each church is nearly the same, the advantages of a full congregation, animating devotion, have been considered as more than counterbalancing the omission of divine service, on one part of the day, in each church.

"They who are acquainted with country situations, will admit that this may, *sometimes*, be the fact;* but the cases are, comparatively, very *few*, where both morning *and* afternoon service, in each church, would not be of great public advantage, in the comfort afforded to some pious persons, residing near to the church, whether it be their own parish church or not, whose age or infirmities, or other circumstances, may prevent their attending at a greater distance. Morning and afternoon service, would, also, assist arrangement for *some portion* of the family to attend church, certainly, *once a day*. When local or other impediments, exist against such arrangement, (and where single duty, only, is performed, impediments, often, *will* exist,) habits of neglect are either formed, as to attendance on *any* public service, or the greater facilities afforded by places of worship, not in connection with the establishment, detach persons from the church, who might, otherwise, have continued among her most valuable members.

"In addition to these inconveniences, public scandal has arisen to the church from the hurry with which the service is, sometimes, necessarily, performed, when the clergyman is engaged in the care of more churches than one; and from his inability, often, when distantly engaged, to attend to pressing calls to sick persons, which calls may be, particularly, expected on the Lord's day, when the sick and their friends are most at leisure to profit from the solemn

* There are parishes, in some parts of the kingdom, so situated, that, if we carry not our ideas beyond them, very little or no additional benefit could be expected from two services; parishes, in which two services having been tried, advantages so trifling have been experienced, that, after trial, single duty only has been performed in them. Sometimes, too, a clergyman's sphere of usefulness may have been enlarged, by his accepting, or joining in, the care of a neighbouring parish. Still, a good and reflecting person will dismiss *particular consideration*; and the *positive* benefit that would result to the community from two services being, *universally*, introduced, would amply compensate the conscientious clergyman for application, however comparatively unprofitable, of a *generally salutary rule*, to his own *particular case*. Uninfluenced by *private* or *peculiar* considerations, he would, *most willingly*, co-operate with it.

visitation. These are inconveniences, great in themselves, and greater in the mischief of their operation; and they would not exist, if the offices of the clergyman were fixed to one church, and to the devout performance therein, of morning and afternoon service." P. 1.

Agreeing entirely with the sentiments thus expressed, we have only to regret, that they are not fortified as they might have been in the following pages. The writer ought to have been aware, that the evil of which he complains is not general; that there are dioceses in which single services are hardly known; that they have given way in many instances to the existing law, or rather perhaps to the good feeling of the incumbents, excited and directed by the admonition of their bishops; that the same result may be obtained in every instance by the exercise of a little zeal and discretion; and that consequently there is no need for the interference of the legislature.

ART. IV.—1.—*The Book of Psalms in an English Metrical Version, founded on the Basis of the authorized Bible Translation, and compared with the original Hebrew: with Notes, critical and illustrative. By the Right Rev. Richard Mant, D. D. M. R. I. A. Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.* Oxford, Parker; London, Rivingtons. 1824.

2.—*Songs of Solyma; or, a new Version of the Psalms of David; the long ones being compressed, in general, into two Parts or Portions of Psalmody, comprising their prophetic Evidence and principal Beauties. By Baptist Noel Turner, M. A. some time Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, Rector of Denton, in Lincolnshire, and Wing, in Rutland.* 1824.

3.—*Irad and Adah; a Tale of the Flood—Poems—Specimens of a new Translation of the Psalms. By Thomas Dale, of Bene't College, Cambridge.*

OF the three works now on our table, the two which we have placed first have these laudable objects in view; an improvement on the former versions of the Psalms as compositions, and the *rationalization*, if we may so speak, of our Church psalmody. The name of Bishop Mant is sufficient alone to command attention and respect; it is a name which has ever appeared in conjunction with some public advantage; and therefore, while we generally state, that we do not consider the Bishop entirely to have attained

his object, we state it with every applause of his motive, every appreciation of his industry, and every admiration of his talents and learning. We think the Bishop has been unsuccessful, principally because he has not adhered to the excellent principle laid down in his title-page; that of taking the authorized version as the basis of his translation, no less in phraseology than interpretation. Like all his predecessors, he fails through his redundancy; a cause which weakens all translations, and those of the Psalms more especially, whose beauty would less frequently be diminished by the subtraction than by the addition of an expression or idea. Still is he very superior to Brady and Tate; and the version is such as might be used with real devotional feeling in our churches, which great part of the other cannot. Perhaps we are too fastidious; our standard of perfection in metrical versions of the Psalms is certainly very high; but we shall not be satisfied till we meet with a version which is altogether worthy of the Liturgy with which it is to be connected; and of this, difficult as its production may be, we do not altogether despair.

The "Songs of Solyma" are intended for church worship only: they are only extracts from the Psalms, of a convenient length for singing, and a good deal adapted and spiritualized. If in preferring selections to an entire version, Mr. Turner has been judicious, he falls in one respect infinitely below Bishop Mant, inasmuch as he purposely deserts the authorized version, and gives into all the verbose nothingness of Brady and Tate. Mr. T. professes to have begun his work when an octogenarian; every praise, therefore, is due to his zeal and industry; but the version strongly partakes of that character of poetry which was popular in his youth, and which least of any school merits the name.

Mr. Dale's work we only notice in this article on account of the Psalms at the end. As we are a good deal interested in the subject of Psalmody, we were anxious to see what had been done towards its improvement by a gentleman of known poetical powers. We unhesitatingly say, that if Mr. Dale will produce a version of equal excellence with the Psalms which he has translated in this volume, he will approach nearer the standard of excellence in this respect than any author we know. Still he is far too negligent of the style of the prose version, and nothing but a considerable share of poetic genius could, with this negligence, have enabled him to attain the success which he actually has achieved. His metres, too, are often not adapted to those simple

melodies commonly used in our churches, and which give adequate expression to the highest conceivable d of poetical excellence. The metres in common use at all events to be retained, as they are by far the suited to the expression of beauties whose very esser simplicity.

We shall conclude this article by giving from each works before us a version of the CXXXVIIth Psalm; will be found a fair specimen of the rest, as the be of this Psalm are of a kind to exhibit the peculiar lencies and failings of those who undertake to give it a cal form.

BISHOP MANT.

"By Babel's streams we sat, and wept;
Our thoughts, O Zion, dwelt on thee;
Meanwhile our harps, in silence, slept
Aloft on many a willow tree.

"For they who led us far away,
With taunts inflam'd our bitter wrongs;
'Come, sing,' they cried, 'a mirthful lay;
Come, sing us one of Zion's songs.'

"Remote from Zion's holy hill,
And slaves beneath a stranger king;
How shall we show our tuneful skill,
And how Jehovah's anthem sing?

"O Salem, lovely Salem, thee
If e'er my heart forget to love;
Then may my hand forgotten be,
That wont the warbling strings to move;

"And may my tongue its utterance cease,
If I omit thee in my joy;
Or other theme than Salem's peace
My rapture's loftiest strains employ.

"Remember, Lord, on Edom's race,
The wrongs of Salem's fatal day:
'Down, down,' they shouted; 'from the base,
Down, down to earth, her glories lay!'

"Proud child of Babel! blest is he,
Who quits thee for thy ruthless wound;
Blest, who shall seize, by God's decree,
And dash thy infants on the ground.

MR. TURNER'S ADAPTATION, FROM MR. BULLEN.

"Proud Babylon's waters among,
We grieved, lovely Sion, for thee;
Our harps on the willow trees hung,
As sad and as silent as we.

" Then they who occasion'd our wrongs,
And still would our sorrows affront,
Bade us sing one of Solyma's songs,
As late, in her courts, we were wont.

" Our voices how can we prepare,
Jehovah's great acts to proclaim?
His mercy and truth to declare,
'Mongst strangers who know not His Name?

" Yes, Solyma, thee have I loved;
If I love not thy palaces still,
May my tongue in my mouth be unmoved,
My right hand be bereft of its skill."

MR. DALE.

" By Babylon's proud stream we sate,
And tears gushed quick from every eye;
When our own Zion's fallen state,
Came rushing on our memory;
And there, the willow groves among,
Sorrowing our silent harps we hung.

" For there our tyrants in their pride
Bade Judah raise th' exulting strain;
And our remorseless spoilers cried,
' Come breathe your native hymns again;'
Oh how, in stranger-climes can we
Pour forth Jehovah's melody?

" When thou, loved Zion, art forgot,
Let this unworthy hand decay!
When Salem is remembered not,
Mute be these guilty lips for aye!
Yea! if in transport's liveliest thrill
Thou, Zion, art not dearer still?

" Think, Lord! on Edom, and repay
Her cruel hate with equal woes;
Think, how on Zion's fatal day,
Her ruthless sons invoked our foes;
Haste! haste! the lordly towers o'erthrow,
And lay proud Salem's bulwarks low.

" Daughter of Babel! doomed ere long
The retributive hour to mourn;
Blest be the man, who Zion's wrong
Shall on thy guilty head return;
Blest he, who grasps thy serpent-brood,
And dies the rocks with infant-blood."

ART. V. *The Pleasures of Society; a Poem.* 8vo. 60 pp. Rivingtons. 1824.

WE are not aware that the world is in very particular want of the lesson which this poem is intended to convey. The eremitical life has few votaries among us; and our anonymous author gains an easy, if not a glorious victory, over the admirers of silence and solitude. His object, however, is evidently a good one—to expose misantrophy, and to encourage contentment. And as far as this can be done in a desultory semi-didactic poem of fifty pages, his performance is entitled to commendation. The thoughts are more remarkable for simplicity than strength; but the versification is always easy, and occasionally vigorous. The lines to Freedom, which justly claims a place among the Pleasures of Society, give a fair specimen of the author's manner:

> " Hence too fair Freedom waves her golden wings
> O'er the wide earth, and kindred feeling brings,
> Proclaims her sacred cause to all around,
> And distant nations hail the welcome sound
> Of justice, which unites in one accord
> King and the priest, the peasant and the lord;
> The social compact, which in union binds
> The struggling chaos of contending minds;
> In even course man's rival passions run,
> As circling planets round the ruling sun;
> Checked by firm equity and righteous sway,
> The tyrant's ruthless march or people's lawless way.
> She to loved Albion's fair and sea-girt isle,
> Gave the first token of her earliest smile;
> From her white cliffs commenced her glorious flight,
> In all the splendour of celestial light;
> Shook the stern tyrant from his blood-stained throne,
> Bade him man's rights, and equal justice own;
> Took from the slave Oppression's galling chain,
> And made his bosom feel the manly thought again." P. 15.

It would be wrong to hold out the flattering prospect of popularity to the writer of this little poem; this work must take its chance among the countless trifles of the day, and the chance is not much in his favour. His just and unaffected sentiments would produce as much, if not more effect in prose than in poetry. The fury for rhyme has had its day, and is gone; and it may be doubted, whether even the following pretty verses, with which we take leave of our Pleasures, will obtain half the admiration which is bestowed upon Mrs. Sherwood's Nursery Tales, or Sir Walterish Novels of Mr. Galt.

"Oft from the social scene we turn aside,
For calmer thoughts, at pensive even-tide;
To hazel copse or flower-bespangled vale,
And catch the fragrance of the whispering gale;
Whilst o'er the tranquil mind reflection steals,
And every sense the soothing pleasure feels;
We pause and think how good the Power above,
How vast the mercy of redeeming love.
Each flower that glitters to the charmed eye,
Each cloud that passes in the golden sky,
The leaf that quivers to the murmuring breeze,
The hum of insect 'mid the vernal trees,
And that rich melody of warbled song,
By blackbird poured the echoing vale along,
O'er the rapt soul a sweet enjoyment cast,
And calm remembrance of affliction past." P. 21.

ART. VI. *Sermons on Faith and other Subjects. By Robert Nares, M. A. F. R. S. &c. Archdeacon of Stafford, Canon Residentiary of Litchfield, and Rector of Allhallows, London Wall.* 2 Vols. 8vo. 360 pp. Rivingtons. 1825.

THE first seven Sermons in the volume before us are on the subject of Faith. The author has fully illustrated its nature and character; has shewn how essential a constant stability without wavering, is, to a true faith: the meaning and necessity of walking by faith, so as to display its practical fruits; and its power, as exhibited in a strong influence over the mind, affording a support in the greatest trials and temptations. Such is the outline of his subject, and it appears that the chief object in view was to maintain the practical nature of a true and saving faith, in opposition to the idea of its being a mere speculative belief. In a portion of the valuable notes appended to the volume, Mr. Nares comments upon the doctrine of Rotheram's Essay, which he contends would make faith consist in a mere speculative belief. The question is obviously one of terms, it being beyond dispute, that the same word is used in some passages of Scripture to signify a mere assent of the understanding; and in others, to comprehend the lively and practical influence of that assent. However, the author was led to take up the subject, conceiving that the true principle of Christian faith, as laid down by the venerable founders of our church, was too little recollected or understood at the present day. How far this may be the case among his own hearers, we do not know; but we

own we should not have selected such a charge as generally applicable to the present time.

But, however this may be, the discourses are in themselves extremely sound and instructive; there is not any pretension to great originality, nor (as we have often had occasion to remark) is originality on such a subject an essential qualification: many of the arguments, however, are put in a very clear and forcible manner. In the first Sermon it occurs to us, that a doubt may be entertained of the interpretation given to the passage Habb. ii. 4. which the author makes out to have a practical force, by putting it in this way;—"It is the *just* who are to live by faith; not all kinds of persons, just or unjust." Hooker's admirable sermon on this passage, is not a little at variance with this interpretation. The Scriptural instances of the efficacy of faith, are forcibly urged, and well illustrated, and we think the following passage will afford at once a good specimen of our author's manner, and a clear statement of the grounds of faith, and its practical efficacy.

"We see then how ignorant, as well as malicious, those persons have been, who at any time have censured the Christian grace of faith, as if it meant no more than mere credulity or easiness of belief; a quality which it must be owned, is often found to reside in persons of the weakest intellect. The foundation of Scriptural faith on the contrary, is always supposed to be placed on sound and rational grounds of belief. In the days of the patriarchs, and under the Mosaic covenant, belief was usually founded on actual revelation from Heaven; or at least some impulse of known inspiration. When our Saviour was on earth, its foundation was the evidence of his miracles and divine discourses, which gave sufficient cause for full reliance upon him, to all who saw or heard them with candour and attention. After that, it was the positive testimony of his Apostles and Evangelists, who witnessed what they had seen or known, and gave the strongest pledges for their truth. Since that time, belief in the Gospel rests upon the testimony of history, witnessed (as all history is) by human words or writings. But in addition to these, it possesses proofs peculiar to itself, in the testimony of prophecies fulfilled, or yet to be accomplished; with a variety of conspiring evidences, of such a nature, that they who with the greatest diligence and acuteness examine into them, are generally the most profoundly convinced of their weight, authority and certainty.

"These are, or have been, the various causes of conviction: to which, if a person candidly attends, he cannot but believe. In all these ways therefore, a rational *belief* may be obtained: but whether it shall amount to *faith* in the true and christian sense, depends upon the character and behaviour of the believer. Belief existing in the mind, without producing any consequences, is wholly without efficacy, or saving power. It is only when it leads to actions expressive of unshaken steadiness and confidence, demonstrating a full

reliance on that which we have just reason to believe, that it deserves the name of *faith*; and like the faith of Abraham, is accounted for righteousness. For this reason, probably, it was, that our Saviour, during his own ministry, required of those who wished to become his disciples, a sacrifice never afterwards demanded of converted persons; namely, that they should forsake all and follow him; they could not otherwise at that time give sufficient proof of their entire reliance upon him, and their unalterable confidence in his power and goodness. St. James has told us truly, that "Faith without works is dead;" and the very first and most necessary work of faith is to show by your conduct, that nothing can change or shake it. P. 13. Serm. 1.

This explanation of our Lord's requisition upon his followers, to forsake all, is very ingeniously adduced. The author continues, in his second discourse, to point out the efficient character of faith, as implying trust and confidence, by an examination of the original meaning of the expression in Heb. ii. 1. ὑπόστασις, which would have been much more consistently rendered "confidence," or "firm assurance." In support of this, he urges the authority both of our translators, who have given that meaning in the margin, and of several other eminent writers and commentators. Bishop Conybeare had remarked, that the *substance* of things hoped for would seem to mean the things themselves. So that the passage in its ordinary acceptation is imperfect in point of sense; and we think a due attention to the original meaning would vindicate the Apostle from a charge which has sometimes been advanced against this passage, as appearing to give a definition of faith, which is really no definition at all. According to the reading here supported, the definition is clear and complete. The whole argument of the sermon is very well laid together, upon the adoption of this interpretation of the text.

In the 3d Sermon, against Wavering in Faith, the different senses in which that expression may be applied are closely and practically distinguished, especially that irritation of an unsettled mind, adopting innovations in religious belief, and regarding novelty as if it were the test of truth. This very prevalent tendency the preacher ably combats. He mentions in a note, in illustration of this part of the subject, an interesting anecdote of Melancthon. When his mother became anxious respecting the topics then agitated, he advised her to continue to worship as she had been used, and not to suffer her mind to be disturbed with controversies. "Go on," he said, "to believe and to pray as you do, and have done before, and do not disturb yourself about the

disputes and controversies of the times." The propriety of individuals rather relying upon the accumulated wisdom of the church than upon their own capricious judgment, is well urged, on the ground, that the pretence to a sounder judgment than that of the founders of the church, must obviously be the most vain and presumptuous in the great majority of cases.

We must pass over the remainder of this set of Discourses without more particulars. We have already enumerated their leading subjects, and we strongly recommend them to the attention of our readers; especially the fourth, fifth and sixth, which are in continuation, on the text, "We walk by faith, not by sight." They were principally delivered in Lincoln's-Inn chapel, where the author preached, as assistant to the late Dr. Jackson, for nearly fifteen years.

The succeeding discourses are upon subjects of a miscellaneous description, several of them of a character in some degree new, but most upon topics often treated before.

The 8th Sermon, on Public Worship, contains many good practical admonitions relative to the performance of that duty; and the concluding topic, the too exclusive importance attached to preaching, leads the author to devote the next discourse to that particular point, and to show the absolute necessity of a corresponding disposition on the part of the hearer, to render any preaching useful or efficacious.

In the 10th Discourse, on Contentment, the preacher acknowledges the perfect exhaustion of the subject by Barrow, and inserts this discourse principally as having a connexion with his former discourses on faith. He urges the duty of resignation from the example of St. Paul's contentment under his sufferings, and points out the necessity of a good conscience in order to real resignation.

Sermon 11th is designed to set forth the consideration of love, rather than fear, as the prevailing motive under the Gospel.

Sermon 12th. The most original and excellent composition in the volume is entitled, "On Imagination as an Aid to Religion." There is, perhaps, no power or faculty of the human mind, as the author observes, which has been less considered as subservient to religion. But he very beautifully and carefully points out the important share which it may have in the elevation of the soul towards heavenly things, when under due regulation and restraint. He guards us against the evil use which may be made of it, and the extravagancies into which it may lead the inconsiderate; and recommends it only when the substantial requisite of a sound and rational belief is made to form the groundwork.

Sermon 13th is of a political cast, treating very clearly and practically on the natural inequality of men in some respects, as distinguished from their natural equality in others. An appropriate topic before a common audience, especially where any tendency to insubordination may be apparent.

The 14th Discourse is on the practical proof of true righteousness, supposing the foundation to be laid in Christian faith. The 15th was delivered in Litchfield cathedral, on the day of the Coronation of His present Majesty; and upon so hacknied a topic, if we say, that the preacher conveys some good advice respecting the duty of subjects, in a plain and intelligible way, we shall be giving him credit for doing the utmost that can be done on such an occasion. Exactly similar observations will apply to the next discourse, entitled, "The Protestant Religion the Blessing of Britain," which was delivered in the same place, on the day appointed for a general fast, February 28th, 1810. National crimes, and the duty of national humiliation and repentance, are, of course, the topics; which are certainly handled in an impressive and useful manner.

The 17th Sermon was preached for the benefit of a district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and it contains a sensible exposition of the merits and claims of the institution. We are sorry that Archdeacon Nares thought it necessary to introduce the Bible Society into the discussion; and still more, that he should have recommended it to the support of his hearers. But we entertain no hope of altering his opinion upon the subject, and pass on to less debateable ground.

"A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Stafford," with which the volume concludes, is able and interesting. "The Influence of Sectaries, and the Stability of the Church." is the title prefixed, and expresses the main design. The danger to which the church is exposed, from the prevalence and increase of Methodism, is the leading topic: and the author, at the commencement, alludes briefly, to the similarity between this sect and that of the Puritans. By the activity of that malignant body, our church was once overthrown. But the Archdeacon observes, it fell only with the state; and he argues from the shortness of the period of its subversion, the completeness and suddenness of its restoration, and the eagerness with which on that event, the general opinion flew from the extreme of fanaticism, to the opposite excess of irreligion, that it is probable, no error, very contrary to sound religion or reason, can long or effectually seduce the people of this country. In this conclusion

we certainly agree; but we own that such an event as a temporary subversion of the establishment in church and state, is one, which we cannot contemplate with much complacency, even if we admit that it would not be of long duration. We wish this part of the argument had been a little extended, because we think it is applicable to the present state of things, though in a different way from that in which our author has applied it. We agree with him, in trusting, that our church is able to maintain her ascendency; and we are far from wishing to be thought Alarmists. Yet, if we agree with Mr. Nares, in thinking that the danger from the increase of methodism is often exaggerated, we do not mean to assert, that no danger is to be apprehended; but upon a comparison of history with the present circumstances of this country, we are very strongly impressed with the persuasion, that the danger to be apprehended from modern fanaticism, is of a different kind, from that to which the church was exposed in the time of Charles I. The Archdeacon has well observed, that at that eventful crisis, the church fell only with the state. The church is, indeed, the same now as then; but what was the state at that period? Clearly, something essentially different, even its vital principles, from what it is now. The very rudiments of the constitution have undergone a change; and we do not fear to hazard the assertion, that the overthrow of the church could never have happened, even with a king of much inferior abilities to those of Charles I. had the constitution, at that time, reached its present state of improvement.

We will not, however, dwell any longer on this topic; but proceed to observe, that our author gives a very clear and comprehensive view of the rise and progress of Methodism; from which he deduces an argument of the strongest kind, tending to show the futility of the claim made by the founders of Methodism, to an immediate inspiration by the Holy Spirit.

From the intrinsic excellence, and great importance of this argument, we must lay it before our readers, in the author's words:—

"About this time arose a circumstance so remarkable, as to be, in my opinion, almost decisive of the whole question. George Whitefield, soon after his return from America, publicly declared his full assent to the strictest doctrines of Calvin, on predestination and election, which he always afterwards maintained. John Wesley, on the contrary, had published his sentiments in favour of the opposite doctrines of Arminius, which he also continued to hold without variation to the end of his long life. Had these men been contented to be received as mere human teachers, there would have been nothing uncommon or extraordinary in such a difference of opinion. But, as

both chose afterward, to assume the style and manner of the Apostles; pretending, and perhaps in their enthusiasm, sometimes believing, that their thoughts, words, and many of their most trivial actions, were suggested by the especial influence of the *Holy Spirit*, how can any one reconcile so remarkable a disagreement with those extraordinary pretensions? Is God the author of confusion? Will the Holy Spirit teach one doctrine to one man, and the very contrary to another, both especially employed, in what they delighted to call, the Work of God? Is this credible? Is it even possible? If not, we have, almost in the beginning of their history, this very strong reason for denying the pretensions of one, at least, of these teachers: and as their claims were so similar, and supported by means so exactly alike, there arises immediately a strong suspicion, that we ought to deny the pretensions of both. Nor was this their only important difference in point of doctrine.

From this æra the division took place, which has ever since continued, between the Calvinistic Methodists, under Whitefield, and the Arminian Methodists, under Wesley. And this sect esteemed so formidable, and in some respects appearing so, was, even under the government of its first teachers, a house divided against itself. As the doctrines of these two leaders differed, so did their discipline. Wesley, who appears from his first journals, to have been intimately connected with the Moravians, though he differed from them in some points, adopted and copied their discipline: by the assistance of which he much strengthened, as well as greatly extended, the union of his proselytes. Whitefield seems not to have digested any regular plan for embodying his people; but to have trusted more implicitly to his own exertions, and the influence of his preachers.

Nor is this difference in discipline so unimportant as otherwise it might appear, in two men who equally professed to be divinely commissioned to restore and extend the true faith of Christ. It is certain, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Apostles, who were in truth, divinely commissioned and inspired, established one uniform mode of discipline in all the churches which they planted; the same or nearly the same, as that which was reverently preserved in all churches till the Reformation; and which, at that period, removing only the corruptions which time had introduced, was most studiously and carefully continued by the Church of England. These modern Apostles, on the contrary, differed in their discipline as much as in some parts of their doctrine; so little appearance was there of the operation of the same spirit within them." P. 295.

It will be needless to offer any comments on this admirable and conclusive piece of reasoning. It deserves the serious attention of all who profess themselves members of our church, and most especially, we wish we could enforce the consideration of it on the attention of those whom it is unfortunately least likely to reach, but on whom it would be of most importance to urge the argument. The author goes on to point out many other inconsistencies, which these modern

Apostles betrayed, and which clearly tend to establish the former conclusion. And if these differences and oppositions are a decisive proof, that the founders of Methodism were not really under any especial influence of the Holy Spirit, yet more abundant proofs are brought forward to show, that their disciples and followers exhibited still stronger marks of an influence at direct variance with that which we must ascribe to the Holy Spirit.

"The dangerous dream of inward feelings with which both Whitefield and Wesley were infatuated, has actually led thousands to despair; and still greater numbers to a vain, enthusiastic, and delusive confidence and presumption, little more favourable to the state of their souls than despair itself. Hence it is, that in all the narratives of these pretended saints, we read of deluded men, women and children, rolling on the ground, and groaning in all the agonies of despair, and then on a sudden, crying out, that they had received the gift of God, and were happy; or falling down instantaneously, as in a fit, on hearing the exhortation of the preacher, and then declaring themselves converted: instances which may be paralleled completely and abundantly in every history of enthusiasm, quackery, or imposture; but no where in the Scripture of God, nor in any genuine history of true religion." P. 305.

The author then makes many sensible remarks on the gloom and despair too often produced by the Calvinistic doctrines: as well as the equally dangerous presumption induced by a fallacious feeling of enthusiastic confidence and assurance. He comments in terms of deserved severity, on the practice so often adopted of making condemned criminals believe themselves converted, and go to their deaths rejoicing, with all their crimes upon their heads. But we must pass over a considerable part of the excellent advice given on these and kindred topics, with an earnest recommendation of these to all, especially our clerical readers.

The conclusion of the charge contains a caution against increasing divisions, by keeping up a feeling of hostility against those of the established clergy, who maintain Calvinistic doctrines. The author is far from having any bias to those doctrines himself; but he conceives a man may be a Christian without being of necessity either a Calvinist or an Arminian. He considers these doctrines as not of fundamental importance; he has no doubt that our articles were framed so that they might be subscribed with a good conscience, both by Calvinists and Arminians, and might be articles of union, not of separation. In this spirit of moderation, and these counsels of conciliation, we fully agree, so long as mere abstract doctrinal belief is the only point of disagreement.

But there seems to be an unfortunate tendency in human nature, which renders it almost impossible to find a belief in the Calvinistic doctrines, unaccompanied by the outward manifestations of a sectarian spirit and irregularity of conduct. That the two things *need* have nothing to do with each other, we admit; yet in point of *fact*, they generally are inseparable concomitants. It is not against any body of our clerical brethren, that we maintain hostility, because they adopt *the peculiar hypothesis of Calvin*, but because they adopt *practices* inconsistent with the purity and dignity of the church, and external peculiarities not sanctioned by its discipline. Because, while they strenuously maintain their claim to being orthodox members of the church, they do, in fact, identify themselves both in spirit and conduct with the sectarists, and chiefly, because they form themselves into a sect, under the pretence of upholding the doctrines of the reformers; which they accuse us of deserting; and wish to constitute themselves the sole, genuine and uncorrupted body of the Church of England.

They first form themselves into a party, separate themselves by their own peculiarities, as well as external association, from the rest of their brethren, and then accuse the rest of their brethren of forming a party against them. They complain of division and hostility, which they were themselves the first to commence; and from the fact that some of our reformers had individually a leaning to the Calvinistic theory, maintain the *very logical* conclusion, that consequently the Calvinistic theory is an *essential* part of the genuine faith of the Church of England. It is evident, that upon precisely the same grounds, nearly all the ministers of the establishment, at the present day, are heretics, because they believe in the Newtonian system of the universe; since the reformers unquestionably believed in the Ptolemaic, and the 39 Articles, may be consientiously subscribed by believers in both.

We have thus fairly and impartially discharged our duty. We entertain the most sincere respect for Archdeacon Nares's ability and labours, in support and defence of the church: and we see in all that he says, the operation of a perfect sincerity in upholding the doctrines of the church, and a strenuous zeal in reproving vice and immorality. It is in the most perfect consistency with this respect, that we have thought it incumbent on us to notice what appear to us his errors, as well as to give our tribute of praise to his numerous excellencies.

ART. VII. *The Two Minas and the Spanish Guerillas. Extracted and translated from a Work "On Spain," written by Captain H. Von Brandt, a Prussian Officer, who served in one of the Polish Regiments attached to the French Army during the Peninsular War. By a British Officer.* 8vo. 77 pp. Egerton. 1825.

WE do not understand the object of this publication: The editor declares that he has no intention to depreciate the services of Espoz y Mina. The author, whose work is translated, appears to have desired nothing better than such a consummation. We doubt whether either of the gentlemen has succeeded; the real effect of the book is to lower the character of Mina; but at the same time to increase the general estimate of the merits of the Spanish Guerillas. There is one striking passage which we have great pleasure in extracting; the remainder may be consulted by such as take an interest friendly or hostile, in the adventures of our modern Jack the giant-killer, but it is of little historical or critical importance.

"If the strength of the contending parties was equal, that is, in the proportion of two to four, for otherwise the guerillas did not stand the test, they descended from their mountains, and, by numerous provocations, soon forced the French to seek them. An ambush, placed with great caution, for the purpose of surprising the advanced guard, opened the day. Generally after the first attack, these *enfans perdus* sought the plain, and fell back upon the main body; which, as soon as it perceived our troops, raised a dreadful cry, and usually commenced a sharp fire, without paying any regard to the distance which might separate it from us. I recollect instances in which we pursued the terrible Mina from hill to hill, without firing a single shot, whilst his men uselessly expended several thousand cartridges. When the ground favoured the operation, the French always made an impetuous charge upon their opponents, who generally retreated after a feeble resistance. If, in the mean time, an opportunity presented itself of laying a snare for the rapidly pursuing victors, it was seized, and every possible advantage taken of the ground, but, with their usual want of perseverance and courage. They then disappeared among the mountains, and generally, on the following day, distanced us by ten or twelve *leguas*. No troops in the world would have been able to overtake them.

"The enemy must have been infinitely superior in numbers, to have ventured to commence the attack upon *us*: and even in this case, they preferred enticing us to an ambush. Small elevations of ground lining the road, commanded by another row of hills at a short distance, frequently intersected by rugged hollows, appeared to be their favourite resource. When we had thus fallen into the snare, which, considering the very peculiar formation of the ground, could

not be avoided in perhaps ten cases out of a thousand, at first some riflemen made their appearance on our flanks; the number of which gradually increased, and finally rendered a counter-movement on our part necessary. This was generally the signal for the enemy's grand attack; and we soon saw ourselves surrounded by an impenetrable chain of riflemen, whose vast superiority in numbers drove our skirmishers back upon the column, on which a heavy fire was then directed from all points. Let any one imagine a corps of from 1,200 to 1,400 men in a mountainous tract of country, in which the formation of the ground is such as to preclude all possibility of a regular movement, and which is intersected by deep ravines and hollow-ways occupied by the enemy, surrounded by from 6,000 to 7,000 insurgents swarming about them like bees, and he will be enabled to form a correct idea of the embarrassment which we were in the almost daily habit of encountering. If we advanced, the enemy retired, and the flanks and rear of the column were assailed; which was also the case whether we attacked their flanks, or retired. Nowhere did we meet with resistance, but everywhere a shower of bullets; nowhere a resolute opposition, but from all sides a tremendous fire kept up just within gun-shot. After having fought for a length of time in this way, during which we had generally lost a third of our numbers, and left no means untried which offered any chances of repelling the enemy, it became necessary to think of effecting an escape. On our retreat we frequently found the country in a state of insurrection, and while the inhabitants obstructed our passage, we became surrounded, and even cut off, by means of powerful movements on our flanks, from every new line of march. If a column, thus situated, did not find the ground particularly favourable to its retreat, or if it was at the distance of more than one day's march from the main support, not even the best dispositions of its commander, nor the utmost steadiness and perseverance of the men, could save it.

"It was precisely in this way that the attacks were made upon our supplies, only, that in general, (unless a very considerable escort made the attack problematical,) whole districts took up arms, dug ditches across the wood, and, by rolling down pieces of rock, rendered the defiles impassable.

"The author was once in an expedition of this kind, in one of the most impassable districts of the wild *Pena golosa*. The troops had done every thing in their power to oppose the enemy, on whom they had made at least forty attacks with extraordinary courage. But they began to flag, and instead of courageously charging the enemy, preferred concealing themselves behind rocks, and keeping up an unprofitable firing. Nearly the whole of our officers were wounded. Colonel Pascal himself, the commander of the column, had his arm shattered. At last, by means of words and menaces, he assembled the greater part of the corps in a valley, where they were immediately surrounded by the Spaniards. Under a heavy fire, he cried out to the men with a stentorian voice, and reproached them with their cowardice. "*Vilains conscrits,*" he said, "you have no-

thing to lose but your life, for you have already lost your honour *contre ces gueux de brigands*; but cowards, like you, do not deserve even your life." Hereupon, he took his pistols, which after the loss of his horse, he carried under his arm, and shot two monks whom he had surprised the day before. "Now, go," he then said to his men, "and let yourselves be killed and burnt: but whoever is a good Frenchman, let him follow me." With a far-resounding *en avant* we rushed upon the Valencians, and succeeded, after several bold attacks, in securing more favourable ground, upon which we formed ourselves anew, and finally effected our escape from the enemy. The Poles, who were in this expedition, did not understand a word of Colonel Pascal's energetic speech, but his action had such an effect upon them, that they fought with unexampled bravery.

"It deserves to be mentioned, as a fine trait, that the troops, to whom the Colonel had not previously been known, (as he had only been dispatched from Xerta, of which place he was commandant, to conduct the expedition,) but whose esteem he had gained by his brave conduct, would not forsake him, when another bullet shattered his jaw-bone; they carried him upon their muskets, about two *leguas*, when the abatement of the pursuit allowed them time to construct a litter." P. 68.

ART. VIII. *A Letter to Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, in Vindication of English Protestants from his Attack upon their Sincerity in the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church." By C. J. Blomfield, D. D. Bishop of Chester.* 8vo. 24 pp. Mawman. 1825.

IN our review of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, we directed the reader's attention to a passage in which the clergy and laity of the Church of England were accused of notorious and most hypocritical infidelity. The subject has been taken up by the Bishop of Chester; and we cannot refrain from transcribing his remarks upon a calumny which has excited universal astonishment. Without repeating the libel, which has already appeared in our pages, we proceed at once to his lordship's dignified reply.

"Permit me, Sir, to ask, whether there be in any part of Dr. Southey's book, a grosser attack, a more groundless and gratuitous calumny, than that which is contained in this extract from your answer? You assume, as a matter of notoriety, that the great body of the English clergy, ten or twelve thousand ministers of the Gospel, many of them not less learned nor less sagacious than yourself, are hypocrites and liars; that for the sake of preferment, no necessity compelling them, they set their solemn attestation to that which they do not believe to be true, and place their souls in jeopardy. I

know not what answer can be given to such insinuations as these, except a positive and indignant denial. What other answer could your own clergy give, supposing we were to retort upon them the same charge? They could only declare, on the faith of Christians, that *they* firmly believe the doctrines which they profess; and this *we* declare, in the most solemn and unqualified manner, of ourselves.

"That the clergy of the establishment prevaricate and falsify for the sake of preferment, is a charge which you will hardly advance in so many words; and it is a charge, which if you intend it to be general, may be disproved by an appeal to facts. You are probably not aware, Sir, how many young men of respectable abilities and acquirements enter into the ministry of the church, who have no prospect whatever of preferment, properly so called; who have no hope of obtaining more than a pittance, far inferior to that which they might have obtained as tradesmen, farmers, or even as mechanics. Will you, Sir, seriously contend, that 50*l.* or 60*l.* a year, is a bribe, sufficiently large and tempting to induce a young man of education and of serious habits to set his solemn testimony to the truth of that which he believes to be false? yet I could produce to you, in my own diocese, many instances of pious, able, and exemplary clergymen, who are labouring in their vocation, and doing the work of an evangelist, for no greater sums than these.

"You have charged us with prevarication:—it had been scarcely, if at all, more opprobrious had you termed us atheists; but that is a hard word, and open, undisguised abuse would have alarmed many, who may be taken off their guard by smooth and easy inuendoes: "His words were softer than oil; yet were they drawn swords."

"Be pleased to inform the world, Sir, for this at least we have a right to demand of you, what are the grounds of your insinuation against the English clergy? Have you taken your opinion of their insincerity and hypocrisy from their own declarations, from their discourses, from their writings in defence of religion? Have you ever heard the *sigh* or shuddered at the *smile* of one of these Judases, whom you suppose to exist, in more than their due proportion, amongst the ministers of our church? Bring forth your proofs; and let them be stronger proofs than those which Dr. Milner has brought forward; in the mean time you surely do not quote, as an authority for so grave a charge, the casual expression of one, who first apostatized from the Protestant, then from the Roman Catholic, and lastly from the Christian faith? What concord is there between Mr. Butler and Gibbon?

"That there are *no* instances of clergymen, who subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles with some degree of hesitation and doubt, is more than I undertake to assert: if there should even be some, who call in question the grand doctrines to which you allude, who are as deficient in conscientiousness as they are in right belief,—nay, should there be one or two who even ridicule and make a jest of those articles which they have solemnly assented to—and who, by virtue of that assent, hold preferment amongst us—still our *Church* will

incur no reproach which is not applicable to yours, and to the primitive church itself, into which we know that 'certain men crept unawares, who were before, of old ordained to this condemnation .... denying the only God and our Lord Jesus Christ.' But to your question, 'are these doctrines seriously and sincerely believed by the great body of the present English clergy?' we answer, unhesitatingly, YES: and we make the same answer in the name and on the behalf of the laity, whether in or out of the established church. Upon these points there is no difference of belief between us and the great body of Protestant dissenters. Those who deny the doctrines in question, are in point of numbers, when weighed against those who believe them, as dust in the balance: and you, Sir, can hardly be ignorant of this fact; unless it has been your fate to pass much of your time in the company of those, whose chief employment and delight it is, to attack revealed religion through the sides of the established church; to describe her doctrines as incredible, and her clergy as insincere; and so to bring the Gospel itself into disrepute." P. 7.

This language can neither be misunderstood nor answered. Most sincerely must the Church of England and the whole body of Protestant Christians rejoice in the possession of such a champion as the Bishop of Chester. It was due to the cause at the present crisis, that her defenders should be found in every class, from the highest ranks of the hierarchy to the humble parish priest. And the distinct and indignant denial of Mr. Butler's assertion, is made with peculiar propriety by this distinguished prelate. The Roman Catholic accusation is fully and fairly met. The Protestant Church has pleaded not guilty; and if Mr. Butler is unwilling to appear in the character of a calumniator, he must substantiate or retract his charge.

Having answered the most offensive passage in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, the Bishop of Chester declines exposing its other numerous faults. That task is in other hands, and will be accomplished to the satisfaction of the Protestant world. But the Bishop gives a sample of the manner in which he could execute the work, and the point is so important, and at the same time so ably stated, that we cannot pass it over. It relates to a subject which has been already noticed in our journal, Mr. Butler's appeal to the creed of Pope Pius IV.

"For an exact account of that faith, you refer us to the creed of Pius IV. published in 1564, not as the act of a council, but in the form of a bull, and ever since that time considered as an accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic belief. 'Catholics, on their admission into the Catholic church, publicly repeat and testify their assent to it, *without restriction or qualification.*' And

you give us the creed itself at length. Now the last clause but one in that creed is as follows: 'I also profess and undoubtedly receive *all other things* delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and anathematized by the church.'

"Whatsoever therefore is declared and defined in any of the canons of the Roman Catholic church, or in the acts of *any* general council, not merely, though particularly, the Council of Trent, we may, by your own avowal, consider to be an article of the Roman Catholic faith. This concession, I apprehend, involves consequences which you were either not aware of, or supposed we should not discover. When the Council of Constance had determined that the cup should be taken from the laity, the Bohemians were so much dissatisfied that the Council of Basle restored it to them. Which council was infallible? Which decree is to be 'undoubtedly received?' The Council of Basle in 1431, decreed that a General Council is above the Pope; but the Lateran Council in 1546, declared this decree to have been the source of corruption and abuse. The Council of Constantinople forbade the worship or reverence paid to images; the second Nicene Council enjoined it; the Council of Frankfort prohibited it; and it was finally re-established by the Council of Trent. But it must be confessed, that the expression of Pius IV. admits of a happy latitude and ambiguity; and if this be the creed to which all persons entering into the ministry of your church are obliged to assent, since even the Roman Catholic divines themselves are by no means of one opinion, either as to the number or authority of general councils, nor consequently of the 'things defined and declared' by them, you are at least as likely as we are to have a great many clergymen who 'subscribe with a sigh or a smile.'

"May I not ask, without imputing to you individually tenets which you will be the first to disavow, whether it does not seem to follow, as a necessary consequence of your admission, that all true Roman Catholics must still believe that doctrine which has caused so much mischief in the world, that the Church of Rome may excommunicate and depose kings, and extirpate heretics; for one of these rights was claimed for her by the Council of Trent, and the other by the fourth Lateran Council? Nor will it avail you to say, that these are merely points of discipline, not of doctrine; since the creed of Pius IV. says, 'I *profess*, and *undoubtedly* receive *all other things*,' not only 'defined,' but 'declared by the several councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent.' But why *particularly?* if all general councils were infallible, and their decrees undoubtedly true, how is it that the Council of Trent can have a pre-eminence of orthodoxy? Indeed, Sir, you had better have kept in the back-ground that Creed of Pope Pius IV.; for I foresee that this comprehensive clause of it will involve you in very serious difficulties.

"The Council of Constance declared (Sess. 19.) 'that no safe conduct given to a heretic, under any covenant whatsoever, by any person whomsoever, ought to exempt him from the judgment of the ecclesiastical judge, who may punish him, though he come into court relying on that safe conduct;' and accordingly John Huss was condemned and burnt, in spite of the assurance which he had received from Sigismund of his safe passage to and from the council. Now this, Sir, being a doctrine laid down by a general council, you 'profess, and undoubtedly receive'—'without restriction or qualification.' If you remain true to your own rule, you must avow your belief in some heretical, as well as some uncharitable doctrines. The Sirmian Council, convened by the Emperor Constantius, and approved of by Pope Liberius, pronounced in favour of the Arian, or Semi-Arian doctrines. Bellarmine says of this Council, that it is partly approved and partly disapproved; an odd account to give of an infallible synod; and not very consistent with the declaration in Pope Pius's creed. It is true, that this council determined one thing at one time, and another at another, and that Liberius repented of having persecuted Athanasius; but repentance is not quite compatible with infallibility." P. 20.

ART. IX. *The Memoirs of Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otranto, Minister of the General Police of France. With a Portrait. Translated from the French.* 8vo. 2 vols. 21*s*. Knight. 1825.

THE original work, of which these volumes are a translation, has afforded employment in Paris, not only for the critics, but also for the Courts of law; and, in an action brought by the friends of the late Duke of Otranto, the publisher has been adjudged to pay a fine of five francs for every copy which he has sold, and to give up the name of the real Author of the Memoirs. The scape-goat on this occasion is said to have been M. Alphonse Beauchamp, a gentleman of truly liberal and enlightened mind, open to all parties, and influenced by that one only which can apply the most weighty arguments to secure his conviction. His pen, like that of his great contemporary and parallel, our own modern historian of the Reformation, has successively advocated all causes and all principles, and is prepared, as occasion requires, to contradict any which it has before espoused. Fouché, if he chose to commit his biography to alien hands, could not have selected a more fitting chronicler, nor one more thoroughly formed by nature to understand and appreciate his character; nay, we are prepared to say still farther, that Fouché could not have

seemed more veritable, even if he had told his own story for himself.

For notwithstanding the suspicion which necessarily rests upon this work in its present state, we are by no means inclined to reject it *in toto*, nor to deny its authenticity altogether, because we are in some degree compelled to surrender its claim to genuineness. That *some* Memoirs, written by Fouché, are in existence, is admitted on all hands. That Beauchamp may have wholly or partially used these is very probable. The main thread of his history, as here given, is undoubtedly true, and it is too much to suppose that all the παρεργα are coined by imagination.

Without any farther comment then, we shall endeavour to put our readers in possession of the chief contents of these Memoirs, having thus far explained the reason which we feel for admitting or rejecting their authenticity. The opening paragraphs may convey no very inadequate impression of the spirit in which the work is composed. These clearly do not partake of that calm impartiality which distinguishes the exordium of the History of the Peloponnesian war, nor of that dignified forgetfulness of self which is the characteristic of the similar pages of our own immortal Clarendon.

"The man who, in turbulent and revolutionary times, was solely indebted for the honours and power with which he was invested, and, in short, for his distinguished fortune, to his own prudence and abilities; who, at first elected a national representative, was, upon the re-establishment of order, an ambassador, three times a minister, a senator, a duke, and one of the principal directors of state affairs; this man would be wanting to himself if, to answer the calumnies of libellers, he descended to apology or captious refutations —he must adopt other means.

"This man, then, is myself. Raised by the Revolution, it is only to a counter one, which I foresaw, and might myself have brought about, but against which at the critical moment I was unprepared, that I owe my downfall.

"This fall has exposed me, defenceless, to the clamours of malignity and the insults of ingratitude;—me, who for a long time invested with a mysterious and terrible power, never wielded it but to calm the passions, disunite factions, and prevent conspiracies;—me, who was never-ceasingly employed in moderating and tempering power, in conciliating and amalgamating the jarring elements and conflicting interests which divided France. No one dares deny that such was my conduct, so long as I exercised any influence in the government or in the councils of the state. What have I, an exile, to oppose to these furious enemies, to this rabble which now persecute me, after having grovelled at my feet? Shall I answer them with the cold declamations of the school, or with refined and academic periods? Certainly not; I will confound them by facts and proofs,

[illegible] inherent in this great city contribute to the safety [illegible] My first act was to put a stop to a tendency to in[illegible] which some of the *chefs de bureau* belonging to [illegible] indulged themselves; but I judged it necessary not to [illegible] hasty reforms or ameliorations in the details. I restricted [illegible] supply, to concentrating the high police within my own cabi[illegible] with the assistance of an intimate and faithful secretary. I felt [illegible] alone should be judge of the political state of the interior, and that spies and secret agents should only be considered as indications and instruments often doubtful: in a word, I felt that the high police was not administered by memorials and long reports; that there were means far more efficacious; for example, that the minister himself should place himself in contact with the men of greatest influence, over all opinions and doctrines, and over the superior classes of society. This system never failed me, and I was better acquainted with France, veiled in mystery by means of oral and confidential communications, and by widely-grasping conversations, than by the heaps of written rubbish which continually passed under my eyes. Thus, nothing essential to the safety of the state ever escaped me, as will be proved in the sequel." Vol. I. p. 67.

One of his first and boldest steps was the suppression of Clubs. He then manœuvred with the western Royalists, and tranquillized them by some treacherous emissaries, whom he gained from their own body. The Press was to be next attacked, but the death of Joubert at Novi paralysed the Directory for a few days. The insinuation in the following passage can scarcely be mistaken:—

"I have questioned ocular witnesses respecting the event, who seemed persuaded that the murderous ball was fired from a small country-house, by some hired ruffian, the musquetry of the enemy not being within reach of the group of staff-officers, in the middle of which was Joubert, when he came up to encourage the advanced guard, which was giving way. It has even been said, that the shot was fired by a Corsican chasseur of our light troops. But let us not endeavour to unravel a dreadful mystery by conjectures or facts not sufficiently substantiated. *I leave you, Joubert!* said Buonaparte, on setting off for Egypt." Vol. I. p. 79.

With a sagacious foresight of the approaching change, Fouché now ingratiated himself with the family of Buonaparte. He included Josephine in the number of those who received secret pecuniary assistance from gambling licences, and he gave her with his own hands one thousand louis. Our limits will not permit us to detail the well known particulars of Buonaparte's return, and the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. If little that was untold before is now related by Fouché, his account has, at least, the merit of great life and vigour. It is corroborated by all the published de-

tails, and bears strong internal evidence of accuracy.* Buonaparte, he says, was too cunning to let him into the secret of his means, and thereby to place himself at the mercy of a single man; and well it was for his own interests that Buonaparte did so, at least if he thought of Fouché as Fouché thought of himself.

"The revolution of St. Cloud would have failed had I opposed it; it was in my power to mislead Sieyes, put Barras on his guard, and enlighten Gohier and Moulins; I had only to back Dubois de Crancé, the only opposing minister, and the whole would have fallen to the ground." Vol. I. p. 97.

We come now to the most interesting part of the work.—Marengo confirmed the power which Buonaparte had seized, and he was only exposed to domestic treachery. It became therefore one of the chief objects of the Minister of Police, to guard the First Consul's person: the means upon which he fixed are sufficiently characteristic of the state of public morals.

"Luckily I had Josephine in my interest; Duroc was not against me; and the private secretary was devoted to my views. This personage, who was replete with ability and talent, but whose greediness of gain very shortly caused his disgrace, always exhibited so much cupidity that there is no occasion to name him in order to point him out. Having the controul over the papers and secrets of his master, he discovered that I spent 100,000 francs monthly, for the purpose of incessantly watching over the existence of the First Consul. The idea come into his head to make me pay for such intelligence as he might supply me, in order to furnish means of accomplishing the aim I had in view. He sought me, and offered to inform me exactly of all the proceedings of Buonaparte for 25,000 francs per month; and he made me this offer as a means of saving 900,000 francs per annum. I took care not to let this opportunity slip, of having the private secretary of the chief of the state in my pay; that chief whom it was so requisite for me to follow step by step, in order to know what he had done, and what he was about to do. The proposal of the secretary was accepted, and he every month very punctually received a blank order for 25,000 francs, the promised sum, which he was to draw out of the treasury. On my side, I had full reason to congratulate myself on his dexterity and accuracy. But I took care not to starve the funds which I employed, in order to protect the person of Buonaparte from any unforeseen attack. The palace alone dried up more than half the resource of my 100,000

* We have been much struck by the close accordance of the details given by Fouché, who was an eye-witness to many of the transactions, and had an intimate knowledge of them all, with the account which is to be found in *Rivington's* Annual Register for 1800; a work which was compiled before the appearance of these *Memoirs*.

francs, which were monthly available. In fact, I was by that means very accurately apprized of all that was important for me to know; and I was enabled, reciprocally, to control the information of the secretary, by that of Josephine, and that of the latter by the secretary." Vol. I. p. 161.

The violence of Buonaparte's temper is forcibly pourtrayed by many anecdotes, some of which *must* be true. Though owing his elevation in a great degree to the exertions of Lucien, as President of the Council of Five Hundred, their communication soon afterwards was interrupted by scenes of intemperate quarrelling. On one occasion, Lucien threw on his brother's desk his portfolio of Minister, and disclaimed all future connection with "such a despot." Buonaparte, equally exasperated, called his aides-de-camp on duty, and turned out the *citizen* who had forgotten the respect due to the First Consul. Lucien soon after was sent as Ambassador to Madrid. On the receipt of the intelligence of the assassination of the Emperor Paul, Fouché found the First Consul grasping and twisting the despatch, while he walked about the room with a hurried manner and a haggard air. "What," said he, "an Emperor not in safety in the midst of his guards!" Fouché pointedly drew his attention to the difference of habits in the south of Europe; but Buonaparte dwelt upon his own similar danger, and his thoughts plainly reverted to his escape from the infernal machine. "He gave vent to his passion in ejaculations, stamping of the foot, and short fits of rage. I never beheld so striking a scene."

By a Court intrigue the administration of Police was soon afterwards annexed to the Minister of Justice, and Fouché received his dismissal. The reserve of money belonging to the account of secret management, which he transferred to the First Consul on retiring, amounted to the enormous sum of nearly 2,400,000 francs; of this Buonaparte presented him with one half.

Though nominally unengaged in administration, Fouché still received occasional employment; and in 1802, he was appointed one of a Commission to treat with the Swiss deputies. He was an observer of politics, and frequently was in open communication with Buonaparte; enough so to condemn what he terms "his imprudent interview" with Lord Whitworth, and that act of "exaggeration, indignation and rage," the arrest of all English travellers, which he justly stigmatizes as an unprecedented violence against the Rights of nations. The following is his account of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien:—

"I was one of the first to obtain a knowledge of the mission of

Caulincourt and Ordener to the banks of the Rhine; but when I was informed that the telegraph had just announced the arrest of the Prince, and that the order to transfer him from Strasbourg to Paris was given, I foresaw the catastrophe, and I trembled for the life of the noble victim. I hurried to Malmaison, where the First Consul then was; it was the 29th Ventose, (20th March 1804). I arrived there at nine o'clock in the morning, and I found him in a state of agitation, walking by himself in the park. I entreated permission to say a word to him about the great events of the day. "I see," said he, "what brings you; I am about this day to strike a great and necessary blow." I represented to him that France and Europe would be roused against him, if he did not supply undeniable proof that the Duke had conspired against his person at Ettenheim. "What necessity is there for proof?" he exclaimed: "Is he not a Bourbon, and the most dangerous of all of them." I persisted in offering arguments of policy calculated to silence the reasons of state. But all in vain; he concluded by impatiently telling me, "Have not you and your friends told me a thousand times, that I should conclude by becoming the General Monk of France, and by restoring the Bourbons? Very well! there will no longer be any way of retreating. What stronger guarantee can I give to the Revolution, which you have cemented by the blood of a king? It is, besides, indispensible to bring things to a conclusion; I am surrounded by plots; I must imprint terror or perish." In saying these last words, which left nothing more to hope, he had approached the castle; I saw M. de Tallyrand arrive, and a moment after the two consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun. I regained my carriage, and re-entered my own house in a state of consternation.

"The next day I learned, that after my departure a council had been held, and that Savary had proceeded at night to the execution of the unfortunate victim; atrocious circumstances were quoted. Savary had revenged himself, it was reported, of having missed his prey in Normandy, where he had flattered himself with having ensnared, by means of the net-work of the conspiracy of Georges, the Duke de Berri and the Count d'Artois, whom he would have more willingly sacrificed than the Duke d'Enghien. Réal assured me that he was so little prepared for the nocturnal execution, that he had departed in the morning to go to the Prince at Vincennes, expecting to conduct him to Malmaison, and conceiving that the First Consul would finish the affair in a magnanimous manner. But a *coup d'état* appeared indispensible to impress Europe with terror, and eradicate all the germs of conspiracy against his person.

"Indignation, which I had foreseen, broke out in the most sanguinary manner. I was not the person who hesitated to express himself with the least restraint respecting this violence against the rights of nations and humanity. "It is more than a crime," I said, "it is a political fault;" words which I record because they have been repeated and attributed to others." Vol. I. p. 263.

Buonaparte was now Emperor; the Imperial power was

hereditary in his family, but having no issue male, he might adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers. Well may Fouché say, that the "domestic situation" which he here presents us, requires the pen of a Suetonius! Are we to believe the disgusting tale, or to attribute it to the malignity of the writer's imagination.

"For a long time Napoleon was convinced, notwithstanding the artifices of Josephine, that she would never give him any progeny. This situation was calculated sooner or later to tire the patience of the founder of a great empire, in all the vigour of his age. Josephine, therefore, found herself between two rocks; infidelity and divorce. Her anxieties and alarms had increased since his accession to the consulship for life, which she knew was only a stepping stone to the empire. In the interim, mortified by her sterility, she conceived a plan for substituting her daughter Hortense in the affection of her husband, who already, in a sensual point of view, was escaping from her, and who, in the hope of seeing himself born again in a son, might break the knot which united him to her; it would not have been without pain. On one side, habit; on the other, the amiable temper of Josephine, and a kind of superstition, seemed to secure to her for ever the attachment, or at least the attentions, of Napoleon; but great subject for inquietude and anxiety did not the less exist. The preservative naturally presented itself to the mind of Josephine; she was even little impeded in the execution of her plan.

"Hortense, when young, had felt a great dislike to the husband of her mother; she indeed detested him: but by degrees, time, age, and the halo of glory which surrounded Napoleon, and his attentions to Josephine, induced Hortense to pass from the extreme of antipathy to adoration. Without being handsome, she was witty, sparkling, replete with graces and talents. She pleased; and the liking became so animated on both sides, that it was sufficient for Josephine to affect the air of being maternally pleased, and afterwards to shut her eyes upon the matter, in order to secure her domestic triumph. The mother and daughter reigned at the same time in the heart of this haughty man. When, according to the mother's views, the tree began to bear fruit, it was necessary to think of masking, by a sudden marriage, an intrigue which already began to reveal itself to the eyes of the courtiers. Hortense would have willingly given her hand to Duroc: but Napoleon, looking to the future, and calculating from that time the possibility of an adoption, wished to concentrate in his own family, by a double incest, the intrigue to which he was about to be indebted for all the charms of paternity. Thence the union of his brother Louis and Hortense—a melancholy union, and which ended in rending the veil of deception.

"Mean time the wishes of all parties, with the exception of those of the new husband, were, at first, auspiciously fulfilled. Hortense gave birth to a son, who took the name of Napoleon, and on whom Napoleon lavished marks of tenderness, of which he was not believed

ble. This child came forward in the most charming man-
by its features alone doubly interested Napoleon at the
's accession to the empire. No doubt he designed him
in his heart as his adopted son." Vol. I. p. 269.

myself in this child!—this boy will be worthy
he may even surpass me!" were some of
pressions. His hopes were early destroyed
which carried off its victim suddenly, and
arks, that he "never saw Napoleon a prey to
or more concentrated grief."

Although not unsusceptible of the attractions of women, no *sentiment* ever appears to have mingled in Buonaparte's amours. Fouché has related an amusing anecdote, which, in order of time, we should have noticed before the last. While at Milan, the First Consul had been struck by the beauty of a celebrated Opera singer, and had commissioned Berthier to treat with and transport her to Paris. Her establishment was sufficiently splendid, 13,000 francs per month. To avoid scandal, and to escape the jealous vigilance of Josephine, Buonaparte's visits were abrupt and clandestine; and the haughty and impassioned Italian felt but little honoured by an attachment of which her lover avowed himself to be ashamed. Though invulnerable in the field of Mars, Buonaparte underwent the common lot of mortals in that of Venus, and his frail mistress atoned for his inattention in the embraces of Rode, a violin player.

"While these intrigues were going on, Buonaparte one day told me that he was astonished, with my acknowledged ability, that I did not conduct the police better, and that there were circumstances of which I was ignorant.—"Yes," I replied, "there are things of which I was ignorant, but of which I am so no longer; for instance, a little man, muffled up in a gray great coat, often issues, on dark nights, from a back door of the Thuilleries, accompanied by a single attendant, mounts a shabby vehicle, and proceeds to ferret out a certain Signora G——; that little man is yourself; and the misjudging vocalist sacrifices her fidelity to you in favour of Rode, the violin-player." At these words the Consul, turning his back upon me and remaining silent, rang the bell, and I withdrew. An aide-de-camp was commissioned to perform the part of a black eunuch to the unfaithful fair one, who indignantly refused to submit to the regulations of the seraglio. She was first deprived of her establishment and pensions, in hope of reducing her to terms by famine; but deeply in love with Rode, she remained inflexible, and rejected the most brilliant offers of the *Pylades* Berthier. She was then compelled to quit Paris; she first retired into the country with her lover; but afterwards both made their escape, and went to Russia to recruit their fortune." Vol. I. p. 200.

Immediately on his elevation to the Imperial dignity, Buonaparte re-appointed Fouché to the Ministry of Police, and on the creation of the new Nobility, invested him with the title of Duke of Otranto. Of the machinery of his office he does not tell us enough to satisfy curiosity, though amply enough to convince us of the iniquity and baseness which conducted it. He had salaried spies in all ranks and orders of both sexes, at 1,000 or 2,000 francs per month, according to their services. Their Reports were delivered in writing, and were laid before the Emperor every three months, both in order to prevent any double employment, and also that the benefits conferred on the State might receive fitting reward either by pay or places. In the department of foreign Police, individuals were purchased or pensioned and commissioned to reside in each principal town. The State prisons, the *gendarmerie*, the granting of passports, were under the control of the Minister of Police, and save the Old man of the Mountain, or the Chief of the Brothers of the Rosy Cross, no single person ever appears to have wielded such terrific secret engines as Fouché. This establishment necessarily demanded several millions, which were provided by means equally good and honourable with the object which they were destined to support; namely, by taxes on gambling and prostitution. Perrein, the officer, superintendent-general of gaming houses, extended his paternal care over all the chief towns of the empire, and farmed the receipts for a rent of 14 millions yearly, besides a payment to the Minister of Police of 3,000 francs per day. So unlimited was the power of this corrupt and debasing *espionage*, that wherever four persons had met together, eyes and ears in the pay of Fouché were believed to be present, and there was not a hearth in Paris, perhaps, nor many within the borders of France, into which his agents did not in some form or other insinuate themselves.

At his Coronation, notwithstanding the presence of the Pope, Buonaparte, with his own hands, placed the crown on his own head. On visiting Italy for the same purpose, he was so forcibly struck by the magnificence of Genoa and the *delices* of the neighbourhood, that he exclaimed, "This is, indeed, worth a war." The descent upon England was now the great object of his thoughts. To land seemed his only difficulty: this once accomplished, London was a sure prey, and there a popular party would easily be raised to destroy the Government. "All our secret information," adds Fouché, "shows us the feasibility of it." Yet a few pages farther, however, he admits that the invasion of Bavaria, with which

the Austrians commenced the new continental war, was "a fortunate diversion," for the Emperor; that "it saved his maritime honour, and probably preserved him from a disaster which would have destroyed both himself and his nascent Empire. There is no inconsistency in these passages, for Fouché plainly considered the channel to be impassable. It is worth while to see what were Buonaparte's objects in England.

"It was a revolution in earnest which Buonaparte wished to effect in England; he thirsted with a desire to strangle the liberty of the press, and the liberty of parliamentary discussion. Induced to wish for the moment when he could behold that island in her turn delivered up to the horrors of a political revolution, he sent envoys there, who deceived him as to his actual condition. I told him a hundred times, that England was as powerful by the effect of her institutions as of her naval force; but he preferred believing the representations of interested spies. It was in the hope of causing internal dissensions to explode, that during the year 1811, he chiefly occupied himself with the project of entirely excluding English commerce from the Continent. His emissaries did not fail to attribute the distress of the manufactures in that kingdom to the continental blockade, as well as the numerous bankruptcies, which, during the course of that same year, struck deadly blows at the stability of English credit. They announced the approximation of serious tumults; and maintained that England could not much longer support a state of war, which cost her more than fifty millions sterling.

"In fact, tumultuous meetings of work-people without work broke out in Nottinghamshire. The mutineers assembled in organized bodies, burnt or destroyed the looms, and committed all kinds of excess. They described themselves to be under the orders of a Captain Ludd, an imaginary personage, whence they derived the name of Luddites. The Emperor considered this in the light of a national wound, which it was his policy to enlarge, like that of Ireland. In a short time, indeed, the system of insurrection extended its sphere of action, and involved the neighbouring counties of Derby and Leicester. It was affirmed in the cabinet of Napoleon, that persons of note were not strangers to the commotion, and were even its instigators." Vol. II. p. 65.

Mack was corrupted and surrendered Ulm. Almost all the Austrian staff-officers were virtually gained over to the French, and the Coalition melted away. But the great disaster at Trafalgar checked Buonaparte's joy. He was upon the Vienna road when the fatal despatch arrived. Berthier who was seated at the same table with him, read it first, but not daring to present it openly, he pushed it gradually with his elbow under his eyes. Buonaparte hastily glanced through its contents, and starting up full of rage,

cried, "I cannot be every where!" His agitation was extreme, and Berthier despaired of tranquillizing him.

It was on the death of Hortense's boy that Buonaparte is said to have first thought of his divorce from Josephine, who already, as it seems, might have sued for a restitution of conjugal rights. Fouché either prompted or seconded his inclination by a written memoir, suggesting the necessity of another marriage; and then having sounded and discovered the Emperor's intentions, he took upon himself, unbidden, to communicate them to Josephine. She received the intelligence with profound agitation; and on the following day a passionate and affecting explanation took place between the principals. Buonaparte disowned Fouché, but refused to accede to Josephine's request for his dismissal. She then proposed a fictitious pregnancy; but the wily Minister had anticipated even the resource, and she was forced to relinquish it, when Buonaparte showed her from the Police reports, that the possibility of such a fraud had already been bruited abroad. It was not, however, till the successful termination of the campaign at Wagram, that Buonaparte's resolution was finally avowed; and when he informed Josephine of it at a *tete a tete* dinner, she fainted away. The new marriage was the forerunner of Fouché's second disgrace. The particulars which he gives of the *avant* negociations with the Courts of Petersburgh and Vienna, are full of interest; but we have not room to extract them. It is more to our purpose to show Fouché's individual feeling: "Gifted with what is called tact, I had a secret presentiment that my ministerial power would not long survive the new order of things." "I was also firmly convinced, that he would never pardon my having, of myself, raised an army, forced the English to reimbark, and saved Belgium." He had done still more, he had employed an agent without Buonaparte's knowledge, to sound the English minister as to peace. The Emperor was similarly employed at the same time; and the Marquis Wellesley suspecting treachery from the double propositions, refused both of them. Buonaparte unravelled the mystery, and taxed Fouché in full Council, with making peace and war without his privity. He was peremptorily dismissed, and replaced by Savary. The following were his consolation under disgrace:—

"I should certainly have made a prediction rather premature, by recalling the words of the prophet: 'In forty days, Nineveh shall be destroyed;' but I might have predicted, with confidence, that in less than four years the empire of Napoleon would no longer exist." Vol. I. p. 357.

"I confess, that there never was a more despotic police than that whose sceptre I grasped; but will you not also admit that there never was a more protecting police under a military government; more adverse to violence; more gentle in the means by which it pervaded the secret recesses of domestic life, and the operation of which was less obnoxiously obvious? Will you not, therefore, admit, that the Duke of Otranto was beyond a doubt the most skilful and the most moderate of all Napoleon's ministers?" Vol. II. p. 2.

"During my recent humiliations, and during my great misfortunes, can I forget that I was once the supporter and supervisor of an immense empire; that my disapprobation only endangered its subsistence; and that it ran the risk of tumbling to pieces whenever I withdrew my sustaining hand? Can I forget, that if by the effect of a great re-action, and of a revolution which I foresaw, I again repossessed myself of the scattered elements of so much greatness and power, that the whole vanished like a dream? Yet, nevertheless, I was considered as far superior, in consequence of my long experience—I may add, perhaps of my sagacity—to all those, who, during the catastrophe, suffered the power to escape." Vol. II. p. 3.

An Imperial decree in 1813, constituted Fouché Governor of Rome. Before he set off, Buonaparte demanded all his secret correspondence and confidential orders. These he concealed before the arrival of Berthier, and the commission which was sent to obtain them; and having amused the messengers by the surrender and examination of some unimportant documents, he sent them back to meet the rage of Buonaparte, who instantly pronounced, that they had been tricked, that they were *imbecilles*, that Berthier was no better than an old woman, and that he had suffered himself to be mystified by the craftiest man in the Empire.

"The next day at nine o'clock in the morning, having concerted my plan, I hastened to Saint Cloud, and there presented myself to the grand *maréchal* of the palace. 'Here I am,' said I to Duroc; 'I am prompted by the most urgent interest, to see the Emperor without delay, and to prove to him, that I am very far from deserving his cruel mistrust, and unjust suspicion. Tell him, I entreat you, that I am waiting in your closet, till he deigns to grant me a few minutes audience.' 'I will go instantly,' replied Duroc, 'and I am very glad to see that *you have mixed a little water with your wine.*' Such was the exact phrase he used, and it squared with the idea which I wished to give him of my deportment. Duroc, returning, took me by the hand, led me forward, and left me in the Emperor's closet. From the first aspect and deportment of Napoleon, I guessed what was passing in his mind. Without giving me time to say a single word, he embraced me, flattered me, and went even so far as to testify a kind of repentance for the dissatisfaction he had expressed with regard to me; then, with an accent which seemed to say that he himself offered me a pledge of reconciliation,

he concluded by requiring, and, in short, demanding his correspondence. 'Sire,' I replied with a determined tone, 'I have burnt it.' 'That is not true; I must have it,' replied he, with compressed vehemence and anger. 'It is reduced to ashes'—'Withdraw!' These words were pronounced with a scowling motion of the head, and a withering look. 'But, Sire'—'Withdraw, I say!' This was repeated with such emphasis as to dissuade me from staying. I held ready in my hand a brief memorial, which I laid on the table as I retired; an action which I accompanied with a respectful bow. The emperor, bursting with anger, seized the paper, and tore it to pieces." Vol. II. p. 18.

To the farther threats of the Emperor, Fouché returned, through Berthier, the following reply:—"Tell him, that I have been accustomed, for these five-and-twenty years, to sleep with my head on the scaffold; that I know the extent of his power, but that I do not fear it; and add, that if he wishes to make a Strafford of me, he is at full liberty so to do." The resemblance of this ex-Sir Richard Birnie, to the wronged and murdered Wentworth, cannot fail to occur to every reader. Discretion, however, mingled with his valour; and after really sending, or perhaps only mentally framing this magnanimous message, he took post for the frontiers, and sought refuge in Florence. Even here he considered himself unsafe, and he embarked at Leghorn for America. But oh! lame and impotent conclusion! a violent sea-sickness, which "loaded his bosom and tore his entrails," drove him again on land, and induced him to refuse the generous offer of an English captain, who promised to convey him to our island, assuring him, "at the same time, such attention and antidotes, as would secure him against the return of sea-sickness."

He now resolved to commit himself to the protection of the Grand Duchess Elise, Buonaparte's sister. Through her he forwarded a penitential letter to the Thuilleries, offered to exchange his papers for an indemnity for all past acts executed under Buonaparte's orders, and requested permission to retire to Aix. The bargain was readily struck, and Fouché was again out of danger.

Ennui pursued him to his retirement; and a feeling, which he well describes as "the inveterate custom and desire to know every thing," still haunted him. To gratify this craving he arranged a regular correspondence, and established a sort of counter-police. By this he learned the particulars of the disgrace of the King of Holland, Lucien, and of Pauline Borghese, the favourite sister of Buonaparte. Fouché describes Pauline as beautiful, full of levity, inconsistency and

laxity of morals, without talent, but not without some smartness and information. She was first married to Le Clerc, whom she hated; and being ill, and refusing to follow her husband on his expedition to St. Domingo, she was carried, by Napoleon's orders, in a litter on board the admiral's ship. On Le Clerc's death she returned to Paris; and here her shameless and unmeasured profligacy for awhile impaired her health, but the remedies to which she was compelled to have recourse seemed to increase her beauty. The rest must be told by Fouché himself. It is a companion piece to the tale of Hortense.

"Desiring nothing but unrestrained and unlimited enjoyment, but dreading her brother and his rough severity, Pauline formed a project, in conjunction with one of her women, of subjecting Napoleon to the full dominion of her charms. She employed so much art, and so much refinement for the purpose, that her triumph was complete. Such was the intoxication of the despot, that more than once his familiars heard him exclaiming, on emerging from one of his fits of transport, that his sister was the most beautiful of the beautiful, and, in short, the Venus of the age. Her beauty, however, was only of a masculine description. But let us lay aside these portraits, which are more worthy of the pencil of Suetonius and Aretin, than of the graving tool of history. Voluptuous *château de Neuilly!* magnificent palace of the Faubourg St. Honore! if your walls, like those of the palaces of the kings of Babylon, could reveal the truth, what licentious scenes would you not depict in characters of exaggerated size!

"For more than a year the infatuation of the brother for the sister maintained its dominion, although unaccompanied by passion; in fact, no other passion but that of dominion and conquest could master that haughty and warlike spirit. When, after the battle of Wagram, and the peace of Vienna, Napoleon returned in triumph to Paris, preceded by the report of his approaching divorce with Josephine, he went that very day to his sister, who was in a state of agitation, and the most conscious anticipation of his return. Never had she displayed so much love and adoration for her brother. I heard her say on that very day, for she was not aware that there was any mystery to be preserved towards me, "Why do we not rule in Egypt? We might then act like the Ptolemies; I might divorce my husband, and marry my brother.' I knew her to be too uninstructed to conceive such an idea herself, and immediately detected in it an ejaculation of Napoleon.

"The bitter and concentrated disappointment which Pauline felt may be conceived, when some months after that time she saw Maria Louisa, adorned with all her native frankness, make her appearance at the nuptial ceremony, and take her seat on the throne by the side of Napoleon. The imperial court then underwent a thorough reform in its habits, its morals, and its etiquette; the reform was complete and rigorous. From that moment the licentious

court of Pauline was deserted; and that woman, who united all the weaknesses to all the graces of her sex, considering Maria Louisa in the light of a fortunate rival, conceived a mortal jealousy against her, and nourished the most intense resentment in the recesses of her heart. Her health was impaired by it. By the advice of her physician, she had recourse to the waters of *Aix la Chapelle*, as well for the purpose of recovery, as for that of escaping the *ennui* to which she was a prey. Having undertaken her journey, she passed the line of direction in which Napoleon and Maria Louisa were travelling towards the frontier of Holland. There compelled to appear at the court of the new empress, and eagerly seizing an opportunity of insulting her as much as possible, she went so far as to make, behind her back, while she was passing through the *salon*, a sign with her two fingers, and that accompanied by an indecent tittering, which the common people apply, in their gross stile of derision, to credulous and deluded husbands. Napoleon, who witnessed and was shocked by the impertinence, which the reflection of the mirrors had even revealed to Maria Louisa, never forgave his sister; she that day received an order to withdraw from court. From that time, disdaining submission, she preferred to live in exile and disgrace, till the period of the events of 1814, a period which restored her past affection, and proved her fidelity to the misfortunes of her brother." Vol. II. p. 34.

The forced abdication of the throne of Holland gave Fouché the first idea of the possibility of one day saving the Empire by means of an abdication imposed on him who might, by his extravagance, compromise its prosperity; and this was almost at the moment in which Buonaparte's power appeared to be most firmly rooted by the birth of a son. Fouché informs us respecting this event, that Maria Louisa's labour was horribly protracted, that the *accoucheur* was bewildered, that the child was concluded to be dead, and that he was only recovered from his lethargy by the effect of the repeated discharge of a hundred pieces of artillery. He does not appear to know, that there is the highest authority for believing that the lives both of the mother and the child would have been forfeited, had it not been for the presence of mind and the decision of Buonaparte himself.

On the eve of the war with Russia, in the autumn of 1812, Fouché, impatient of his exclusion from the theatre in which were framing the great events which his sagacity anticipated, obtained permission to reside on his own estate, the *Chateau de Ferrières*, about six leagues from Paris. Here he watched the coming storm with gloomy foreboding, and having drawn up a memorial, strongly representing the impolicy of the war, he requested an audience at the Thuilleries, and delivered it in person. He was received not ungraciously,

Buonaparte promised to read his memorial, with the previous composition of which he showed himself to be acquainted, to the astonishment of Fouché, who, for the first time, perceived that his system of *espionage* had been employed in turn, and successfully against himself. Buonaparte added a few characteristic sentences. "How can I help it, if an excess of power leads me to assume the dictatorship of the world?" "My destiny is not accomplished: I must finish that which is but as yet sketched. We must have an European code, an European Court of cassation; the same coins, the same weights and measures, the same laws: I must amalgamate all the people of Europe into one, and Paris must be the Capital of the world."

The Russian agent, Prince Czernitscheff, appears to have been one of the most able diplomatists of his time. Handsome in his person, and winning in his address, he relied much upon his *liaisons* of gallantry as sources of information. By the treachery of a clerk of the *Bureau des Mouvemens*, who afterwards expiated his crime on the scaffold, Czernitscheff obtained a memorandum of the intended movements of the French army. Some suspicion arose, and the clerk was arrested. Czernitscheff left Paris with precipitation, and having five or six hours start, he passed the bridge of Kehl, just as the telegraphic order for his arrest reached Strasburgh. He had not time to destroy his papers, the discovery of which betrayed an extensive amatory-political correspondence. It also brought to light an unsuspected fact, that, even from the date of the interview at Erfurt, the Russian Cabinet had foreseen the possibility of a rupture: Romanzoff then justified his temporizing complaisance to Buonaparte by the pointed and remarkable words, *Il faut l'user*, We must wear him out.

It was not until the conclusion of the armistice which succeeded the battles of Bautzen and Wurtchen, that Fouché was again employed, and even then it was plain that Buonaparte's great object was to keep him at a distance from Paris, where he dreaded his intrigues. At Dresden, he had an interview with the Emperor, who was at the brink of a rupture with Austria, and, as Berthier described him, furious with a mania for war. Fouché then received his appointment of Governor-general of Illyria. At that time he plainly foresaw the headlong downfal of his master, and he wisely resolved "to turn his new situation to the advantage of the State." He therefore conceived the project of a Regency, of which himself was to be member. Buonaparte probably suspected his design, for when Illyria was lost, Fouché was

rapidly transferred to his former government of Rome, of which he had never taken possession. He lingered on his journey, in order to observe the course of the events which he confidently anticipated. At length, he was ordered to proceed to Naples, and there endeavour to secure the wavering fidelity of Murat. In this dissolute Capital, says Fouché, "I found myself nearly, *if the comparison be not considered too flattering to myself*, as Plato did at the Court of Dionysius." Would that a medal had been struck in commemoration of this act of diplomacy!

> Then future ages with delight should see,
> How Plato's and how Fouché's looks agree.

As events hastened to their climax, he suggested to Murat the proclamation, in which he formally avowed that he had separated his arms from those of Buonaparte, and he obtained in return, after Joachim had seized the Roman States, the arrears of his salary for the two Governor-generalships, from which he had been driven. These amounted to 170,000 francs; so that he congratulated himself upon being able to say, before leaving Italy, that he "had not lost his time there for nothing."

Before proceeding to France, he dissuaded Eugene, the Viceroy of Italy, from obeying Buonaparte's commands to march on the Vosges; he then kindly "gave him some advice," and set off for Lyons. As he learned the reverses of Soult at Orthes, and of Buonaparte at Laon, his regrets increased at his inability to be in Paris during the Revolution, which of necessity was to be expected. He dared not attempt the journey, for he had reason to think that secret instructions regarding himself were transmitted to each individual Præfect respectively.

It was in 1809 that Fouché admits he first conceived the design of dethroning Buonaparte, as the only means of reconciling France with Europe, and of bringing back a reasonable state of government. For this purpose he entered into secret negotiation with Prince Metternich, and the Marquis Wellesley, and obtained the co-operation of Talleyrand, and other men of intrigue. His sudden disgrace prevented the ripening of the plan, and "postponed for five years the subversion of the Imperial throne." With a recollection of these intentions, we can readily conceive that the feelings of the Duke of Otranto were most bitter, when he perceived that he was not allowed even a subordinate share of mischief when the catastrophe had really arrived.

But the return of the Bourbons changed the current of

these feelings, and he exclaims, in a burst of nascent Royalism—

"What a position, just Heaven, was mine! Impelled by the consciousness of the many claims which I possessed to power, and withheld by a sentiment of remorse; impressed at the same time with the grandeur of a spectacle perfectly new to the generation which surveyed it—the public entrance of a son of France, who, after being the sport of fortune for twenty-five years, reviewed, in the midst of acclamations and universal rejoicing, the capital of his ancestors, adorned with the standards and emblems of royalty. Moved, I confess, by the affecting picture of royal affability, intermingling with royalist intoxication, I was subjugated by the feeling. I neither dissembled my regret nor my repentance; I revealed them in full senate, while I urged the senators to send a deputation to S. A. R. Monsieur; at the same time declaring myself unworthy to form a part of it, and of appearing in my own person before the representative of monarchy; and withstanding, to the utmost of my influence, such of my colleagues as wished to impose restraints upon the Bourbons." Vol. II. p. 240.

He then wrote two letters, one to Buonaparte, acquainting him with the geographical position and political relation of Elba, on which island the ex-Emperor at that time resided, and strongly urging him to emigrate, as a private individual, to the United States. The other was addressed to the Comte d'Artois, informing him that he had so written to Buonaparte, and trusting to the unquestionable sagacity of that Prince, to determine therefrom that he was no longer to be reckoned among the adherents of Napoleon. Whether, on account of this letter, or from some other reason, he does not state, but the King ordered M. de Blacas to have a conference with him. Fouché talked but coldly with this agent, not knowing how much of his conversation might be "dispersed in empty air;" but on the following day he sent him a long letter, very shrewdly believing that the *litera scripta* must meet the King's eyes. The furnace of the Revolution through which Fouché had passed, in all its degrees of heat and activity, had not been able to dissipate the whole of that courtly flattery which seems inherent in the composition of a Frenchman; and the same voice which had voted for the death of Louis XVI. and had shouted *Vive l'Empereur* to Buonaparte, now whispered to the Monarch of the day, that the XIXth century ought to bear the name of Louis XVIII. as the XVIIth bore that of Louis XIV. Having made this statement, his immediate steps were to decline forming one of a counter-revolutionary committee, solely because he would not do "any thing incapable of assuming a dignified air;" all but to give his co-operation to the adherents of

Buonaparte; to listen to innumerable plans for the dethronement of the King, and the proclamation either of another dynasty, or of a Provisional Republic; and finally, as the official organ of a military party, to write an offer of the Dictatorship to Eugene Beauharnois. Such having been his summer amusements at Ferrieres, when he returned to the Capital, on the approach of winter, he again changed his tack, and renewed his addresses to the Court.

"The king, by his good pleasure, had commissioned M. the Duke d'Havre to supersede M. de Blacas in his confidential communications with me. The true nobility of this nobleman's character, as well as his frank deportment, procured him my entire confidence; I opened my whole heart to him, and found myself disposed to a freedom of communication which I had never before known. Never had I, in any moment of my life, felt so little inclination to reserve; never before did I find myself endowed with an eloquence so true, and a sensibility so intense, as those which accompanied the recital of the circumstances by which I had been fatally induced to vote for the death of Louis XVI. I can say it with truth, that this confession extorted from my feelings, was imbued at once with remorse and inspiration." Vol. II. p. 255.

While thus confessing himself, with tears in his eyes, to a Minister of the King, Fouché was in direct communication with the party which was plotting the restoration of Buonaparte. Even this, however, was to be only the prologue of some other intrigue; he assisted the ex-Emperor, reserving in his own mind "the intention of putting him down afterwards," and considering him as "nothing but a worn-out actor."

Having entered into this conspiracy, and having induced Murat to take up arms, Fouché, as soon as Buonaparte landed, apprized the King of his danger, and offered to stop the invasion, provided the first Prince of the blood was appointed Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom, and the whole management of affairs was intrusted to his own hands. This modest proposal was declined; nevertheless, in an interview with Monsieur, he afterwards declared his grief that it was now impossible to serve the King's cause, and exclaimed as he took his leave, with "a sudden inspiration of hope"—"take measures to save the King, and I will take steps to save the Monarchy."

"Who could have imagined," continued Fouché, with impenetrable gravity, "that after communications of so lofty an importance, there should be almost immediately set on foot against me and against my liberty, a kind of plot?" The single heartedness and sincerity of the patriot and sage surely

ought to have protected him from a visit from the *gendarmes*. Having timely intelligence of the intended arrest, he profited by machinery well fitted to a Minister of Police, a secret door and a ladder, which conveyed him to the house of Hortense, and there he found himself secure in the heart of the *élite* of Bonapartists.

Napoleon on re-occupying the Thuilleries again, installed Fouché Minister of Police; not, as he afterwards learned, from his over good will, but induced by the persuasions of Bassano, Caulaincourt, and others. On obtaining this appointment, Fouché "did not hesitate to request the King, by means of an agent on whom he could rely, to permit him to devote himself, when opportunity occurred, to his service." The overture was accepted, and sanctioned by the Duke of Wellington, Prince Metternich, and Prince Talleyrand. His correspondence with Metternich was discovered. Buonaparte convened a Council, stated that Fouché was a traitor, that he had proofs of it, and that he was about to have him shot. Every voice protested against so violent a measure. Carnot observing that he persevered, replied, "It is in your power to have Fouché shot, but to-morrow at the same hour your power will have departed." Buonaparte at last consented to send an émissary to Bale to unravel the plot. Fouché apprized of this proceeding, placed Metternich's letter in his *portfeuille*, and, after an audience with Buonaparte, pretending to awaken to the sudden recollection of a fact which he had forgotten, from the oppression of too much business, submitted it to his perusal, with a well feigned doubt as to Metternich's wish; at the same time implying, that he believed it to accord with his own, namely, that Buonaparte should avoid a war with all Europe by the only means now in his power, an abdication in favour of his son. The trick succeeded, and Buonaparte was out-witted.

Buonaparte set out for the army.

"In this decisive condition of affairs, my position became very delicate, as well as very difficult; I wished to have nothing further to do with Napoleon; yet, if he should be victorious, I should be compelled to submit to his yoke, as well as the whole of France, whose calamities he would prolong. On the other hand, I had engagements with Louis XVIII.; not that I was inclined to his restoration; but prudence required that I should procure for myself before-hand something in the shape of a guarantee. My agents, moreover, to M. de Metternich and Lord Wellington had promised mountains and marvels. The generalissimo, at least, expected that I should provide him with the plan of the campaign.

"In the first instance—but the voice of my country, the glory of the French army which appeared to me in any other light than that

of the nation, in short, the dictates of honour startled me at the thought, that the word traitor might ever become an appendage to the name of the Duke d'Otranto; and my resolution remained unsullied. Mean time, in such a conjuncture, what part was to be taken by a statesman, to whom it is never permitted to remain without resources? This is the resolution I took. I knew positively that the unexpected onset of Napoleon's force would occur on the 16th or 18th, at latest; Napoleon, indeed, determined to give battle on the 17th to the English army, after detaching them from the Prussians, and marching to the attack *sur le ventre* of the latter. He was so much the better justified in expecting success from his plan, since Wellington, deceived from false reports, imagined it possible to delay the opening of the campaign till the 1st of July. The success of Napoleon rested, therefore, on the success of a surprise; I took my measures accordingly. On the very day of Napoleon's departure, I provided Madame D—— with notes, written in cipher, disclosing the plan of the campaign, and sent her off. At the same time I occasioned impediments on that part of the frontier which she was to pass, in such a manner as to prevent her reaching the head-quarters of Wellington, till after the result. This is a true explanation of the inconceivable supineness of the generalissimo, which occasioned so universal an astonishment, and conjectures of so opposite a description." Vol. II. p. 290.

On Buonaparte's abdication, Fouché became President of an Executive Provisional Committee which proposed peace to the allies, and signified assent to any Government but that of the Bourbons. These offers having been rejected, Fouché despatched "a friend, a man of property," to the Duke of Wellington's head quarters, with two letters sowed in the collar of his coat; one to the King, the other to the Duke of Orleans; a second agent brought a reply from the Duke of Wellington, that he had orders not to treat on any basis but the re-establishment of Louis XVIII. This reply Fouché carefully concealed from his colleagues.

"I hoped, moreover, that by aiding Louis XVIII. to remount the throne, I should induce that prince to detach some dangerous individuals from his presence, and to make new concessions to France, reserving to myself if I could obtain nothing, the privilege of subsequently recurring to other combinations." Vol. II. p. 307.

"Such was my position, that I was obliged to have negotiations with all parties, and compromise with all the shades of opinion either attached to my interest or to that of the state." Vol. II. p. 308.

The King made his public entry into Paris, and no one who has paid attention to the foregoing narrative can be surprized at its conclusion.

Fouché had talents for mankind,
Open he was and unconfin'd.

"There was an universal exclamation from all parts of the country to the effect, that without me there was neither security for the King, nor safety for France, and that all parties had come to an understanding on the necessity of continuing me in office." One who had corresponded so largely and so indiscriminately was quite certain to strike into some old track. Whatever occurred he pursued, and therefore we were prepared for the *denouement*, that "in so deplorable a conjuncture, I did not withhold from my country the benefit of my labour and exertion."

It is at this point that the Memoirs before us terminate. We are promised a continuation; and unless the prosecution to which we have already alluded prevents the fulfilment of this promise, we shall probably learn the particulars of the last five years of Fouché's eventful life, and we may then be able to pronounce with entire certainty upon the authenticity of any part or the whole of this publication.

ART. X. *Odes and Addresses to Great People* 8vo. 136 pp. 5*s*. 6*d*. Baldwin. 1825.

If we were inclined to string a rosary of common-places, and to apothegmatize in good set terms of morality, what food does the title of this little volume present to our craving! Alexander and Jonathan Wild, the Czar Peter and Thomas Thumb, Herod and the Irish Giant have all in their turns been enlarged by the same appendage of honor, and like a comet or a Highland laird have carried their brightest glories in their tails,—But alas, "how little are the great!" in days of yore no one was deemed to possess the necessary passport to this distinguished title, unless he had despatched some thousands of his fellow creatures on the battle-field or some hundreds at the new drop; unless he had worked his way out of a ship-yard or a cow's belly; unless he had really massacred babes, or at least looked big enough to eat them—but now—out on such degenerate times!—We meet here with no less than thirteen greatnesses in a bunch—aye and two of them corporate bodies—and they have a poet to boot, who magnifies them all in due proportion to their respective bulks, and adjusts his measures to the comparative size of his subject.

That future ages may have no doubts as to the worthies of the present, and that our illustrious contemporaries may

have the double chance of living to endless fame both in our pages and in those of their Laureate, we shall subjoin a catalogue of the mighty whom the Muse has here celebrated:—They are, Graham the Man of Gas, and M'Adam the Man of Granite; Mrs. Fry the Newgate Lady, and Mr. Martin the Smithfield Gentleman; the Great Unknown; Mr. Champion Dymoke, and Mr. Clown Grimaldi; Miss Foote, and the Steam Washing Company; the Secretary to the Begging Society, and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; Captain Parry, and the Author of Peptic Precepts; Mr. Manager Elliston and the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine.

Of this motley groupe it is hard to speak collectively especially since each holds a widely different place in our esteem. Mr. Graham is far above our contemplations—*Tenet —quoties in altos Nubium tractus*—In spite of our respect for Mr. M'Adam, we cannot but wish that we may always continue to trample his ways under foot. Mrs. Fry we think all my eye.—Mr. Martin's blunt and honest humanity has our heartiest approbation, and we wish the *animali parlare* of St. Stephen's would receive his propositions in behalf of the dumb beasts with greater courtesy. We have peeped neither under the vizor of the Great Unknown, nor that of Mr Dymoke. To see Grimaldi once again we would trust all our eighteen shirts to the Steam Washing Company; Dr. Apicius Kitchener and Mr. Mendicity Bodkin are associated in our minds like Falstaff and Slender, or Pharaoh's fat and lean kine; and as for the remainder they are like Gyas and Cloanthus, only the rout and rabble of greatness, who serve to fill up the close of an hexameter or the back ground of a picture.

If the standard by which the writer of these Odes weighs those to whom he addresses them is to be determined by the rate of merit in his execution, it is quite as various as our own. We pass at once to that in which he invokes the Scottish novelist.

1.

" Thou Great Unknown!
I do not mean Eternity nor Death,
That vast incog!
For I suppose thou hast a living breath,
Howbeit we know not from whose lungs 'tis blown,
Thou man of fog!
Parent of many children—child of none!
Nobody's son!
Nobody's daughter—but a parent still!
Still but an ostrich parent of a batch
Of orphan eggs,—left to the world to hatch.
Superlative Nil!

A vox and nothing more,—yet not Vauxhall;
A head in papers, yet without a curl!
Not the Invisible Girl!
No hand—but a hand-writing on a wall—
A popular nonentity,
Still call'd the same,—without identity!
A lark, heard out of sight,—
A nothing shin'd upon,—invisibly bright,
"Dark with excess of light!"
Constable's literary John-a-nokes—
The real Scottish wizard—to no which,
Nobody—in a niche;
Every one's hoax!
Maybe Sir Walter Scott—
Perhaps not!
Why dost thou so conceal and puzzle curious folks?

2.

"Thou,—whom the second-sighted never saw,
The Master Fiction of fictitious history!
Chief Nong tong paw!
No mister in the world—and yet all mystery!
The "tricksy spirit" of a Scotch Cock Lane—
A *novel* Junius puzzling the world's brain—
A man of magic—yet no talisman!
A man of clair obscure—not him o' the moon!
A star—at noon.
A non-descriptus in a caravan,
A private—of no corps—a northern light
In a dark lantern,—Bogie in a crape—
A figure—but no shape;
A vizor—and no knight;
The real abstract hero of the age;
The staple Stranger of the stage;
A Some One made in every man's presumption,
Frankenstein's monster—but instinct with gumption;
Another strange state captive in the north,
Constable-guarded in an iron mask;
Still let me ask,
Hast thou no silver platter,
No door-plate, or no card—or some such matter,
To scrawl a name upon, and then cast forth?

3.

Thou Scottish Barmecide, feeding the hunger
Of Curiosity with airy gammon!
Thou mystery-monger,
Dealing it out like middle cut of salmon,
That people buy and can't make head or tail of it:
(Howbeit that puzzle never hurts the sale of it;)

Thou chief of authors mystic and abstractical,
That lay their proper bodies on the shelf—
Keeping thyself so truly to thyself,
Thou Zimmerman made practical!
Thou secret fountain of a Scottish style,
That, like the Nile,
Hideth its source wherever it is bred,
But still keeps disemboguing
(Not disemb.oguing)
Thro' such broad sandy mouths without a head!
Thou disembodied author—not yet dead,—
The whole world's literary Absentee!
Ah! wherefore hast thou fled,
Thou learned Nemo—wise to a degree,
Anonymous L. L. D.!"—P. 39.

This in our minds is among the best of his strains; and it requires no very deep imbution with the Philosophy of Cr—o—tona to discover whose the spirit is which animates the write—r. There can be no doubt that the soul of Tom Punsibi has sh—t up through the Pythagorean rail-road of a bean stalk int—o some modern corticle wherein *novis domibus habitat, vivitqu—e recepta.*

The rest is of the same cast; some of the puns, it must be confessed are bad enough, but perhaps they are the better on that account. We are not adepts in this figure; nevertheless we confess its power, for when we most affect to despise and resist it, it wrings our features into an involuntary grin. Yet even of puns there may be too much, and this grin become a yawn long before the close of the 136th page. We will not try our readers patience to this fearful extent; but they may perhaps bear with one more extract. We select it not so much for its humour as for its truth; for we think that it places in a just light the services of an Association which extinguishes charity rather than suppresses mendicity, and which scours the haunts and coverts of misery not to relieve but to run it down.

ODE TO H. BODKIN, ESQ. SECRETARY TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF MENDICITY.

1.

"Hail, King of Shreds and Patches, hail,
Disperser of the Poor!
Thou Dog in office, set to bark
All beggars from the door!

2.

"Great overseer of overseers,
And Dealer in old rags!
Thy public duty never fails,
Thy ardour never flags!

3.

" Oh, when I take my walks abroad,
How many poor I *miss* !
Had Doctor Watts walk'd now a days
He would have written this !

4.

" So well thy Vagrant catcher's prowl,
So clear thy caution keeps
The Path—O, Bodkin, sure thou hast
The eye that never sleeps !

5.

" No Belisarius pleads for alms,
No Benbow, lacking legs ;
The pious man in black is now
The only man that begs !

6.

" Street-Handels are disorganiz'd,
Disbanded every band !—
The silent *scraper* at the door
Is scarce allowed to stand !

7.

" The Sweeper brushes with his broom,
The Carstairs with his chalk
Retires,—the Cripple leaves his stand,
But cannot sell his walk.

8.

" The old Wall-blind resigns the wall,
The Camels hide their humps,
The Witherington without a leg
Mayn't beg upon his stumps !

9.

" Poor Jack is gone, that used to doff
His batter'd tatter'd hat,
And show his dangling sleeve, alas !
There seem'd no arm in that !

10.

" Oh ! was it such a sin to air
His true blue naval rags,
Glory's own trophy, like St. Paul,
Hung round with holy flags !

11.

" Thou knowest best. I meditate,
My Bodkin, no offence !
Let us, henceforth, but nurse our pounds,
Thou dost protect our pence !

12.

" Well art thou pointed 'gainst the Poor,
For, when the Beggar Crew
Bring their petitions, thou art paid,
Of course, to " run them through."

13.

" Of course thou art what Hamlet meant—
To wretches the last friend;
What ills can mortals have, they can't
With a bare *Bodkin* end?"—P. 133.

ART. XI. *An Essay on the Absolving Power of the Church; with especial reference to the Offices of the Church of England for the Ordering of Priests and the Visitation of the Sick. With copious Illustrations and Notes. By the Rev. T. H. Lowe, M.A. Vicar of Grimley, in the County of Worcester, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Viscount Gage.* 8vo. 66 pp. Oxford; Parker. London; Rivingtons.

THIS is an able treatise on a difficult subject; and if we cannot subscribe to all the opinions of Mr. Lowe, they are at least entitled to a respectful consideration. There is nothing extravagant in the doctrines themselves, and they are maintained with learning, acuteness and good sense.

Having commenced by observing, that " a full and final absolution" can be pronounced by Him alone, " who is able infallibly to scrutinize the inmost recesses of the human heart," Mr. Lowe proceeds in the following terms:—

" But if the power of remitting absolutely the future penalties of sin neither is, nor can be, given to ignorant and sinful men, in what sense are we to understand these words of our Lord to his apostles: ' Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained?' The inquiry is one of great importance; for as the same words are used in the ordination of our priests; and as it cannot be supposed, that those venerable and pious men by whom our Liturgy was reformed designed to mislead by an equivocal sense, when they retained in this form of ordination, without any restriction or qualification of their meaning, the identical words which our Lord employed in the consecration of his apostles; the necessary inference is, that they meant them to be taken strictly in the same sense; and designed to claim for the ministers of our Church the same gift of the Holy Spirit, the same divine authority to absolve and to bind." P. 2.

We are not aware that Mr. Lowe makes any erroneous

deduction from this paragraph; but we cannot admit its accuracy. Is it "a necessary inference" from the ordination service, that our Church supposes her priests to receive precisely the same authority that was conferred upon the apostles by our Lord? That the compilers of the Liturgy did not design to mislead by an equivocal sense, is readily granted. But that a form of words which was originally used in one sense, cannot under any circumstances, be honestly used in another, is not so self-evident as Mr. Lowe imagines. Supposing (as many commentators have supposed) that the words of our Lord conveyed superhuman power to his apostles; supposing, for instance, that it was by virtue of this commission that St. Peter condemned Ananias and Sapphira; and St. Paul delivered Hymenæus to Satan, it is possible that the form of words might remain in use after the miraculous power was withdrawn. The form will bear a larger and a narrower sense, and the practice of the age which succeeded the apostles, would justify our retention of the words, although we employ them in a lower signification than that which they once possessed.

Mr. Lowe observes in his appendix, that the extraordinary powers bestowed upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, were quite distinct from those now under consideration, and he quotes Bishop Stillingfleet to prove that it was "the authoritative power of preaching the gospel" which was conferred upon them in this latter instance. We see no reason to dispute the bishop's declaration; but does it establish Mr. Lowe's inference? That the priestly character was conveyed in the words before us, is agreed; the doubt is, whether that character was the same in the apostles as in the priests of all succeeding times. It is certain that the apostles possessed and exercised greater powers (not merely greater because miraculous, but greater in point of authority) than could now be claimed without impiety. And can Mr. Lowe prove that such powers were exclusively derived from the subsequent gifts of God, and had no connection with that unparalleled scene, in which our Lord himself "breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." The circumstance of being ordained by Christ in person, is enough to place his original priests far above the greatest of their followers. And if on the one hand we cannot be certain that the priestly power was greater in their days than in ours, still less can we admit it as a "necessary inference" that it was strictly the same.

Mr. Lowe proceeds to show, that the primitive Christian church was modelled after the pattern of the Jewish syna-

gogue, and contends, that we must consequently interpret the form of ordination in the sense which it would have borne at Jerusalem.

" To understand the extent of those *ordinary* powers that were originally conferred on the apostles, we must therefore recur to the practice of the synagogue. Now the ordination of the Jewish presbyters was performed with solemn imposition of hands, to denote that the person so ordained was, in a peculiar manner, dedicated to God's service; and to invoke the divine blessing on him: and on those who were lawfully ordained, it was believed that the Holy Spirit rested. In these ordinations, which were slightly varied according to the different offices to which they were applied, and the different powers which they were intended to convey, authority was usually given to bind and to loose, to remit and to retain; that is, either as interpreters of the law, or as rulers of the synagogue, to declare what was lawful and what was unlawful; as guides and teachers of the people, to rebuke, to exhort, and to instruct; or as presidents and judges in spiritual matters, if need were, to pass sentence on offenders. That this is the right interpretation of the phrase, which is very comprehensive, and embraces almost the entire circle both of Hebrew theology and jurisprudence, might be shewn, were it needful, by many examples. In some passages of scripture these masters in Israel are recognized as the authorized interpreters of the law and the prophets; in others their power and practice, in the judicial sense of binding and loosing, are no less clearly asserted; and from these, compared with the corresponding passages which relate personally to the apostles, we may best discover the nature and extent of those analogous ordinary powers which were committed to them and to their successors, both as guides and as rulers of the Christian church. In the 18th chapter of St. Matthew there is a remarkable passage, which, through the advantage that has been taken of the equivocal word, ἐκκλησία, has been alleged by divines of almost every communion to demonstrate the necessity of a visible church to decide controversies of faith. But though such a power is inherent in every church, it can never be proved to be so from this passage, which relates wholly to private offences, and to the power of the synagogue, or ecclesiastical sanhedrin, in the last resort. For our Lord is here prescribing certain rules, in particular cases, for the present direction of his followers. His first rule is, that if any one should treat them injuriously, they should use every charitable endeavour to bring him to a better mind, and have recourse, in the first instance, to private expostulation; if that were unavailing, that they should next remonstrate with him before one or two selected witnesses; and if he still persisted in his injury, that they should bring the matter before the assembled synagogue: but if all these endeavours should fail to reclaim him, ' then,' said our Lord, ' let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican;' let the presbyters pronounce sentence, and expel him from their communion; to which he immediately subjoins the

very striking declaration, 'Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' The terms in which this solemn sanction is given by our Lord to the deliberate sentence of the Jewish synagogue, are, it will be observed, the very same, even to the letter, as he used to St. Peter, when he conferred on him the power of the keys; and the same also, in substance, as he addressed to all the apostles, when he ordained them presbyters and rulers of the Christian church.

"Again; in the ninth chapter of St. John's Gospel it is related, that when the man, blind from his birth, whom our Lord had healed on the sabbath day, persisted in acknowledging the divine character and mission of the blessed Jesus, the presbyters, before whom he was arraigned, first judicially pronounced that his sins were bound upon him, and then excommunicated him: 'Thou art yet,' said they, 'in thy sins—and they cast him out.'

"Hence it appears, that, in our Saviour's time, the authority to bind and to loose, which the Jewish presbyters received at their ordination, gave them a general power of acting both as teachers and rulers of the people: and it must, I think, be admitted, that our Lord, in using the same form, designed to convey to his apostles the same general authority in spiritual things, and the same power of discipline for the perpetual edification and government of the Christian church, as the Jewish presbyters at that time possessed in the sanhedrin and synagogue. And with respect to these, as it never was pretended either by them or for them, that, by their faculty of binding and loosing, they were enabled to absolve men from the future penalties of sin, there was no danger that the apostles should imagine, (whatever others may since have imagined for them,) that, by their similar ordination, they were invested with such an unheard of power: for of the presbyters of the synagogue, who received authority to bind and to loose, no less than of themselves, to whom the same commission was given, they had heard our Lord expressly declare, that their sentence, pronounced on earth, should be ratified in heaven. Until, therefore, unanswerable proof be brought from scripture, that the apostles either claimed or exercised such an absolving power, we may confidently repeat our assertion, that the authority to remit the future penalties of sin was never granted by God to man." P. 12.

We readily subscribe to this conclusion, and have only one objection to the process that leads to it. Mr. Lowe is not quite so guarded as he ought to be in arguing from the Jewish customs. They are excellent interpreters of Scripture language. But if we say, that a phrase, or a promise, or a rite *can* mean or be no more than it would have meant, or would have been in the synagogue, we shall be involved in great difficulties. Baptism, for instance, was derived from a Jewish custom, and might it not be contended upon Mr. Lowe's principles, that Christian baptism is a mere form,

unaccompanied by those supernatural gifts with which the church has always taught that it is coupled. We have no desire to lay much stress upon the objection, but as a blemish in a good argument, it was our duty to point it out.

We proceed to Mr. Lowe's explanation of the office for the visitation of the sick, and his apology for the form of absolution:—

"But if we openly renounce, as pernicious and unscriptural, the claim to a plenary absolving power, there remains to be discussed a second question of no little difficulty. On what grounds, it may be asked, did our reformers retain, in the private office for the visitation of the sick, the full and authoritative absolution of the church of Rome? 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' These words, obvious as their sense appears, undoubtedly admit of two interpretations. But the question with which we are at present concerned, is not, in what sense they may possibly be understood *now*; but in what sense they actually were understood by the generality of Christians at the period of the Reformation. To discover the reasons which probably induced the fathers of our reformed church to admit into this private office a form of absolution so apparently irreconcileable with the truth, we must therefore take into consideration the inveterate opinions on the subject of priestly absolution, which, at that era, were universally maintained: and then, if I mistake not, we shall be able not merely to vindicate their conduct in this behalf, but to shew, that they were guided by the purest spirit of enlightened Christian charity." P. 19.

"At the era of the Reformation these opinions were so inveterately rooted in the minds of men, that baptism itself was considered not more indispensable to procure their admission into the church of Christ, than priestly absolution to ensure their pardon at the hour of death, and in the day of judgment. To eradicate this mischievous persuasion, our reformers appear to have done all that the soundest wisdom and most enlightened Christian piety could dictate. In the public offices and liturgy they retained none but the declaratory or precatory forms of absolution; and in the elaborate Apologies of Jewell and Hooker it was unequivocally asserted, that the ministerial sentence of absolution, except when it relates to the removal of ecclesiastical censures, is no more than a declaration of what God has done. But, whilst they made use of every prudent caution to remove the grounds of the opposite error, they knew that the great mass of the people could not at once be thoroughly divested of their ancient prejudices; and that, especially in the hour of sickness, when bodily weakness was superadded to mental infirmity, they would be apt to languish for those consolations which both they and their fathers had hitherto thought necessary to their quiet passage out of

this mortal life. In compassion to these human weaknesses and natural misgivings, they retained, for the comfort of the dying penitent, a full and authoritative form of sacerdotal absolution, in the private office for the visitation of the sick: as the blessed apostles, in condescension to the similar prejudices of their own countrymen, permitted the churches of Judea to retain the ceremonial observances of the Mosaic law. If the cases are not exactly parallel, they so nearly correspond, that few will venture to deny to our reformers, in this instance, the praise of that exalted charity, and that considerate attention to the pardonable frailties of human nature, which are of more value in the sight of God than the highest attainments in mere knowledge or in mere faith.

"It was designed, I conceive, from the first, that among the members of our own communion this indicative absolution, which was retained to meet a present exigency, should gradually fall into total disuse; for the minister is not authorized to give absolution in this form, except at the earnest entreaty of the penitent himself. But at a period when the presbyters of our church must, in a vast majority of instances, have been required to administer the last consolations of religion to men but imperfectly converted from the errors of the church of Rome, who might passionately desire that fuller absolution which custom had made sacred, and superstition necessary; had they either, in the pride of superior knowledge, withheld it, or coldly stayed to dispute the point with the dying penitent, they would have lamentably discovered, that they little knew 'what manner of spirit they were of.' 'There is nothing,' says the venerable Hooker, 'which the soul of man doth desire in that last hour so much as comfort against the natural terrors of death, and other scruples of conscience, which commonly do then most trouble and perplex the weak; towards whom the very law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford.'" P. 21.

Here again it must be observed, that while we agree with Mr. Lowe in his general principles, and see nothing to impugn in the scope of his argument, we are not convinced of the accuracy of his deductions. Instead of proving that "the indicative absolution" was designed merely to meet a present exigency, and was gradually to fall into total disuse; the extract from Hooker is a powerful reason for its retention. Human nature is still the same; the terrors of death still trouble and perplex, and there are many who stand in need of all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford. If the design imputed to the reformers by Mr. Lowe was really entertained by them, why was it not executed in the reign of James or of Charles II.? What proof is to be found in the writings of our most eminent divines, that the church was ready to surrender this ceremony? Hooker, Barrow, Taylor, and Pearson, speak of the absolving power of the church

in terms which imply any thing rather than an intention to renounce it. Taylor particularly recommends the dying penitent to seek comfort in that authorized declaration of forgiveness, which the minister of God will pronounce over such as "humbly and heartily desire it;" and there is much more difficulty in reconciling the words of our standard authors with the modern exposition that has been advocated by Mr. Lowe, than in shewing that they never contemplated the alteration which he recommends.

It is due, however, to Mr. Lowe to observe, that in objecting to the "indicative form," and recommending a speedy alteration of it, he carefully avoids the opposite extreme. This argument is summed up in the following terms:

"But if, in this matter, our church assumes no higher power for her ministers than that of declaring, as 'ambassadors for Christ,' the pardon of the repentant sinner, it may be said, as it has been strangely said, that such a claim amounts in fact, to nothing; that any other man, as well as a minister, or even an apostle, may do as much as this, and with equal effect. By no means. If it were so, our Lord himself, with reverence be it spoken, did ill to consecrate and send forth a peculiar order of men to proclaim repentance and remission of sins in his name among all nations. 'To preach good tidings unto the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' is the great business on which those are sent, who have 'received the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God.' The catholic church, in fulfilment of this sacred duty, has therefore, from the earliest ages enjoined her ministers, by a formal act of absolution, to give the repentant sinner assurance of his pardon. Bold, proud men may despise this gracious ordinance; but the better part of Christians are so far from entertaining a confident surmise of their own sufficiency, that, especially on their death-bed, they are rather apt to be filled with doubts and misgivings; to feel that their sins are too great and too many to be pardoned, and their repentance too weak, and their faith too imperfect to avail them. In merciful commiseration of these natural disquietudes, the consecrated ministers of Christ on earth are especially required to pronounce absolution in his name, and to give peace and assurance to the penitent at his latter end." P. 25.

The points, therefore, upon which we differ from the author of this treatise, are rather historical than doctrinal. He has not convinced us that the visitation service was designed to answer a temporary purpose, or that the priestly authority was precisely the same in the apostles days, and in our own. But he has furnished a sound and temperate exposition of the nature of absolution; and comments upon the form in which it ought to be pronounced in a strain which would merit serious attention if a new form were about to be composed.

ART. XII. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature of the Year* 1823. London. Rivingtons.

WE are happy to observe in this important work a continuance of the same industry, impartiality and discretion by which it has been hitherto distinguished. Carefully avoiding that deceitful bias which arises from party-spirit and political attachments, the Editor gives a fair view of parliamentary proceedings, both as they respect the foreign engagements and the internal administration of the kingdom: setting forth, without the slightest reserve, the facts and reasonings which are most strenuously urged by those members of the national council who habitually oppose themselves to the general tenor of his Majesty's government. Guided by these principles, the "History of Europe" for the year 1823, presents to the reader a faithful and very interesting record of the several projects and events which at that period engaged the attention of all thinking men, from the Black Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. The perusal of it has afforded us extreme satisfaction, both because the narrative itself is agreeably and ably written; and more especially, because the course of events has completely vindicated the policy pursued by this country in relation to the plans of our continental neighbours, and at the same time illustrated the wisdom of the views upon which that policy was founded.

We allude here to the invasion of Spain by the French; the main subject of discussion in the session of 1823, and the most interesting topic of parliamentary deliberation that has occurred since the close of the late war. A report of the speeches which followed the production of the official correspondence on this important question, occupies nearly a half of the space allotted in the historical retrospect of the Register to the annual abstract of legislative oratory. The powerful address of Mr. Canning is still fresh in the memory of every one who either heard or read it. But as it admits not of abridgement, either in language or reasoning, we shall not diminish its cogency by an imperfect quotation; preferring rather, as a specimen of the style and manner in which this part of the work is executed, a paragraph or two from Mr. Robinson's speech on the same occasion. We transcribe this extract the more readily, too, because the object of it is to do justice to a statesman, whose character and services have not met with the respect to which they were entitled. We allude to the late Lord Londonderry,

who, as he had the misfortune to live in times of great national exertion and sacrifice, and had not the means nor the art to conciliate the prejudices and gratify the innovating spirit of the age, has been regarded, but too generally, as the patron of ancient errors, and the enemy of all liberality and improvement.

"It had been complained, that during the late negociations his Majesty's ministers had not assumed that high tone of remonstrance which became the government of this country. If there be a doubt, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, about the dignity or firmness of our tone, there can be none, I should think, about the fact of our remonstrance. Some gentlemen may conceive that a remonstrance ought to be framed in the angry and violent tone of declamation which was used the other night by a noble lord (Folkstone): others may think that the vehement and sarcastic invective of the honourable and learned member for Winchelsea (Mr. Brougham) is that in which a remonstrance may be best conveyed. It is very easy for us to say (in our indignation) of foreign states and ministers—'You are debased, you are traitors; you are perjured, you are calumniators:' it is very easy for us to exhaust upon those who seek the war, all the vituperative epithets with which the English vocabulary can supply us; but I must say, I think it would be a proceeding somewhat new and not very dignified, were we to adopt such a tone in our diplomatic transactions. It must be recollected that those powers like ourselves have feelings and prejudices; that they have natural pride and national character to sustain. If it were true that those powers were adverse to the extension of freedom—an ignoble feeling and one which he did not wish to defend—it became our duty to shape our arguments in a manner the best calculated to carry persuasion and conviction with them. Nothing could be gained by invective; while, on the contrary, much might be done by pointing out the danger likely to arise from any attempt to repress that national tendency to liberty which he firmly believed must, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, make its way in the natural course of things, as a consequence of the great increase of general knowledge.

"But although our language towards the powers in alliance with us was, therefore, necessarily rather in the tone of dissuasion than of menace, Mr. Robinson said, he could not admit, that, in the progress of this matter, ministers had never made any particular remonstrance. In proof of this he referred to lord Castlereagh's note to the four courts in 1820, as conveying, not a violent or severe invective, but reason and argument to shew to the allied sovereigns the injustice of the principles on which they professed to act; and he more particularly pointed out the two concluding paragraphs as accurately describing the original purpose of the alliance, to the exclusion of those objects to which it had since been endeavoured to pervert it. I am the more anxious," said Mr. Robinson, "to call the attention of the House to this para-

graph, because it has been said here and elsewhere, that its noble author, my lamented friend, was in league with the despots of Europe. I do so again, because I feel a strong principle of attachment to him; because I knew the sterling nature of his mind and venerated the qualities of his heart; because I respected his talents, and because I think I have formed a true estimate of the services which he has rendered to his country. Never, perhaps, was there a minister in England whose character has been more constantly or more completely misrepresented. He had to conduct the foreign affairs of this country under circumstances, I will venture to say, of as great difficulty as ever fell to the lot of man to contend with. I had many opportunities of seeing how he met them—of observing how admirably, by the decision of his character and the equanimity of his temper, he would check angry passions, and stay the impulse of irritated feelings, or combat and overcome prejudices that were almost invincible. But to give an effectual answer to all the misrepresentations that have been made about him, it is only necessary to turn to this paragraph, which contains a most unequivocal denial on the part of this government, of all participation in the principle of interference. This document, be it remembered, was not intended as a public paper. It was never meant to furnish a defence or to establish a case; but it was a confidential paper privately communicated to those powers on whom it was intended to produce an effect. It was meant to convey the generous impression and feeling of the noble lord himself and of the government to which he was attached, and as such will be found to convey an earnest disavowal of, and a manly protest against those principles on which the attack upon the liberties of Spain was to be committed by the allied powers."

We were very much struck at the period of the debate with the severe though gentlemanly rebuke administered to Mr. Wilberforce by the eloquent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for charging government with having neglected to assume a high *moral tone* in their discussions with the ministers of France, Austria and Russia. "My honourable friend," said Mr. Canning, "through a long and amiable life has mixed with the business of the world without being stained by its contaminations; and he, in consequence, is apt to place, I will not say too high, but higher I fear than the way of the world will admit, the standard of political morality. I fear my honourable friend is not aware how difficult it is to apply to politics those pure abstract principles which are so indispensable for the perfection of private ethics. Had we employed in the negociations that serious moral strain which he might have been more inclined to approve, many of the gentlemen opposed to me would, I doubt not, have complained that we had taken a leaf from the book of the Holy Alliance itself; that we had framed in their language a canting protest

against their purposes, not in the spirit of sincere disse but the better to cover our connivance."

The "Chronicle," containing the essence of all the ac dents, offences and trials which gave interest to the ne papers throughout the year 1823, is, of course, extrem amusing. No novel or romance presents so many incide as the actual chapter of human life. There are more smi and tears in the events of a single month, than in any th volumes which have at any time issued from the teemi presses of Colburn and Constable. To people living a distance from the busy world, and more particularly foreign parts, such a work must prove extremely valuab and even to those whose eyes and ears are every day occup with the bustle of that active scene which witnesses so ma of those tragic or ludicrous occurrences, the lapse of a f months gives all the zest of novelty, and we peruse the n rative of what we have seen and heard with as much inter as if we were acquiring information concerning things tota unknown. The records of the courts of justice, especial constitute a history which never fails to touch the heart a to awaken the curiosity of the reader: and we can g assurance that, in the volume before us, there is an am collection of cases, detailed with much exactness and reco mended by good writing and delicate selection to the m innocent or fastidious taste.

The "State Papers" form a valuable department in Annual Register; and they are here collected and arrang with a suitable regard to their importance. Nor have annals of philosophy and natural history been at all n lected; an instructive outline of discoveries and impro ments, in both divisions of science, being inserted, calcula to direct the inquisitive student to fuller sources of inform tion, and to refresh the memory of the less formal enqui Upon the whole, we know not that there is any where to found a similar work conducted with greater care and abili or more deserving of that extensive patronage with which continues to be favoured.

ART. XIII. *Sayings and Doings, or Sketches from Life. Seco Series.* 3 vols. 12mo. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Colburn. 1825.

WE were much amused, in common with the rest of t world, by the first Series of Sayings and Doings. T second Series is equally entertaining. It contains no st

so well finished as "Burton Danvers," nor is it obnoxious to the just censure which many parts of that story called forth. If the scenes are drawn from nature, the originals are not to be recognised without a glossary. The author incurs no just suspicion of gratifying his malice or indulging his wit, at the expense of an individual who has offended him; and the ridiculous characters that are brought upon the stage are too general to justify a particular application.

Having avoided this stumbling block, the writer admits of no other restraint upon his drollery, and carries us through three formidable duodecimos with little interruption, except that which is made by hearty laughter. The style, like that of all his former productions, is dramatic; and many of the scenes would tell better upon the stage than any thing that has been written since the days of Sheridan. The plots, with a few exceptions, are improbable, and require the author's best workmanship to varnish their defects, and carry them off with eclat; but the dialogue is always good, the descriptions are an even mixture of reality and caricature, and the variety is always charming.

The first story, "The Sutherlands," is half good, and half bad. One brother sets his heart upon beauty, and marries a vulgar hoyden, with bad connexions and a cracked character. The circumstances are absurd in themselves, and there is little to redeem them in the detail. The other brother makes amends. Bent upon wedding a large fortune, he follows the only daughter of a Nabob from a country school to Portland-place, is received with open arms, and not a hint is dropped of the real state of affairs till the match is fairly concluded, the schoolmistress paid her retaining fee of fifteen hundred pounds, and the suitor installed in the imaginary inheritance of at least two hundred thousand pounds; then it turns out that the clay-coloured young lady is a natural child, and a life interest in three hundred a year her only expectation. The preparations, the denouement and the wedding, are all well told; but we should not do justice to the author by extracting a part of the story. Its peculiar merit consists in the spirit with which the whole is carried on; and the reader must peruse the whole if he has any desire to be entertained.

"The Man of many Friends" is a much longer affair, stuffed with absurd incidents and admirable dialogues, and exhibiting, at one and the same time, an intimate acquaintance with London gaieties, and a determination to embellish them to the utmost extent of our credulity. It is not possible that a sensible man, bred up as Arden is represented

to have been, could be duped after the fashion of this story; but his friends and servants are well described, and his uncle is a very fine and very foolish old fellow. One of the best hits in the tale is a scene at the family lawyer's. His lady spoils her children, for which the old colonel wishes her at Jericho. Subsequently he relaxes, pats the son and heir on the head, and says something about his love for children:—

"Mrs. Abberley was greatly soothed by this speech; and felt almost pleased with the colonel, when he called her favourite Tom (without exception the rudest and stupidest boy in Christendom), and placing him paternally at his side, began to question him on sundry topics usually resorted to upon similar occasions. From this promising lad the old gentleman learned that four and four make nine, that William the Conqueror was the last of the Roman emperors, that gunpowder was invented by Guy Fawkes, and that the first man who went up in an air-balloon was Christopher Columbus. In the extreme accuracy of these answers, he received a satisfactory corroboration of his constant remark upon the education of boys at home, under the superintendence of mammas and governesses, and had dismissed his young friend with an approving compliment, when the boy wishing to shew that he knew more than the old man thought for, looked him in the face, and asked him, who lived next door to him?

"'Next door to *me*, my fine fellow,' said the colonel, 'why, nobody; that is to say, I live in the country far from any other house—my next neighbour is Lord Malephant.'

"'Ah!' said Tom, 'and is he a brute, Sir?'

"'No, my dear,' answered the colonel; 'he is an excellent man, and one of *my* oldest friends.'

"'Ah, then,' said the boy, 'who lives on the other side of you?'

"'Why, my neighbour on the other side,' said the colonel, surprised at the apparently unnatural inquisitiveness of the child, 'is the rector of my parish.'

"'Is he a brute, Sir,' enquired Master Abberley.

"'No, my dear,' said the colonel; 'a pattern for country clergymen—never did there exist a better man.'

"'Ah!' said Tom, evidently disappointed.

"'Why do you ask?' said his father.

"'I don't know,' replied the boy.

"'You should never ask questions, child, without knowing why,' said papa.

"'I *do* know why, only I shan't tell,' said Tom.

"'I desire you *will*, Tom,' said his parent, anticipating a display of that precocious wit, for which the dunderheaded ass was so celebrated in his own family.

"'Oh, I'll tell it, if you like! its only because I wanted to know which of them gentlemen was brutes,' said the boy.

"'Why? my fine fellow,' said the colonel, whose curiosity was whetted by the oddity of the questions.

" 'Why,' replied Tom, 'because when Mamma was talking to Dawes just now, about you, she said you was next door to a brute, and so I wanted to know who he was.'" Vol. I. p. 202.

"Doubts and Fears" are written in broader farce than the rest of the Series; but the innkeeper, with the help of his reputed resemblance to Liston, 'makes out' the story with very tolerable success. Some of his comicalities deserve transcription:—

" 'Well,' said her ladyship, 'we must make our arrangements, and first of all shew me my rooms, and see that the people unpack the carriage before it goes round to the stables.'

" 'Has your ladyship much more luggage?' said Grogan.

" 'Not much,' replied Lady Almeria; 'there's my writing-desk, dressing-case, two cages of amadvades, three telescopes, my travelling pistols, my drawing-boards and camera obscura, my cloaks and parasols, my bagatelle-board, my music books, two poodles, my own maid, and Miss Leech.'

" 'Miss Leech,' cried Grojan. 'A lady, my lady, at the door in your ladyship's carriage?'

" 'Not exactly a lady, Mr. Grojum,' said her ladyship. 'She is a very good creature, I assure you—an humble friend—you understand—a toad-eater.'

" 'Dear me, my lady,' said the landlord with a shudder, 'what a very nasty propensity.'

" 'Miss Leech is quite a gentlewoman,' added Lady Almeria; 'she is my corroborator-general, assents to my dicta, scolds my maid when the weather is too hot to allow me to do it myself, reads the Morning Post and makes tea, curls the poodles, plays propriety when I have men parties, and rides backward in the barouche; ha!' said her ladyship, 'here she comes.'

" And so she did, for the unhappy dependant, after having been exposed to a broiling meridian sun, the glare of the bright, sparkling sea, and the assaults of continual gusts of wind, sweeping the lengthened cliff of its dust immediately into her face for upwards of half an hour, presumed to imagine that her dear ladyship had forgotten her, and thus, accompanied by Cruikshanks, her ladyship's woman, had made up her mind to disembark from the carriage, and follow her great leader into the hotel.

" 'My dear Leech,' said Lady Almeria, 'I beg your pardon, I had really forgotten you. Are you cold, dear?'

" 'Oh! no, my lady,' said Miss Leech; 'quite the contrary.'

" 'I think its very hot to-day, Leech,' said her ladyship.

" 'Sultry, my lady,' said Leech.

" '*In* the sun, but deucedly cold out of it?' said her ladyship.

" 'Extremely cold, indeed, my lady,' said Miss Leech.

" 'I am afraid I have kept you a long time?' said Lady Almeria.

" 'Not five minutes, my lady,' said Miss Leech.

"'Well,' continued Lady Almeria, turning to Grojan, 'shew us the rooms, Sir;' and then, turning back to her obsequious companion, added an enquiry whether she would not like some luncheon.

"'I think it would be extremely agreeable,' said Miss Leech, whose appetite was enormous.

"'I never eat luncheons myself, I abominate them,' said Lady Almeria; 'do pray get something for Miss Leech, Sir.'

"'Oh, dear! not for *me*, my lady,' said Miss Leech; 'I am not in the least hungry, my lady.'

"'I dare say you are,' replied her ladyship, 'you have always been brought up to dine early, I dare say?'

"'Oh, dear! no my lady; nothing for me, indeed,' said Miss Leech.

"'Then never mind,' said her ladyship to Grojan; and the party proceeded to the apartments allotted to them. The stomach of poor Miss Leech, which had been severely irritated by the expectation of luncheon, giving, as they passed along, audible proofs of its emptiness, which she most assiduously endeavoured to drown by sundry of those little hemmings and coughings, uniformly used by ladies upon unfortunate occasions of a similar nature.

"Grojan eyed her long face and scant figure with evident dismay and horror; and, considerably annoyed at the resolute manner in which she had refused the excellent refreshments of the Imperial Hotel, muttered as the door closed upon the groupe,—'She looks like a toad-eater!'" Vol. II. p. 81.

"Passion and Principle" is the concluding and most important story, and might have been made, with a little management, much more effective than our author's stories are wont to be. The hero and heroine, an usher at a country school, and the arch pedagogue's daughter, are characters of the highest class; and although more space is devoted to the old gentleman and his wife, to a schoolmaster's establishment at Hackney, to the scandalous chronicle of Calcutta, and the localities of the Cape of Good Hope, than to the excellent and unfortunate lovers, they nevertheless excite a deep interest, and are worthy of the esteem which is demanded for them. A caricaturing pencil finds successful employment in describing the numerous personages introduced into the drama; and we are somewhat unmercifully transported to the southern extremity of Africa, for the purpose of ascertaining that the writer has been there before us. With these exceptions, the tale deserves great praise. *It* paints the manners of the higher classes of society with an accuracy which no other living author has attained. *It* keeps up our attention by incessant liveliness. The speaker is at home in every company; enters into the humours, and quizzes the peculiarities of every class; and, if he does not

quite convince us that he is sincere in his admiration of goodness, still less does he say a word which can diminish our regard for it. Whoever the nameless individual may be to whom we are indebted for "Passion and Principle," he knows very well how he ought to behave, and we shall be happy to hear that he lives up to his knowledge.

We extract some parts of the tempest with which the story concludes:—

"In the midst of this most awful storm, there gleamed a pale flickering light upon the topmast head: it seemed to burn unmoved by the contending gusts around it,—in a moment it shifted to the fore-topmast,—then darted back to its old position, having touched the iron ring at the main-yard-arm; the undisturbed serenity of the flame, the striking contrast it afforded to the surrounding darkness, coupled with the sad time at which they beheld it, rendered this natural phenomenon deeply interesting, if not positively awful.

"Out of her cabin, and of her bed was dragged the half lifeless Fanny, by her husband, contrary to her inclination and in opposition to her earnest prayers, to look on this; his Excellency carried his point, as he was wont to do—and called to Welsted to support her ladyship as she stood on the companion ladder, in obedience to his Excellency's command.

"In the horrors of this night, in the midst of hurricanes and tempests, now lifted to the mountain's top, now buried in the fathomless valley of waters below, the ill-fated Fanny leaned once more for support upon the companion of her youth, the beloved of her heart; again did she experience the gentle solicitude which ever marked his conduct towards her; again did she feel the pressure of that hand which she had so often clasped in friendship and affection: he spoke soothingly to her, and though the words he uttered were lost to her ear in the general din, she felt his breath upon her cheek—her feelings overcame her—she fainted in his arms—in the arms of Welsted, who thus was driven, in conjunction with her husband, to carry her into her cabin. The dangers and difficulties of such a proceeding can only be judged by those who have been partakers of it.—She was at length, however, safely placed on her couch, although insensible to every thing around her.

"'She is a bad passenger in a storm, Mr. Welsted,' said his Excellency.

"A storm, indeed!—not the wild roarings of the mighty waters, not the rude elemental strife, at whose mercy she was, not the forked lightning, nor the pealing thunder, was half so potent as the storm that raged in her own mind—that was the dreadful conflict of PASSION WITH PRINCIPLE." P. 401.

"At eight at night the master resolved, if possible, to wear ship, without consulting or communing with a human being, conscious as he was, that the experiment was perilous in the extreme, and would in all probability be fatal; he gave the word, and in a momentary

lull, she went about, without straining a rope-yarn. Hope beamed on his mind then; those who knew not his thoughts felt increased apprehensions, for she lay in the trough of the sea rolling gunnel under; no sail set, for none could stand the weather; the small one used to bring her round, was blown into ribands from the stay; till just at midnight, a crash on deck announced the main-mast gone; at one blow, like the stricken deer, she fell toppling with her yards and top-mast over the starboard side; she went about ten feet above the deck, and just above the mizen-stay; and the mizen-mast itself trembled like a reed, as Welsted clung to it, to watch the work of havock above.

"It was a scene for a painter: the noise was inconceivable, the night inky black, the waves dashing over every part of the vessel, the women battened down forward were screaming for mercy, and their cries were mingled with the clashing of axes used by the men cutting away the rigging, by the gleaming light of lanthorns, disposed in the most advantageous points, and the stern bawling of those in command, with the faint reply of others who, in the midst of the stupendous waves, were in the main-chains, over the side, endeavouring to clear the ship of wreck; for the mast clung as it were to the quarter, and the counter beat so heavily upon the main-top, which lay close beneath it, that every moment they expected she would be stove in." P. 404.

"Another following sea struck her—and another—it was the last!—the dead lights were shivered into splinters—the stern-frame itself yielded to the shock—the water deluged the decks below, and carrying every thing before it, burst upwards through the deck itself, driving those who were on the companion forward.

"Fanny was caught, as she was whirled forward, by Welsted, who seized firmly hold of the binnacle, which broke away from its cleets; Sir Frederick was hurried onward in the mass of waters, and the master of the ship, having uttered an explanation too clearly indicative that all was over, was seen endeavouring for a moment to 'hold on' by the foremast, but in another instant the overwhelmed ungovernable ship met a tremendous coming wave, and rose not to meet it—unresisted and unopposed the huge mountain burst directly upon her; the contending sea rushing forward from the stern, met the advancing torrent; the ship plunged forward for a moment, as if struggling with destruction, but the effort was vain, and forging a-head, she sank at once into the fathomless deep.

"Welsted, who had never let go his precious charge, during the important period in which all this was transacting, had lashed his beloved to the binnacle, himself holding on firmly, and when the whirl of waters, in which the ship seemed to suck down every thing around it, had a little subsided, he awoke to a consciousness of his situation; the binnacle floated beyond the confines of the horrid abyss, and upon the surface of the mountainous waves still floated the fond devoted pair.

"The power of endurance with which humanity is gifted is

hardly credible to those who have not suffered; here was the delicate Lady Brashleigh, nurtered with the fondest care, and couched on downy beds, the evening breeze itself too rude to blow upon her, exposed to the tempestuous wind and constant drenching of the raging sea through a night of awful misery. She was unconscious of her situation; and it was with the greatest care and toil that Welsted could sustain her in a position which alone secured her from almost entire immersion in the waves. The sickening and dreadful sameness of mounting rapidly on one high billow, followed by the dreadful and impetuous fall from it, only to rise upon another, and *that* perhaps the last, had worn her out, and it is doubtful whether *at* the time, she was sensible whose arm it was, that held her in safety, or upon whose bosom her aching head reclined.

"The day had just begun to dawn, when the sound of a gun, deadened by the storm, as if it were muffled, broke upon Welsted's ear. He raised himself to look, but could see nothing but water—water—water! He thought he had been deceived—he spoke to Fanny—she answered, evidently unconscious of her situation. Again the sound struck him; and the day brightening for a moment, as he mounted on the edge of a high-rolling wave, he caught a glimpse of a vessel near them." P. 406.

"The moment came;—the wreck touched the quarter of the brig;—four or five good men, boatswain's mates and captains of tops, were ready to seize it in the main chains—the grasp was firm—the hold was certain—the rope was aboard, 'Ease off!'—'Ease off!' was the cry. 'Avast!'—'avast there!' sounded in the chains. Fanny was safe on deck—the brig gave a sudden heel to windward—the wreck rose sharply under the chains, and Welsted received a mortal blow on his head at the instant of Fanny's preservation.

"She was senseless. She heard not his death scream—it was momentary—lost in the gush and rush of waters—he was seen but for an instant. In his agony he raised his hands, and a huge wave bursting over him, buried him in its black and relentless bosom——" P. 410.

ART. XIV. 1.—*Letters on the State of Ireland; addressed by J. K. L. to a Friend in England.* 8vo. 364 pp. Dublin; Coyne. London; Cowie. 1825.

2.—*A Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, on the Disturbance at a Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the 21st of October 1824, at Loughrea; by a Senior of the Church in England.* 8vo. 19 pp. London; Wetton. 1825.

WE are not about to write a pamphlet on the Catholic claims. The old arguments on the question are familiar to every one; and the new ones cannot be placed in a proper

light until the bill for emancipation has made its appearance. All that we know at present is, that the measure will be of a mixed nature; that great pains will be taken to win the wavering, and confirm the friendly, and the staunchest opponents be assured that they may change their minds without inconsistency. Every effort is making to allay the fears of Protestants. For this purpose, Mr. Canning appealed to the Act of Union in proof of the indissolubility of the established church of Ireland. For this purpose, Mr. Plunkett *swore* that he would oppose emancipation, if he believed that it would endanger that church. For this purpose, Sir Francis Burdett having pronounced that all religions were pretty much alike, panegyrized the religion in which he happens to have been born, and complimented the clergy that are attached to it. For this purpose, Mr. Hume postponed (till next session, we presume) his motion for plundering the church of Ireland of her property. And lastly, for this identical purpose, Mr. Daniel O'Connell becomes a convert from radicalism, cuts Cobbett, dines with the Duke of Devonshire, quarrels with Mr. Lawless, shakes hands with Mr. Croker, and agrees to prepare a Magna Charta for Ireland, which shall pension the Catholic priests, and disqualify the Catholic freeholders.

The point, therefore, to which the attention of the country should be directed, is the sufficiency of these securities. The advocates for emancipation admit that danger may be apprehended, for they are already taking measures to avert it. They admit, that in the present state of Ireland, Catholic ascendancy would be the probable result of unconditional Catholic emancipation; and while they promise to shew us after Easter that this danger may be averted by Mr. O'Connell's bill, Bishop Doyle issues forth in the shape of a thick octavo volume, and places a new obstacle in their way. Mr. O'Connell has repeatedly told us that the bishop is one of his ablest coadjutors, and we shall humbly endeavour to put the public in possession of his sentiments upon the subject before us. He begins with the following declaration:—

"Tacitus says, that after the battle of Actium and the establishment in Rome of a despotic power, one of the effects which followed was, that truth became generally disregarded; some departed from it through ignorance of what really happened, others became indifferent to it through a blind passion of approving whatever was done by the government, whilst a hatred of those in power so filled the breasts of another class, as to render them incapable of ascertaining correctly, or judging dispassionately of what occurred." P. 9.

"The power which rules this empire is now concentered not in the hands of one, but of a few; there is some analogy between

the field of Waterloo and the plains of Pharsalia, whilst the overthrow of the Cortes and their constitution, reminds one of the tragic end of Cato." P. 10.

Of the Burial Service Bill, introduced last year by Mr. Plunkett, Dr. Doyle says,—

"Under pretence of granting a charter of religious toleration to the dead, it offered unconsciously to the Catholic priesthood and people the greatest affront which they had received since their petitions were kicked out of the Irish House of Commons." P. 30.

Of the Tithe Composition Bill, the church of Ireland and her possessions, thus thinketh the great Popish bishop:—

"But the measure has passed into a law, and I heartily rejoice at it. The peasantry are partially relieved by it; the proprietor of the land not only has his income diminished by it, but he is brought into closer contact with the Church; the value of tithes throughout the kingdom will be ascertained by it, and all who have eyes can see the glories of the Establishment. Only let the Church lands be now ascertained and estimated, let her parochial assessments by vestries be placed before the public, and we shall see whether this mighty Babylon can be suffered to exist: whether this enormous mass of wealth can remain untouched in a country which has no exchequer, which cannot pay the interest of her debt, which has no public institution that is not sectarian; a country where there is upwards of a million of paupers, and one half of the operative classes destitute of employment. We shall see whether this *magnum latrocinium*, as it was called by Burke, be compatible with the exigencies of the State, the interest of the proprietors, and the peace or prosperity of the empire.

"We may hear in and out of Parliament special pleading and electioneering harangues proving the utility and decorum of this meritorious Establishment; we may hear of her ministers being all sabbing and their children without the comforts of life; but we can retort, in reply, to the thousands and hundreds of thousands which she withholds from the hand of industry. We may be told that it is the proprietor alone who pays her income; but the proprietor, in self-defence, will argue for the inviolability of his estate; and he will also plead for the seed, and sweat, and labour of his tenant, which are now overlooked, or entirely forgotten. The claim of property will be advanced; and some lawyer, from his brief, will support it against common sense and honesty, and without regard to the title by which it is held: but he will be passed unheeded; whilst every man will see that the Establishment was created only for the good of the people, to provide them with religious teachers, to support their public worship, to clothe the naked, and to feed the poor, —and that it no longer fulfils those ends. The law will be advanced as the great safeguard of this mammon of iniquity in the hands of churchmen; but the wisdom of the law and its justice will be questioned, when, like other noxious laws, it operates not for the good, but to the detriment, of the commonwealth. The excess of the

Establishment, to be ascertained by this Act, must be corrected. Religion must be rescued from the plague of riches, her ministers must divest themselves of all characters but their own; the absurd fiction, by which they are compared to proprietors, must cease, or the real proprietors themselves must become vassals of the Church. For the commencement of this godly work we are indebted to the Irish government, and though it were their only merit, it should endear them to the people." P. 33.

The Orange party are conciliated in the following terms:—

"This party would be even stronger than it is, and more than able to cope with either of the other two, if it were not overbearing, haughty, insolent, and cruel. Monopoly and injustice are written on its standards, oppression is its watchword, falsehood and slander are its heralds; it has no reason or justice with it, but it is so clamorous, and so menacing, and so unblushing, as to overwhelm or confound whomsoever would approach it with argument, or seek to treat with it on a basis just, useful or honourable. It has suffered occasional defeats, but it has also gained advantages, and though every person can see how its resources are wasting away, though we every day hear of the defection of its friends, and see the straits to which the entire body is reduced, though confusion sometimes enters its ranks, yet it has not lowered a jot of its pretensions. The *uti possidetis* is the only ground on which it will treat; it insists not only on the recovery of its ancient possessions, but requires an indemnity for the losses it has sustained, and security against all future encroachments. Like Napoleon at Chatillon, it looks only to the extent and beauty of its former empire; it is not satisfied with the boundaries which even its friends would fix for it, and does not consider either the fraud, cruelty and injustice, by which it acquired power, or that the whole earth is leagued against it, lest princes, during its existence, should have no security, or the people no repose. This party, like Catiline and Cethegus, has collected into its ranks every spendthrift, every idler, every punished or unpunished malefactor, every public robber, and private delinquent, all the gamblers, all those whom gluttony or extravagance has reduced to want; in fine, all who love commotion, and who hope to live by corruption, or to rebuild their broken fortunes on the ruins of their country. The violence and insolence of this party, as well as their open hostility to the Government, has alienated many persons from them; it has neutralized others; but there is still a numerous class, who, though silent, are cordially interested for its success; a class which assists it privately by their money, their conversations, their inuendos, or by withholding their aid from the measures pursued by the administration." P. 41.

The Catholics are admitted to be restless and agitated.

"The Catholics then, under the fostering care of penal statutes, and quite unnoticed by the laws made to protect and foster the faithful subjects of this part of the realm, have grown at least into

a party; a party so numerous and strong, that the dupes of Pastorini imagine they are to arise by some sign in the moon or in the stars, and cut the throats of all who have not been lately at confession, without even allowing them the benefit of clergy. The more sane part of the community view the Catholics in another light; they consider them as a mighty living mass, restless and agitated, capable of being reduced to perfect order, but also liable to be precipitated into some gulf, carrying with them in their fall the whole edifice of society." P. 45.

But the inferior Irish gentry are the bishop's peculiar favourites.

"But the great mass of our little squires, who are called gentry, are men of much pride and little property, possessing a few hundred pounds a year, God knows how acquired; labouring perhaps to keep a carriage, if not, to have at least a dog, a horse, and a gun. They are made up of every possible description of persons. I could delineate them accurately and minutely, but I think it better to state generally, that a great portion of these men are the very curse and scourge of Ireland. They are numerous, they are very ignorant, they are extremely bigoted, they are exceedingly dishonest, they tell all manner of falsehoods, and so frequently, as to assume with themselves the appearance of truth. In a word, they could not be intrusted with your honour or your purse, and multitudes of them have no regard for the sanctity of an oath; they are these men who often obtain the commission of the peace, and trade by it; who get all the little perquisites arising from grand jury jobs, who foment discontent, who promote religious animosity, who are most zealous with the saints in distributing tracts and Bibles, who are ever ready to attend vestries, to impose taxes, to share in their expenditure, to forward addresses, to pray for the Insurrection Act, or any other act which might serve to oppress the people, and render permanent their own iniquitous sway.

"These personages have been brought up under the exclusive system, and their very existence seems to them to hang upon it; they sometimes go upon their travels, as far perhaps as London, and viewing from the top of a mail coach the surface of England, they talk most profoundly of that country, of her customs and institutions; they compare them with those of Ireland, and sigh so heavily at the distance in civilization and improvements which separate us from our neighbours "at the other side."

These men oppress, and aggrieve, and insult the people; they affect to look upon them as of inferior condition, a conquered race, and whose rightful inheritance is slavery. They see the poor starving, but they see it unmoved; they behold them naked without a feeling of compassion; never having seen a peasantry enjoying comfort or independence, they have no idea of what their condition ought to be. Without exaggeration, they are the slave-drivers in Ireland, and very much resemble the beings of that description in Barbadoes or Jamaica." P. 52.

The established church is improving.

"The Methodists, with the several sub-denominations of dissenters, might be said, in a certain sense, to be falling into disrepute; the cry of Church in Danger, which has been incessantly rung through the country for the last two or three years; the several attacks made from the high places, and by the profane, upon the wealth and indolence of the parsons; the charges of their prelates, the example of the other religionists, particularly of the Catholic clergy, has not only awakened the dormant energies of the Establishment, but it has brought back from the conventicle many a strayed sheep." P. 67.

But this admission is immediately qualified by the following charitable accusation:—

"When indulged she is indolent; when rebuked, she becomes attentive; she draws tight, or relaxes her discipline, as it may please, or be permitted by her masters; her eye is ever fixed upon her own interests, and she deems nothing forbidden or unhallowed which can serve to promote them. As these who do an injury never can forgive, she is implacable in her hostility to the Church which she supplanted; and at this day she appears indifferent to all things else, but to the concealment of her riches and the persecution of Popery." P. 69.

We make no comment upon those passages. We merely ask whether they tend to establish Mr. Plunkett's theory respecting the moderation of the Popish hierarchy? Do they prove that there is no danger to be apprehended to the Protestant church? Do they show that the lay-deputy, Mr. O'Connell, is an authorised expounder of the sentiments of his clerical superiors?

Many other declarations of a similar tendency to the preceding, may be produced. At page 104, when he is treating of population and poor-rates, for the latter of which Bishop Doyle is an advocate, he expresses himself in the following terms:—

"The rack rents are an intolerable evil, and will be so whilst the laws continue to render the landlord a tyrant, and the tenant a slave; whilst fear and distrust, hatred and oppression, are the links which connect the peasantry and gentry of Ireland, the land must wither and the people starve, whether they be few or many. But the most heart-rending curse which Providence has permitted to fall on the land occupier in Ireland, is the Church Establishment; this, like the scorpion's tail, is armed at all points, and scourges the peasant through tithes and church-rates, till it draws his very blood. This Establishment not only strips him of food and raiment, but it also insults him by the monstrous injustice of obliging him to give his sweat and labour, and the bread of his children, to build or repair waste houses, whilst he himself is left to pray in the open air;

to feed the parson and his rapacious family and followers, who go about, not doing good, but to vilify and calumniate the religion which this peasant reveres: it compels him to purchase bread, and wine, and stoves, and music, for the Church which he deems profane; to pay the glazier, and the mason, and the sexton, and the grave-digger, who divide his clothes between them, and cast lots, like the Deicide Jews, upon his cloak. Whilst these oppressions are suffered to continue, how can the men, who are made to the image and likeness of God, and for whose use the earth yields all its produce, how can they be fed, or in any way provided for? They must either be sacrificed in hecatombs to the furious passions which brood over this country, or these passions must be restrained, and the laws altered which gave them birth. I should rather, with Hobbes, suppose that society is not congenial to man; or desire, with Rousseau, to return to a state of nature, than cease protesting against the system in Ireland which has rendered population a curse, which has dried up every source of industry and profit, not only in the inhabitants of the country, but in the earth itself, and which has condemned, by an inversion of the ordinance of God, a people to live only for the sake of institutions." P. 104.

But let us hear what the bishop thinks of Mr. O'Connell's plan for disfranchising the forty shillings freeholders;—

"This subject has been so frequently mentioned, the evils arising from the subdivision of lands so closely connected with it are now so familiar, and almost so fashionable a topic, and the prevailing system of looking superficially at every political question is so much in vogue, that I would not be surprised if it were proposed to reduce again the peasantry of Ireland to the condition of serfs; that is, of serfs without hope of manumission, for serfs they are at present; but every man who does not despair of Ireland expects to see them one day converted into freemen. There are other reasons why this measure might be dreaded; the influence of the Catholics in returning members to parliament from the southern and western counties and cities; the successful struggle made by them on different occasions in the County Wexford and Queen's County, and more recently in Sligo and Dublin; these things have excited all the bile of the Orangemen, who, not presuming to speak in parliament of the re-enactment of the penal code, would wish to introduce it covertly, by taking from the Catholic peasant even the semblance of political power, and depriving him of his chief claim to the protection and favour of his landlord. So strong is this feeling amongst the orange party, that I doubt not the aristocracy which is connected with them would sacrifice the last remnant of their rank and power, which consists in the number of their freeholders, to the base passion of wreaking vengeance on the Catholic name. But there is a still stronger reason for being filled with apprehensions on this subject, and it arises from the English aristocracy, and their powerful agent in the House of Commons being opposed to the extension of the elective franchise in England, as to some agrarian law; such a feeling

necessarily obliges them to look with displeasure and apprehension to the extent of this right in Ireland, lest its existence here might act as an incentive upon the English people in seeking a similar right for themselves. They would, therefore, without avowing the true motives of their conduct, gladly avail themselves of the outcry raised against forty shilling freeholders in Ireland, in order to abolish what in their opinion is a great encroachment on their own hereditary rights. But if there be one measure more than another calculated to seal the doom of Ireland, to eradicate from her soil the very seeds of freedom, and to insure for ever her degradation, that measure is, in my opinion, the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders!

"It is the natural right of a man—a right interwoven with the essence of our constitution, and producing, as its necessary effect, the House of Commons, that a man who has life, liberty, and property, should have some share or influence in the disposal of them by law. Take the elective franchise from the Irish peasant, and you not only strip him of the present reality, or appearance of this right, but you disable him and his posterity ever to acquire it. He is now poor and oppressed, you then make him vile and contemptible; he is now the image of a freeman, he will be then the very essence of a slave; he has now a hope that, should his country improve, he may one day raise his voice on the hustings, and plead the cause of all who belong to his class in life, whilst he proclaims the virtue of the candidate whom he supports, or upbraids the recreant who betrays the public trust: but take from him his freehold, and you cast him out of the constitution. Like the Helot at Athens he may go to the forum and gaze at the election, and then return to hew his wood or fetch his water to the freeman; an inhabitant, but not a citizen, of the country which gave him birth." P. 293.

To make this more entertaining, the bishop has said in a preceding part of the volume;—

"And the law of election, what does it bring to the Catholic? If he perchance be opulent, it brings to him a deeper sense of his fallen honour, of his degradation, of his shame; if he be very poor, it brings him to the hustings to proclaim to the world a public lie, to wit, that he is a freeholder; having first steeped his soul in perjury, lest he, and his wife, and his child, and his father, should be driven from their hut, without food, shelter, or hope. To him the election law, in its operation, is like the wind from the desert, bringing with it a sort of moral pestilence, against which no human remedy can prevail." P. 86.

These are sufficient specimens of Bishop Doyle's manner. He writes, and we presume that he speaks, with the intolerance of a Jesuit, and the violence of a Radical; and whatever softening he may now wish to give to his declarations, the book before us is an authentic record, out of which it will be easy to contradict the *trimming* evidence which he,

has given before the Committee of the House of Commons. What effect can be anticipated from conciliating such a man as Bishop Doyle? Will he not treat the Emancipation Bill as he has treated the Burial Bill, and the Composition Bill? Can it be supposed that he will desist from denouncing the Protestant church, from hating and calumniating the Orangemen, or from refusing the Bible to his flock? Can it be believed, that the writer of the preceding passages will assist in disfranchising the forty shilling freeholders, or exert himself in tranquillising the minds of Irishmen? As an agitator, he possesses some power; and acts, when his violence will allow him, with effect. As a peace-maker, he promises to be very impartial, by speaking with equal fury against every description of his opponents. The gentry, the clergy, the evangelicals, the sectaries, are treated with the same unmeasured scorn; and, whether he appears in the character of an enemy to tithes, or to the Scriptures, he is equally intemperate. We leave it to himself to reconcile his inconsistencies, and to his friends to make the most of their convert. We trust that the bishop will escape the fate of Mr. Shiel, and continue in high favour with the powers that be; but if a lawyer is compelled to return ingloriously to Ireland, on account of a few discrepancies between his speeches and his evidence, we know not why a prelate should be honoured and rewarded for writing one thing, and saying another.

There is a portion of the subject on which we sympathise with Dr. Doyle; in his complaints, namely, respecting the Bible Society, and its itinerant orators. Our opinion on this subject has been already expressed; but we cannot omit the opportunity of repeating and enforcing it, by calling the reader's attention to the letter to the Archbishop of Tuam. The writer appears to take a correct view of the present state of the church of Ireland, and justly considers the Bible Society and its auxiliaries, as the very worst channel by which Protestantism can be conveyed across the water. No man of common sense can desire to irritate the Catholics. The orators at the meetings have done nothing else but irritate them; and Mr. North and Mr. Grant deny the fact in vain. The Archbishop of Tuam is the only prelate who countenances the proceedings of the Societies; and, with every respect for his Grace's character and intentions, we trust he will not be inattentive to the timely warning which has been given him. A few of the principal passages are well worthy of attention:—

"The system of the Bible Society your Grace must, I think,

now perceive never will, never can in Ireland, be attended with success. If the Roman Catholic is to be converted from his errors, it must be through widely different means. Pure Christianity, my Lord, is a religion of reason and of the heart; it never can be forced upon mankind in any way; not more by the indiscriminate and uninstructive mode of cramming the Scripture, as it were, down the throats of the people, adopted by the Bible Society, than by the papal tyranny in withholding it. The understanding must be convinced of its truth, and the affections engaged to its practical duties, before the subject can become a real Christian." P. 10.

"Our Church, my Lord, stands upon a rock; the more the foundation of it is examined, the more stable it appears. It is a branch of the Church founded by our divine Redeemer. We can with confidence rebut the assertion of the *Papist*, that we are not of apostolic descent. We can rest our feet on firm ground also, when the permanency of the apostolic discipline is attempted to be shaken by the *Dissenters*.

"The Protestant in our communion is armed, my Lord, on the right hand and on the left; he has a ready answer for the Papist and for the Dissenter. To the *Papal* accusation of having left the Christian church, to wander with the schismatic in the wilderness of sectarism, he replies boldly and satisfactorily, I must think, to every unprejudiced Roman Catholic, that the English has been proved to be as valid a hierarchy as the Romish; that when we separated from the church of Rome, we retained inviolate the apostolic ordination. That we have no ecclesiastical alliance with the Dissenter—that he is an alien from the Protestant as well as from the Papal church.

"To the *Sectarist*, who reproaches the members of the pure church with bigotry and oppressive intolerance of the Papacy—with believing that there can be no salvation out of his own pale—and with exercising temporal force to draw every Christian into communion with him—to these charges the Protestant churchman can give a positive denial; he may appeal, he may safely appeal, to his profession and to his practice; he can shew the distinction between the rule of faith in the church of Rome and the rule of faith in the united church of England and Ireland. The Protestant believes with the Romanist, that the church to which our blessed Saviour ordained those should be added who were to be saved was formed by Himself, in and through the Apostles, and that this church is to continue under His special protection throughout the Christian dispensation; he perceives in Scripture a promise of salvation given to this church, and to no other—but he does not, with the Roman Catholic, set bounds to the mercy of the Almighty—he does not place himself in the seat of Omnipotence, and deal out condemnation to all whom he deems, on scriptural ground, to be without the promise—Scripture forbids him to declare them to be within the Christian church, but he leaves them to the judgement and mercy of God.

"Such, my Lord, are the opinions of the members of our church,

these opinions are marked by their conduct: they are convinced Christ's church is one and apostolic: they bless God that they through His providence, members of a pure branch of this ch: they openly declare their creed, and they invite every wan- r to come within the fold; but neither in word nor in deed do use violence: a ministerial lording over God's heritage, and alified condemnation, are not instruments in their hands: reason rgument are the only weapons wielded by Protestants—'they not their brethren before the time;' they consider that 'to own Master they stand or fall.'

From this high and firm ground, my Lord, the members of our lishment who join themselves to the Bible Society descend, and se the Protestant church to the attacks of her papal and secta- opponents. They give the Roman Catholic priesthood too reason to place the Protestant churchman and the Dissenter e the eye of the laity of that communion in the same rank; and ncourage the sectarist to brand the churchman, who refuses leavened in this heterogeneous lump, with papal bigotry.

The effect, my Lord, of thus weakening—may I not say, ding down—the barrier between the church and the dissenting stant, dangerous as it is in every branch of the pure church, is more dangerous in your Grace's portion of it than in Britain. ge proportion of the population in Ireland is under the direc- f the Romish priesthood; and there is, I understand, a very derable body of Dissenters from the established religion. These ese assailants, my Lord, though they differ widely in some cts, yet they perfectly agree in one aim and endeavour; the uction of the Protestant church.

* * * * *

Let me then entreat your Grace to consider seriously, the con- nces of your continuing to sanction with your high title and nce, a Society whose constitution and practices do not accord the discipline of the Protestant Church, and are *most discordant* the feelings of a Roman Catholic priesthood and population. ld I be successful in convincing your Grace of the inexpediency danger, particularly in Ireland, of the religious fraternization of chmen with dissenters, in the system adopted by the British and ign Bible Society, no popular outcry of illiberality and bigotry h may be raised, will, I am sure, have any effect upon your e; the *civium ardor prava*, we have been taught, my Lord, will shake your resolution: you will, I am persuaded, instantly draw your name from the roll." P. 12.

ART. XV. *Miscellaneous Observations and Opinions on the Continent; by the Author of "The Life of Michel Angelo," and "The Subversion of the Papal Government."* Royal 8vo. 199 pp. 1*l.* 5*s.* Longman. 1823.

IT is a great pity that a gentleman like Mr. Duppa, who, as every body must know from his former works, possesses a correct knowledge and a cultivated taste in the Arts, should not be able to travel as much to his own content, as he afterwards narrates his travels to the content of his readers. Here is a volume, fitted, in many respects, to rank among the *deliciæ* of some future Dibdin: in height, proudly looking down upon all ordinary octavos; richly mosaiqued with inlaid cuts; lavish in depth of margin; voluptuous in creaminess of paper; and dilating to 214 pages not more matter than Mr. Brougham would compress into 50 for one of his mechanics circulating libraries: nevertheless, amid all this *ex post facto* luxury, a tone of dissatisfaction reigns through the whole book, from which we are led to believe, not exactly that wherever Mr. Duppa rides *post equitem sedet atra Cura*; but that, whenever he mounted the *dicky* during the journey now under our notice, a blue devil got up upon the *rumble*. In spite of the justice of many of his remarks, and the general qualifications which he displays for a guide and *Cicerone*, if he always travels in that which we conjecture to be his present temper, we would just as soon have made the grand tour with Smollett himself.

As we are by no means anxious to force this belief upon our readers, we shall leave them to adopt or reject it, as they please, after a perusal of the whole volume, and our present business will be rather to cull the flowers than the nettles from its pages. In doing this we claim the privilege of wandering as chance or fancy directs us, and in the first instance, we shall proceed at once to Lyons.

"The cathedral of Lyons has but few attractions, except a clock, celebrated from 1598, when it was first made, down to the present time; and is a curious exhibition of puerile ingenuity. It is a pile of mechanism, presenting, in its general form, an irregular tower, part square, and part octagonal, terminated by two small cupolas; the uppermost surmounted with a cock which is made to crow every hour when the clock gives warning to strike; then succeeds a dramatic exhibition of the Annunciation, of which this is the account affixed against the clock itself.

"'Premièrement le coq, qui termine le dôme, à chaque heure bat les âiles, et *haussant* le col, à la façon des coqs naturels, chant pour avertir que l'heure va tonner. Aussitôt après, les anges, qui sont dans le frise du dôme, sonnent les cloches avec un accord si

juste, qu'ils imitent lechant de l'église sur l'hymne de St. J. Baptiste. UT QUEANT SAXIS.

" ' Pendant cet agréable musique, un ange ouvre la porte d'une chambre, dans laquelle il trouve Nôtre Dame. Il la salue; elle se tourne de son coté, et d'abord le lambris de cette chambre s'entrouvrant, le St. Esprit descend sur elle, et le Père Eternel, que l'on voit dans le ciel, ayant lui donné sa bénédiction pour trois fois, pour signifier qu'après le consentement de Nôtre Dame le mystère est accompli; le St. Esprit retourne au ciel, le lambris se rejoint: l'ange s'en va; et le carillon étant fini, l'heure sonne.'

" In addition to this ridiculous pantomime, there is a wooden angel flourishing a *bâton*, to denote its approbation of the performance. Of the value of the mechanical powers which are here displayed I am ignorant; but, of the religious instruction meant to be conveyed, our Reformation makes us now look back to such a profane and ludicrous contrivance with amazement." P. 64.

It is the fashion now a-days to find fault with the system of English roads and turnpikes, and, if the latter could be dispensed with, without the imposition of some still greater annoyance, we should be among the last to advocate their retention; but it is too much to be told that they do those things better in France, and that Buonaparte's internal legislation is a model of comfort in this respect, Let us hear from Mr. Duppa, what this system is, in its details.

" As the government makes the highways, and keeps them in repair, there are but few great roads that can be travelled by post. In the heart of France there are upwards of thirty thousand square miles lying together, where no post-horses can be obtained; and, in this extent, there are no less than seven chief cities or towns of departments; Tulle, Le Puy, Aurillac, Privas, Mende, Rhodez, and Alby; to which you can only go on horseback, or by voiturin.

" At first, it might be supposed to be but a slight evil to travel by voiturin, when you cannot proceed by post-horses, but that this may be better understood, I will state a case.

" Being at Toulon, I wished to go to Grenoble. The shortest and most direct way is, to go to Brignolles, Digne, and then to Gap. From Toulon you may travel to Brignolles with post-horses, but here there are no post-horses to proceed to Digne and Gap; a distance of more than an hundred miles, The voiturier, at Brignolles, knowing the situation in which you are placed, makes a much larger demand than the expense of posting the same distance, added to which, he will take five days to perform a journey, which, by posting, could be made in twenty-four hours.

" If posting were open to competition, as in England, and the roads made and repaired by tolls or rates, there is no reason to suppose that the public would not be as well served; and from increased travelling, which would be the consequence of increased facilities, the revenue would be augmented by an increased post-horse duty.

" The government regulation of not permitting one set of post-horses to pass others on the road, has this inconvenience: he who wishes to travel expeditiously has no power to do so, if the person immediately before him should choose to travel slowly, or should refuse to fee the post-boy beyond the government tariff, which is fifteen sous, when he expects forty at least, and does not think himself liberally paid unless you give him fifty. In this case, he may refuse to drive at the rate of more than one post an hour, which is slower than a hackney-coachman may be compelled to drive in the streets of London. To be extricated from this difficulty, there is but one slight chance, and that at a considerable expense, which is by despatching an *avant-courier* to bespeak horses; but this contrivance will avail nothing, if there should be sufficient horses at the post-house for both carriages; then, the slow carriage, necessarily arriving first, will be first despatched, and he who is behind, must continue to be so to the end of his journey, be that journey ever so long.

" As there is only one person in a town authorized to let out post-horses, if all his horses should be on the road, or employed in agriculture at a distance from the post-house, you must wait in the street, or the stable-yard, one, two, or three hours, until the horses can be obtained. In an advanced state of society all monopolies are injurious to the public, however they may add to the patronage of government. Competition awakens ingenuity, and stimulates industry.

" There is one point in which travelling in France is supposed to have a greater advantage than travelling in England; and that is, from there being no turnpikes in France: the government, however, has contrived a very ample set-off to this advantage. First, by the paucity of post-roads; and secondly, by giving post-boys so much power, that if the traveller wishes to make any progress on the road, he must pay him nearly, and oftentimes, quite as much as we pay for turnpikes and post-boys together," P. 69.

Switzerland is particularly out of favour with Mr. Duppa. In the *mer de glace*, he saw nothing but " a large dirty mere of snow, cracked and irregular in its surface, with a broad road in the middle, as dirty as a street." Its wonders, we are told, are very much the offspring of English imagination; the scenery looking from Montainvert is " without repose."

" A tour round Mont Blanc may gratify the mind, as to rocks and mountains, though it often happens, to arrive at the top of one crag, after some hours toil, another still higher has made the effort fruitless, and in elevated situations, clouds, or sleet, or snow, often shew how easily this little ambition may be defeated; and, at best, nature is seen to no advantage; all that surrounds you is dreary and cheerless; nothing assimilates with thought, but the desire to descend with safety. Amongst these inhospitable mountains, when a fire is kindled, civilization has made its greatest effort; a shattered roof serves the office of a chimney, and a square hole in the wall, at once lets in the light, and the drifting rain and sleet. Under it, the table on which the scanty meal is prepared, and off which it is eaten,

has a deep trench cut round it, that the middle may be dry. If you have light, you must have the storm, and the choice is rather the effect of instinct than of reason. Here, life is spent to contend and struggle with the means of existence." P. 92.

There is some confusion in the commencement of this extract which we cannot unravel; it is not explained in the errata, and we do not like to hazard conjectural emendations upon a living author. We give it as we find it, and thus much, at least, we can collect, for a certainty, that Mr. Duppa is no amateur of mountain scenery.

In passing from Liddes to the Hospice, Mr. Duppa was accompanied by a robust young woman, from whom he had hired a mule to carry hay. She was dressed in a gown of russet brown woollen cloth, and the account which she gave of herself, was truly patriarchal. Her property consisted of ten cows, eleven sheep, one goat, and one mule: in the short spring and summer she prepared the ground, planted, sowed and gathered in the crop, and in the long, cold, dreary winter, she made her clothes. "This gown I have on," she said, "I made from the sheep's back; I sheared the sheep, I carded and spun the wool, wove the cloth, cut it out, and made it."

One more Swiss picture will succeed to this.

"An account of a morning's excursion from Lauterbrunnen to Grindelwald, over the Wengern Alps.

"'I have been wet through twice, could see very little when I arrived at the top, from the bad weather. It was, nevertheless, very well worth the trouble, though I was several times within a hair's breadth of falling down the most frightful precipices.'

"After dinner was over at the table d'hôte, where we dined together, * * * said 'Good God! what can we do with ourselves, we have at least, four hours to assassinate before one can possibly go to bed!' This is drawn from the life, and I consider the sketch to be a good illustration of a mountain scramble, and of the feelings of those who are in constant activity to be somewhere else.

"Nothing is more difficult than to make a just estimate between the toil of any undertaking, and the pleasure of accomplishing it; this must depend on the taste of the individual; but he who travels the mountains of Switzerland to see the peculiarities of the country may place it to his account, that he will be exhausted with fatigue, and, when the day is spent, be content to lodge in some offensive and miserable place, where all he stands in need of he must continue to want; yet, here is no lack of population; wherever there are the means to support life, there is a wooden house, and where a goat can browse, there is cultivation; but the state of society is rude and unadorned." P. 109.

It has been said of some former eminent linguist, that if he had been alive during the building of Babel, the dispersion

need not have followed the confusion of tongues, since he might have acted as interpreter general. There have not been many to whom this statement would be more justly applicable, than to the astonishing man who is mentioned below.

"By far the subject of the greatest interest in Bologna is D. Giuseppe Mezzofanti, who is the principal librarian and professor of oriental languages.

"He is a plain, unaffected, modest man, with such an extensive knowledge of various languages, as it is not easy to credit on any ordinary testimony. Having heard and read of his great fame, I introduced myself to him in the public library; after talking to him some time in English, he said that he found all the European languages very easy. Of the oriental, the Arabic was the most difficult, from its richness in terms. To acquire the English language gave him very little trouble; this opinion surprised me, and I entered into a discussion with him on some grammatical peculiarities; I also remarked upon the great irregularity of our pronunciation, which he more perfectly understood on principle, than any person I ever talked with on that subject: he was also so obliging as to read a page of an English book, which I took from a shelf in the library; and, in reading and speaking, he never made a single mistake. The only sign of peculiarity was, that in speaking, he employed a word occasionally, not of colloquial use, but which, nevertheless, was perfectly correct as to the sense.

"So far I can speak from my own knowledge, and a Polish countess whom I knew perfectly well, and who speaks German, Russ, and French, as native languages, in common with her own, told me, that she conversed with him in all of them, and, to the best of her judgment, he understood and spoke them as well as she did.

"A German officer, with whom Mr. Rose dined at Bologna, said, that he should not have known him by his language from being a native of Germany; and Mr. Rose's servant, who was a native of Smyrna, said, that he might pass for a Greek or a Turk as far as he was able to judge. In the course of conversation I asked him how many languages he knew; he said, about forty, and that he could speak about thirty, but that he had so little practice in speaking the oriental languages, that he spoke them with less fluency than the European. To add to the wonder of these attainments, he has never been out of Italy, and, I believe, Florence is the greatest distance he has ever been from Bologna. I wish I could have spent more time with this extraordinary man." P. 132.

There are a few blemishes in Mr. Duppa's style, which we shall wish to see corrected, since he promises that this volume is to form a part of a larger work, if it be favourably received, and of this there can be little doubt. He will doubtless, therefore acquit us of any perverse or hypercritical feeling in

noticing them. The following passages, among others, are not English.

"Besides this restored part of the old castle (Chantilly), there is another considerable range of buildings detached from the chateau, erected by the present duke for his ill-fated son, the Duc d'Enghien; *and during his life was called after him.*" Page 3.

"The subject (of Desaix's monument) represents the General supported in death by a brother officer, with his horse led by a soldier; and on two pilasters, which support an entablature, are two small whole length emblematical figures of the Nile and the Pô, to indicate the beginning and the end of Desaix's military career; *having first distinguished himself in Ægypt, and fell at the battle of Marengo.*" Page 89.

Mr. Duppa will forgive the freedom with which we have used his volume. We have reason to think that he is far from splenetic in the common intercourse of life, and we are anxious therefore that he should not convey any unjust impression of himself in print. We shall be glad to follow him in the remainder of his tour, for we shall be certain to meet with sound criticism on works of Art, and sensible if not novel remarks on foreign habits.

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

OCTOBER, 1825.

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IN Italy and modern Greece, a man who anathematizes his neighbour, raises a heap of stones in the highway, and curses him; every passenger is bound to add a stone and a curse to the common heap. Romans, Crusaders, Genoese, Venetians, and Turks, have each flung a stone and a curse on Greece. She has long since ceased to be the instructress of the world; and, previous to the present century, a few solitary travellers and classical scholars were the only persons who took an interest in her fate. In politics, warfare, and commerce, she was a dead letter.

The 4th of April, 1821, was the date of her present resuscitation. On that day, Patras was taken by the insurgents. On the 21st of the same month, Easter Sunday, the patriarch of Greece was hanged at his own doorway in Constantinople, dragged down by Jews, with every species of indignity, to the sea, and thrown

in. From that time, the contest has been carried on by the two parties with an unsparing savageness, from which modern warfare is generally exempt.

The eyes of Europe are once more on Greece. Every argument and every sarcasm have been tried upon the different governments, to draw them, or to goad them, to the assistance of their fellow Christians. But they have all kept aloof; and, however different their motives, however different the reason which has confined Russia to diplomatic threats, Austria to open denunciation of the Greeks, and England to a strict neutrality—England, Austria, and Russia have received a liberal, and almost indiscriminate, share of abuse.

Unhappily, the radical party in this country have taken up the cause of the Greeks. Every person who has dared to recommend the neutrality of the European governments, or presumed to whisper of a monarchy in Greece, or even to think of a censorship of the press there, has been branded with the imputation of political slavishness, or sneered at as the advocate of "legitimacy" and the "Holy Alliance." Greece is made the watchword of a faction; and a man's opinions on that country have almost become the criterion of his political partialities in this. Country gentlemen refuse to subscribe to Greece, from a fear of being confounded with the reformers. The politicians in country towns shudder, as well they may, at the portentous name of Jeremy Bentham; the clergy are alarmed at the intended disconnection of church and state in Greece; and all of us are disgusted and fatigued with "annual elections," and "universal suffrage," and "Lancasterian schools," and "Utilitarian societies," when Greece is still struggling for existence:—when the question is, not *what* constitution she is to have, (far less what minute modifications,) but whether she is to have any constitution or existence at all? Yet these are the topics which occupied so much the attention of Colonel Stanhope, the representative of the Greek committee, and make his letters from Greece so dull and barren.

This *party* feeling has been industriously propagated; and the consequence is, that we are deluged with accounts from Greece, while we still hunger and thirst for real information. One side will prove there have been more Turks killed in the Morea, in one campaign, than Turkey has equipped in five; and the other can show that at Dervenaki, where the Turks lost nearly six thousand men, the loss of the Greeks was something less than the massacre at Manchester! Even among the advocates of the same side, the reader will be shocked to observe how the information varies with the argument. Mr. Sheridan recommends the abandonment of Candia, because the Moslems are in number, to the Christians,

as five to four.* Mr. Blaquiere urges its re-conquest, because they are less than as one to four.†

England has been loudly called on to take up arms for Greece, by her proverbial sympathy for the sufferings of freemen; by her recollections of the past glories and wisdom of that injured country; and, lastly, by the urgency of her own interest. But, in these days of diplomacy, sympathy, we fear, is an insufficient reason for hazarding the wealth and blood of the people; and it is too late to preach a crusade against the Turks, because Athens has produced a Themistocles to banish, and a Socrates to poison.

The real questions are, whether, if once free, Greece will be capable hereafter, from its population and its own resources, of *maintaining* itself independent—whether it be for the interests of England that it should be so—and whether the direct interference of England would, or would not, promote that object.

Suppose Greece once set free—suppose it included and defined by those great natural boundaries, which seem intended to mark out a distinct state—suppose the Morea, Attica, Eubœa, Bœotia, Phocis, Doris, Etolia, Acarnania, Thessaly, Zagora, Albania, Epirus, the southern part of Macedonia, and the Cyclades, united in one compact and uniform government. This will embrace an area of about fifty-eight thousand square English miles, a space nearly equal to the extent of our own country, and including within it every ingredient for the formation of a wealthy, independent, and formidable state. A large part is high and mountainous, leaving about two-fifths of the soil capable of cultivation. The plain extending from Gastouni to the neighbourhood of Patras, for a long time, above its own consumption, exported enough to supply the Ionian islands with the greater part of their provisions; and the plains of Vostizza, Argos, and Tripolizza, are of great extent and fertility. The plains in the neighbourhood of Larissa are probably as fertile as any land in Europe. In the best soils, and most favourable seasons, the returns of wheat are in the proportion of eighteen to one to the seed; and the average is calculated to be not lower than ten to one, notwithstanding the wretched system of agriculture now in use. In many parts of Greece, they are obliged to counteract the excess of richness in the land, by constantly turning in their flocks, and feeding down the young crops. In 1809, it was estimated that the total value of corn exported from Greece amounted to above eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. The mountains support vast numbers of sheep and goats. The Morea alone is

* Pref. p. xlviii. † P. 160.

calculated, by Pouqueville, to produce, annually, twelve thousand eight hundred quintals (one million five hundred thousand pounds) of wool. In 1809, the cotton exported from Greece was above the value of one million sterling. Attica yields, annually, above two million pounds of oil, and the Morea five millions and a half. The other products consist of currants, madder, honey, bees-wax, timber, tobacco, &c. In 1809, the total value of the exports was estimated at nearly two millions and a half sterling. It is true, that the interference and extortions of their Turkish masters prevented any thing but a small proportion of this amount returning to the producers, but we are now only considering what would be the wealth of Greece, provided she were permitted to take care of herself. The revenue exacted from Greece by the Porte, arising from the capitation tax, commercial imports, &c. was about one million sterling; double of which was drawn from the pockets of the people, paying ample toll, in every intermediate stage of its progress, from the collectors to the treasury. The harbours of Greece are numerous, safe, and spacious; and some of them, as Navarino, Vivari, &c. will bear comparison with the best in Europe. It is difficult to make a correct estimate of the population. Prince Mavrocordato, from the amount of the poll tax, put the numbers of the insurgent population at two millions. Mr. Waddington's supposition is the lowest we have hitherto seen. He supposes the insurgents to be under one million, giving one hundred and fifty thousand to east and west Greece, two hundred and fifty thousand to the independent islands, and five hundred thousand to the Morea. But, taking the wide surface, which we have before assumed as the hypothetical extent of independent Greece, confining our numbers within Mr. Waddington's, for those districts he mentions, and adopting the most respectable authorities for the rest, we may safely reckon the population of Greece at nearly three millions. Now, if Greece, besides the support of her own legitimate inhabitants, has been able to send so much of her wealth to Constantinople, to minister to the ostentation of Pachas, Beys, and the whole official spawn of Ottoman grandeur, and to feed the rapacity of all the menials that swarmed about the Turkish authorities, it is clear, that when this foreign drain, and these unnatural and unprofitable channels of consumption are stopped, the resources of the country will be adapted to a great increase of population. A second and still greater cause of increased wealth will be found in the removal of the numberless difficulties, the diffidence, the harassing imposts, and the insecurity, which paralyzed the industry of the country under the Turks, and were absolutely incompatible with the health of the producing powers of the

country. This will admit a second increase in the population, and the two causes united (or rather the cessation of the two preventives) will make room for a population sufficient to work the full powers of the country, to support a commerce which may rival almost any nation in Europe, and a military force which may ensure the respect of its neighbours.

It is important, too, to remark, that this increase of population will not have to wait the slow operation of natural causes, but will be speedily ensured by the emigration of the Greeks of Constantinople, of the Turkish islands, and of the coasts of Asia Minor; and that without the usual distress consequent on sudden additions of inhabitants; for the first of the causes which we have mentioned above is instantaneous, and admits of an immediate and artificial addition to the population.

In point of climate, there is, perhaps, no country in the world, which, in so small a space, affords such singular and sudden varieties of temperature. At Tripolizza, you may wrap yourself in cloaks, and shrink from the snow, and a few hours' ride will bring you to sunshine, and fruits, and cloudless skies, at Argos. An increase in elevation affects the climate, like an increase of latitude, and the high plains of Greece have as permanent and obvious a difference of atmosphere from that of the low grounds, as we find at great intervals in other parts of Europe, where the elevation of the face of the country is more uniform. This variety of climate is, of course, the mother of variety in production. Many of the low lands are swampy and unhealthy; but we have seen, in Germany and Holland, such prodigious effects produced on the climate by draining and embanking, that when capital has been allowed to accumulate, we have no reason to fear that the evil will remain. The government will start with ample funds at its disposal, (continuing the supposition, that Greece is free and at peace.) Mr. Blaquiere has estimated the national domains, formerly occupied by Turks, and arising from forfeitures, &c. at four-fifths of the whole country: "And this property," he says, "of which the value is incalculable, consists of lands, olive plantations, forests, principally of oak, and ash, and fir; salt pits, fisheries, public buildings, gardens, villas ,&c." p. 124.

Much has been said of the national character of the Greeks: and every traveller and essayist have so accurately and nicely particularized their habits, stature, temper, features, talents, and activity, that one might fancy all Greeks alike. But there is no question more difficult than that which relates to national character. Such character is not a fixed and defined habit: it is the result of national institutions, quite as much as the cause of them. Climate has a certain effect on the body, and the body an un-

doubted connection with the mind. This effect is the only permanent ingredient in national character. A Laplander will differ from an African, as long as Africa and Lapland exist. But we have only to look to the history of past times, to perceive the Greeks alternately assuming every possible shade of character we can conceive; and this is sufficient proof that the habitual imperfections of the present Greek character can be no obstacle to their eventual weight in the scale of nations. This, then, is the last step in the demonstration of the *capabilities* of Greece—her *intrinsic* capabilities of becoming an independent and formidable nation—of becoming something more than a political plaything in the hands of the great European powers. What line of action, and what form of constitution will be most likely to effect this independence, and ensure its duration, we may best conjecture from the actual state of the contest, the parties and present resources of the country, and the relations of the foreign powers who are steadily watching the result. We propose, therefore, to extract some information on the subject, from the works whose titles are prefixed to the head of this article, and to give some account of the works themselves.

Mr. Blaquiere was a representative of the Greek committee. Of all the Phil-hellenists, he is the least tinged with that exclusive party feeling, which has disgusted so many well-wishers to Greece. He seems a zealous, indefatigable, good-natured friend of the cause. He goes bustling about from place to place, doing all the good he can, conciliating all parties, and endeavouring to excite them. His book is written in a plain, intelligible style. He tells a straight-forward story, and troubles himself very little about Jeremy Bentham.

We gladly step aside with him from political squabbles, and amuse ourselves with local peculiarities. The following is an account of the fishing in the shallow waters, between Messolunghi and Anatolica; and the reader must, for the novelty, excuse the insertion:—

"The diver being provided with a rope, made of a species of long grass, and which floats near the surface, has only to moor his canoe where he knows there is a rocky bottom; this done, he throws the rope out so as to form a tolerably large circle; and such is the timid nature of the fish, that, instead of rushing out, it never attempts to pass this imaginary barrier, which acts as a talisman, but instantly descends, and endeavours to conceal itself under the rocks. Having waited a few moments, till the charm has taken effect, the diver plunges downwards, and not unfrequently returns with four or five fish, weighing from two to six pounds each. As they seldom find more than the heads concealed, there is the less difficulty in bringing forth their rich prizes; and when the harvest is good, the divers are

so dexterous, that they have a method of securing three or four fish under each arm, besides what they can take in their hands. My informant added, as a very curious fact, that only one accident had happened, within his remembrance, to those who pursued this apparently perilous mode of fishing; and it only arose from the diver's arm being entangled under some of the apertures of the rocks." Part II. p. 42.

Mr. Blaquiere disclaims all pretensions to a *classical* tour, but he frequently turns from his political path to contemplate the antiquities of Greece, and speaks with considerable feeling and taste of what he sees: but he is too easy in admitting the classical information of his friends, and we can hardly forgive his being so satisfied and pleased with the suggestion, that the village of Trisonia, on the north coast of the gulf of Lepanto, is the old Træsene, which so hospitably received the Athenian fugitives in the days of Xerxes. An unhappy conjecture which almost wants the supposition of the Athenian ships sailing over the Isthmus of Corinth to support it! But the most serious point on which we have to quarrel with Mr. Blaquiere, (and the only one,) is a passage in his preface, which makes us suspect that he, too, may have assisted in keeping us in our notorious ignorance of the dark spots on the story of Greece, for fear of injuring the cause of the emancipation. A most inadequate reason for so grave a fault. "Such have been," he says, "the motives for my not dwelling on those errors of judgment, and defects of national character, inseparable from every people, who are long exposed to a despotic system of government. The course which has been adopted by so many others, cannot be too much deprecated; for if the defects of a people are ever to be exposed, it is not surely when they are struggling for existence." p. vi.

It is due to Lord Byron to say, that he was constantly decrying every attempt to keep the people of England in ignorance of a single falling off in Greece, and asserting and exercising his resolution of making his countrymen acquainted with the black and white parts of the picture; that they might fully know for whom, and for what they were risking their fortunes in loans, or exhausting it in subscriptions. If Greece stood alone, it might be invidious in a foreigner to trumpet her defects; but when England has been made a party concerned, by the voluntary and benevolent embarkation of her capital in the contest, she has a right to as full, undisguised a picture of things, as if she were on the spot. Lord Byron's earnest opposition to the system is evidence of its existence. It is also too clear, that the Greeks have had most exaggerated accounts of the English enthusiasm in their favour, and both parties have been thus kept in studious ignorance

of their reciprocal feelings. When Lord Erskine's letter to the Greeks had been read to the assembly at Messolunghi, Colonel Stanhope "took the opportunity of mentioning to them, that what they had just heard was the unanimous sentiment of the people of England."* Whereas, beautiful and eloquent as his lordship's letter is, there are many passages to which the majority of the people would not willingly subscribe. The mischief of this is, that while the Greeks are taught that the whole population of England is red-hot in the cause, they have some difficulty in accounting for the limited assistance they have received. Their admiration of us has consequently cooled, and is confined entirely to our money. "As to England," says Waddington, "notwithstanding occasional compliments with which I am flattered, on the liberality of our institutions and sentiments, I cannot perceive any great desire to court our protection, or any great preference for our character. The only key to their affections is *the loan.* They ask neither for our counsels, nor our hospitals, nor our officers, nor our Lancasterian schools." p. 154.

Mr. Sheridan's translations are only valuable for the historical songs which compose the first part of the collection. They give a picturesque image of the life and exploits of the Klephts—a race of men, whose name is derived from the predatory warfare they have, in all ages, waged against their oppressors. From their mountain fastnesses, they have never ceased to plunder and massacre their persecutors; and from this has been deduced a fanciful continuance of Greek independence, from the earliest times of the Ottoman invasion, of which the present insurrection is but a broad assertion. It is suggested, in short, that the present contest is not a rebellion, but the continuation of a defence: a far-fetched notion! for the Klephts were a small distinct class, chiefly inhabiting the mountains of Thessaly, and scarcely known on the scene of the present struggle. The argument is probably framed to meet the objection of the modern school of "legitimacy."

Few of the poems contain any striking merit; but, amidst much common-place, there is a fine strange thought in "The Tomb of the Klepht." The dying warrior is giving directions to his children to build his tomb: we subjoin some lines of the original, and the translation.

——— "Erect my tomb—but broad and high!
That when I hear the Moslem's battle-cry,
I may have space to raise my mould'ring corse.

* Letters from Greece, in 1823 and 1824. By Col. L. Stanhope, p. 38.

And leave a window—let the swallows bring
My earliest tidings of returning spring,
And nightingales in May come nestling there and sing!"

P. 21.

" Κάμετε τὸ κιβοῦρί μου πλατὺ, ψηλὸν νὰ γένῃ,
Νὰ στέκ' ὀρθὸς νὰ πολεμῶ, καὶ δίπλα νὰ γεμίζω.
Κι' ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος τὸ δεξὶ ἀφῆστε παραθύρι,
Τὰ χελιδόνια νά 'ρχωνται, τὴν ἄνοιξιν νὰ φέρουν,
Καὶ τ' ἀηδόνια τὸν καλὸν Μάην νὰ μὲ μαθαίνουν."

There is something fanciful in the 17th song, p. 111. A Greek lady, whose father and husband have fallen in battle, lies sleeping. Her attendants, afraid to disturb her abruptly, to impart the fatal intelligence, awaken her with perfumes.

We cannot forbear extracting a long note from Mr. Sheridan's work. It contains the story of a mountain warrior, and is a fair and full specimen of that singular race of men :—

" Katzantoni was a native of Agrapha, and one of those wandering shepherds, who, in summer, drive their flocks to the highest summit of the various branches of Pindus, and in winter descend to the sea coast, or the plains. The greedy disposition of Ali Pacha pursued these poor and harmless tribes into their mountain wilds, confiscating their numerous flocks, invading their pastures, and heavily taxing their little pastoral wealth. Katzantoni and his brothers suffered peculiarly from these oppressions; but when he talked of turning Klepht, the brutal Turks and Albanians only ridiculed his gentle voice, his small stature, and his feeble appearance. In him, however, as in Zisca, the soul of a hero was lodged in a diminutive body. He sold his flocks; burnt his tents and cabins; assumed the dress and arms of a Klepht; and, though at first only joined by his brothers, soon collected an intrepid body of companions, with whom he established himself in the Thessalian part of the Agraphian mountains. Long did he defy the whole power of Ali Pacha; and, of all his exploits, the death of Veli Guekas was the most famous."

" The proudest period in the life of Katzantoni was his appearance, in 1806, at Santa Maura, from whence the Russians, who then held the Ionian islands, were, as usual, endeavouring to seduce the Greeks into revolt; that they might, as usual, exculpate themselves in the eyes of the Porte, by subsequently deserting their victims. They had summoned the attendance of those Klephtic captains, on whose co-operation they placed the greatest reliance; and among these, Katzantoni was honourably conspicuous by the universal deference paid him, and by the contrast between his diminutive size, and the splendour of his dress, and noble haughtiness of his demeanour; but this gratification of vanity was dearly purchased, for he was attacked by the small-pox, the remains of which, not even the beloved breath of his native mountains, to which he returned on his convalescence, could dissipate. In 1807, this lingering disease became more op-

pressive, and he was confined, by sickness, in a monastery on Mount Pindus. Fearful of drawing down the vengeance of the Albanian Phalaris on his hosts, he removed, languid and feeble, to a cave in the neighbourhood, nursed only by his brother George, and supplied with daily provisions by an old woman. Either the woman or the monks betrayed him to Ali Pacha, who instantly despatched sixty Albanians, with orders to bring Katzantoni and his brother, *alive!* George, on casually leaving the cavern, found the sixty barbarians blocking its mouth; he returned, told his sick brother, placed him on his shoulders, grasped his sabre with his teeth, and his gun in his hand. Thus encumbered, he regained the mouth of the cavern, shot the foremost Albanian, and dashed off towards a neighbouring forest: the Albanians pursued; he laid down his living burthen upon the ground, and with his sabre killed a second Albanian. Thus, flying and fighting alternately, he had already killed or wounded several; when the others, furious with shame, rushed on in crowds, and at length secured the two brothers. They were carried to Yanina, and condemned to have their lower limbs crushed by blows from a mallet. The sentence was executed in the great square of Yanina, by a nephew of Veli Guekas, and before an immense crowd of Turks; who endeavoured, by taunts and curses, to aggravate the sufferings of the two victims. Katzantoni, enervated by a long sickness, shrieked when the mallet began to crush his knees; George only said, 'Katzantoni, will you cry like a woman?' and never uttered a groan while his limbs were pounded, from the hip to the heel."

The first of the "Romantic Ballads" is wild and pretty. We give the greater part:—

> "Over a bridge went a desolate bride,
> Singing so sweetly,—the arch opened wide,
> And the stream listen'd and stopped on its way,
> Until its spirit rose dripping with spray:
> 'Sing no more, lady, so thrilling an air;
> Sing something gayer, or sing no more there.'
> 'How can I sing in a livelier tone,
> Leaving my husband, and wand'ring alone?'" &c. p. 126.

In p. 151, there is a Greek edition of "Young Lochinvar." It is tolerably well told, but far inferior to "Lady Heron's Song."

The "domestic songs" are chiefly remarkable for two or three specimens of grossness, with far grosser notes by Mr. Sheridan.

The most valuable part of the work ought to have been the preface. We say ought to have been, because it embraces a sketch of the affairs, and enters into the leading topics connected with the regeneration of Greece. But the enthusiasm which leads Mr. Sheridan to believe any thing of his heroes, has robbed his preface of the air of authenticity, and his arguments of the power of convincing. The following exploits look better in a romance than in a matter-of-fact essay. "By daylight, they

could strike an egg, or even send a ball through a ring of nearly the same diameter, at a distance of two hundred paces.——Nikotzaras could jump over seven horses standing abreast; and others could clear, at one leap, three waggons filled with thorns, to the height of eight feet." p. xxvi. We fearlessly appeal to any of our *practical* readers.—We will give a specimen of Mr. Sheridan's arguments, from p. xliii. He combats the payment of tribute by the Greeks, as the price of their independence; because, he says, the Turks possess only Modon, Coron, Lepanto, and Patras, in the disputed country; and the cession of these places is too unimportant a consideration. "Modon and Coron," he argues, "are places exceedingly unimportant; situated on the opposite coasts of its south-western promontory, they are detached from the body of the Morea, and are neutralized, as means of hostility, by the vicinity of Navarino and Calamata. Indeed, there can be little doubt that dilatory and helpless as the Greeks are in sieges, they would have long since taken them, had they thought the object worth the expense. Lepanto, a place of great consequence, is now on the point of being amicably ceded by the Albanians. Patras, too, is said to be on the point of yielding." Alas! how unhappily have events disproved all this. Modon and Coron, instead of being neutralized by Navarino and Calamata, have been the gateways of their ruin; and the forces poured through them into Greece, have overrun and plundered half the Morea. Patras and Lepanto have continued, and still are, in the possession of the Turks. After all, Mr. Sheridan's preface is clever and instructive; and the songs are interesting, if they were nothing but specimens of the remaining genius of Greece.

Of Mr. Parry's book we would willingly say as little as possible, because we believe it will come into the hands of few of our readers, and make a very short stay there: but as the work bears the name of a man who was for some time in close attendance on Lord Byron, an unwary inquirer may be betrayed into reading part of this work; and we will therefore furnish him with a few reasons for saving his time and steering clear of Mr. Parry's essay. In one single page of the preface (p. ix.) we have the author and Lord Byron tied in friendly sympathy in the following expressions: "*His* exertions and *my* exertions"—"justice to Lord Byron *and to me*"—"accusations injurious both to Lord Byron *and myself;*" and in two other phrases in the same page his lordship and Mr. Parry are placed in close apposition. From this display of intimacy with the self-exiled bard, the reader will hardly discover who Mr. Parry is. He was employed by the Greek committee to superintend a laboratory, and assist in the

formation of a brigade of artillery for the assistance of the Greeks: he received a command in Lord Byron's brigade, and after his lordship's death the Greek committee, dissatisfied with him and his accounts,* turned him to the right about; and his present work is an attack upon them and Colonel Stanhope. The title-page, and a few chapters in the beginning, are placed in the van to cover the attack. We have no wish to take up the cudgels in their behalf, differing as we do, *toto cœlo*, from them in many points; and, had Mr. Parry attacked them where they are really vulnerable, with candour, or even with logic, we should have left the combatants to themselves. But when a man publishes opinions on Greece, and abuses every body, and every thing in his neighbourhood, we expect that he should have some qualifications to fit him for the first, and truth and consistency to bear him out in the last. Mr. Parry was originally a shipwright, speaks no tongue but English, (p. 113,) and the following extract will put the public in possession of his literary success in that language:—

"'However high,' said I, 'your lordship and others may come, you will never quite reach Billy,' (Shakspeare.) 'There you are quite right, old boy; but do you never read any modern book?' 'Oh, yes; I have read some of your works; "Don Juan" for example, and there is nothing in that which pleases people of my description so well, or of which I have heard so much, as the Shipwreck; that is something we mechanics and the working classes understand. Just before I left England, too, I read a book I liked very much; it was called "Wat Tyler."' 'That's Southey's,' said his lordship." p. 221.

But there are a series of letters in his appendix which are entitled "illustrative letters," (p. 345,) to which we refer any of our readers for illustration of the author's style. These are gems in their way. More ludicrous grammatical errors we have never seen in a decent type. Really, no three lines together are grammar. Every second sentence is dislocated syntax; and every third is a compound fracture. From these letters, and the appearance of French quotations in the work, we suspect that some literary friend has compiled Mr. Parry's book; but Mr. Parry is little indebted to the grammatical accuracy of a man who talks about "*setting* down with Mr. Bentham's clerks," (p. 197,) "this three hundred and forty pounds," (p. 66,) and "unless the wages is previously paid," (p. 313,) &c.

Mr. Parry's arrival in Greece is triumphant; and when he gets into the artillery brigade, he exclaims, (p. 31,) "I am quite sure, *though I say it*, that there was nobody else on the spot so well

* Stanhope's Letters, pp. 215—224. Blaquiere's Second Visit, pp. 56—68, Second Part.

acquainted with this branch of the service as I was, or who more deserved the appointment." He finds Lord Byron restless, and surrounded with trifling friends, and pities him. "I felt a very great respect for him, mingled with something like pity." (p. 23.) Excellent! "He felt much relieved, by at last finding a practical man near him in whom he could confide." "In fact, his lordship was tired with the frivolity and unmeaningness of pretended wits, and would-be distinguished men, and was glad to meet with a plain, practical man." pp. 25, 29.

From Mr. Parry's own book we will give our readers some specimens of inconsistency and contradiction, so grave and unaccountable, that we confess our own confidence in the author has been much shaken. The highest testimony in his favour is that from Count Gamba's narrative, adopted in Mr. Parry's title-page:—"Lord Byron awoke in half an hour. I wished to go to him, but I had not the heart. Mr. Parry went, and Byron knew him again, and squeezed his hand, and tried to express his last wishes." (Count Gamba's Narrative.) Yet, by a strange and impolitic inconsistency, he has laboured hard to disprove the authenticity of Count Gamba's narrative, and says, that he (Count Gamba) was actually confined to his room in another part of the town, for two or three days, at the most critical part of Lord Byron's illness. p. 111.

But how shall we reconcile the following circumstances. Immediately before Lord Byron's death, Mr. Parry was taken so ill as to be "scarcely sensible of what was passing around" him. (p. 135.) Lord Byron died in the *evening* of the 19*th* of *April*, and Mr. Parry's illness continued so strong on him, that on the 21*st* he left Messolunghi. Having thus been but little more than a day at Messolunghi after his Lordship's death, his health decayed, and almost insensible to all around him, Mr. Parry apologizes for his personal ignorance of what took place immediately subsequent to Lord Byron's death: "I can scarcely say that I was a witness even of what occurred at Messolunghi, for I was confined to my chamber." (p. 136.) For this reason, he gives, from Count Gamba's narrative, and other sources, a detail of events after that period. Imagine, then, our surprise, when we find him, in p. 140, picturing himself in all the bustling reality of an executor, or auctioneer, with Count Gamba, and another, turning over Lord Byron's effects, taking inventories, and dilating complacently on the poetic contents of the papers—on the very day after the unhappy event: and this too at a time when he was scarcely sensible of any thing around him, and confined to his chamber, and obliged to trust to others for an account of the guns which were fired in honour of his lordship.

But Mr. Parry was not only able, when confined to his chamber, and almost insensible, to transact the business of an executor, but has felt himself at liberty, as if he had really been present at every minute of Lord Byron's illness, and witnessed every stage of his disease, to abuse every measure adopted by the physicians, and declare his "conviction, that he might have been saved, had he had with him one sensible and influential friend." (p. 110.) This is a most unlucky passage. Colonel Stanhope and Mr. Trelawney were absent. Mr. Parry was in Messolunghi.—It seems *he* was not "a sensible or influential friend."

But if Mr. Parry has unreasonably vaunted his intimacy with Lord Byron, it is but justice to say he has as carefully proved the contrary in other pages of his work. As Lord Byron's illness increased two new physicians were called in, (p. 140,) but had great difficulty in guiding his lordship. "And I," says Mr. Parry, "who was comparatively a stranger to lord Byron, was obliged to enforce the physician's recommendation." (p. 126.) "I do not know that it is possible to give a stronger proof of lord Byron's want of confidence in his medical men." (Ib.) The argument is this:—I am Lord Byron's confidential friend: but he places no confidence in his new physicians; because he even places more in me, who am a comparative stranger to him.

So much for Mr. Parry: we recommend him to return in tranquillity to his profession. He was never intended for an historian. He has endeavoured to assume the air of an injured partisan, but he has only caught the tone of a sour, grumbling workman, dissatisfied with his wages. He that would print his letters should write grammar, and he that would attack every body about him should keep himself immaculate.

We turn with pleasure to Mr. Waddington—every page of whose book bears the stamp of a scholar, a gentleman, and a man of the world. Attached to no party, he has passed through Greece gathering facts and opinions; and his little work presents at once an outline of the present revolution, a faithful sketch of characters and things, and a dispassionate and philosophical analysis of the interests of Greece and the method of advancing them. In these days of anatomy, every one is ashamed of his heart;—no one dares give vent to his feelings without fencing them with a sneer, or qualifying them with a joke. Mr. Waddington's talents have raised him above this;—and he gives a manly and beautiful expression to his anticipations and regrets: he dares to weep over Greece, and confess his feelings.

The Hetaria, a secret society framed in 1802, and remodelled in 1814, for the advancement of the liberation of Greece, is suggested by Mr. Waddington as the main spring of the present

struggle. He has furnished a minute account of its objects and ceremonies; and we give our readers the concluding part of the initiatory oath—"an exquisite adjuration:" in Mr. Waddington's words, "Poetry has produced little to equal it; liberty, piety, and patriotism will never surpass it."

"Τέλος πάντων, ὁρκίζομαι εἰς 'Εσὲ, ὦ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀθλία πατρὶς, ὁρκίζομαι εἰς τοὺς πολυχρονίους βασάνους, ὁρκίζομαι εἰς τὰ πικρὰ δάκρυα τὰ ὅποια τόσους ἀῶνας ἐχυσαν τὰ ταλαίπωρα τέκνα σου, εἰς τὰ ἰδικά μου δάκρυα, τὰ ὅποια χύνω αὐτὴν τὴν στιγμὴν εις τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν ὁμογενῶν μου, ὅτι ἀφιερώνομαι ὅλος εἰς 'Εσὲ: ὅτι εἰς το ἐξῆς Συ θέλεις εἶναι ἡ αἰτία καὶ ὁ σκόπος τῶν διαλογίσμων μου, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὁδηγὸς τῶν πράξεων μου, καὶ ἡ Εὐτυχία Σου ἡ ἀνταμοιβὴ τῶν κόπων μου." Introduction, p. xxix.

Mr. Waddington begins at Constantinople, collecting from eye-witnesses, and contemporary journals, a narrative of the chief incidents in the war—and these little histories will give the reader a better notion of the nature of the contest, and the resources of the parties, than a more continuous and succinct detail. After the well-known massacre at Scio, the wretched remnants of the population were carried to Constantinople to be sold:—

"The continued sale of the Sciot captives led to the commission of daily brutalities. On June the 19th, an order came down to the slave-market for its cessation, and the circumstances which are believed to have occasioned that order are extremely singular, and purely oriental. The island of Scio had been granted many years ago to one of the sultanas,* as an appropriation, from which she derived a fixed revenue, and title of interference in all matters relating to police and internal administration. The present patroness was Asma Sultana, sister of the sultan; and that amiable princess received about two hundred thousand piastres a year, besides casual presents from her flourishing little province; when she was informed of its destruction her indignation was natural and excessive, and it was directed of course against Valid, the Pacha who commanded the fort, and the Capudan Pacha, to whose misconduct she chiefly attributed her misfortune. It was in vain that that officer selected from his captives sixty young and beautiful maidens whom he presented to the service of her highness. She rejected the sacrifice with disdain, and continued her energetic remonstrances against the injustice and illegality of reducing Rajahs to slavery, and exposing them to sale in the public markets. The sultan at length yielded to her eloquence, or her importunity; a license, the occasion of hourly brutalities, was suppressed, and we have the satisfaction of believing that this act of rare and unprecedented humanity may be attributed to the influence of a woman." p. 19.

* That is, a sister, cousin, or aunt of the reigning monarch.

Passing through Psara, (before its frightful fall,) Mr. Waddington is struck at the contempt, even unreasonable, in which the Turks are invariably held by their late slaves. "Your batteries are not too powerful," he remarked to one of the authorities. "Sono buone contr' i Turchi.," was the reply. "What need," said the Samians, in a dispute with the Psarians, "what need have *we* of Hydriotes, or Psarians, or Spezziotes to assist us in our struggle against the Turkish empire?"

From Athens we have an account of the struggles and sufferings of that unhappy neighbourhood. Thebes, lying in the very doorway of Greece, has been completely destroyed, and Bœotia laid waste.

During the Easter of 1821, the "Resurrection of the Athenians" was proclaimed by loud shouts of "Χρίστος ἀνέστη,"—"Christ is risen from the dead," the watchword of the insurgents; the walls were scaled, the town occupied, and the Turks driven into the Acropolis. On the approach of Omer Brioni, Pacha of Yanina, the inhabitants of Athens once more, like their ancestors, took refuge in Salamis. A few of the old and children remained, and were of course butchered. From Athens began the "Greek hunts," which were continued with unrelenting savageness, even after the departure of the Pacha had left the garrison with a diminution of numbers that might have taught them prudence. A party of shepherds broke in on one of these "man hunts," on the banks of the Cephissus, and slaughtered most of the party. The Athenians returned from Salamis, and recommenced the siege of the Acropolis. The night of the 24th was fixed for the assault:—

"The ladders were applied near the south-west of the extremity of the exterior wall; the Greeks mounted in silence and unobserved; they advanced with speed and caution, and had already passed the tekay, or chapel of the dervishes, and were approaching the inner gate which leads immediately into the Acropolis, when they surprised a Turkish sentinel. They seized him, and made him the most solemn promises of life and recompense on condition of his silence; but whether this brave man was diffident of Greek sincerity, or whether he preferred the death of a soldier and a mussulman to an act of cowardly and impious treachery, he made no other answer to their solicitations than a loud shout, which announced to his countrymen, that 'the Giaours were approaching!' He had no time to repeat this warning, for he was already hacked in pieces by the attaghans of the enemy; but the Turks were alarmed by the tumult thus excited, and roused themselves just in time to close the gate and save the citadel. On the other hand, the Greeks kept possession of the outworks thus obtained, which were chiefly of importance as they included the space containing the well." p. 55.

The siege was continued with singular want of skill, and was terminated, as many still think, by the special interference of Providence :—

"From the night in which the well was taken, to the 22d of the following June, the day of their capitulation, the garrison, amounting, in the first instance, to about sixteen hundred persons, with many horses and beasts of burden, had no other supply of water than that furnished by the cisterns of the citadel; and even this, in their certain expectation of the usual rains, they had consumed with little economy. In the mean time, the winter, and next, the spring was passing away, and not a shower had yet fallen. They watched every cloud, as it rose from the Egean sea, and came rolling towards them; and as it appeared to be approaching, they spread out their bowls and their spunges, extended their shawls and their turbans, and the very veils of their women, that not one precious drop might be lost, while the names of Allah and the prophet were loudly and frequently invoked. *Not one drop ever came to them.* The clouds fell in abundant showers on the plains below, on the olives and the vineyards, on the neighbouring villages, and even once or twice on the very town of Athens; but they were invariably broken by the Acropolis, as if they shunned the red flag which was floating there."

The Turks capitulated, and three days after the Acropolis was deluged with rain :*—

"The Turks, in number eleven hundred and forty, of every age and sex, were principally placed in a very large mansion belonging to government: those of the highest rank only were lodged in private houses. Forty or fifty among them had already died in consequence of their previous sufferings, and a great proportion of the rest were sick and wounded. All their arms had been surrendered, according to the capitulation. * * * Suddenly on Wednesday, the 10th of July, (a day to be noted for repentance and shame by this generation, and for eternal mourning by their posterity,) a report was circulated with astonishing rapidity, that the Turkish army from Thessaly had passed Thermopylæ, and was already at Thebes on its way to Athens. * * All the soldiers, followed by a part of the populace, instantly rushed to the quarters where the Turks were confined, burst open the doors, and commenced, without delay, the merciless massacre."—p. 67.

Mr. Waddington has gone with candour into all the circum-

* Mr. Blaquiere mentions an occurrence perhaps more singular than the above, and which the Greeks regarded as a more direct interposition of heaven. When the Turks besieged Anatolico, the inhabitants were reduced to the most extreme distress for want of water. When capitulation seemed inevitable, a shell from a ten-inch mortar fell upon the pavement of the church of St. Michael, and broke into a source of abundant and excellent water! Mr. Blaquiere says, he scrupulously ascertained the facts from eyewitnesses on the spot.—p. 44, 2d part.

stances which prompted and *may* palliate this disgusting event. We have only room to refer our readers to the work itself. On the 15th of July, Dramali Pacha's approach renewed the terrors of the Athenians; but he passed the guilty city and entered the Morea. The result is well known. Baffled and harassed, he was retreating rapidly from Argos to Corinth, when his mountain enemies beset him in the pass of Dervenaki, and destroyed his whole army—above four thousand men, with the loss only of fifteen.

Odysseus became governor of Athens: a man so notorious in every stage of this strange contest, so alternately cursed, worshipped, trusted, and suspected, that we shall be pardoned in transcribing for the reader the history of his rise:—

"Andritzes, father of Odysseus, was a Thessalian, born near Thermopylæ: but after this affair of Lambro, in which he was implicated, he resided generally at Yanina, though he died at Constantinople. The son happened to be born at Ithaca, and to that circumstance is indebted for his heroic name. * * He was removed at a very early age to Yanina, and received his education in the service of Ali Pacha, a school in which it was easy to become instructed in every imaginable vice. Distinguished by the gracefulness of his person, and his skill in manly exercises, he was first introduced to the notice of his master by his extreme agility. * * He challenged the finest horse of Ali Pacha to a trial of speed and wind; the race was to be performed on rising ground, and the man was to keep pace with the beast till the latter should fall down dead. In case of failure he was to forfeit his head to the indignation of his noble competitor. The Pacha accepted the challenge for his horse, as well as the condition proposed by the challenger, the execution of which he prepared to exact with great fidelity. The animals ran in his presence,—the biped was triumphant, and became from that moment the distinguished favourite of his master. His talents and address enabled him to maintain a situation to which they certainly had not assisted in raising him; and he rendered some important services, which Ali rewarded by presenting him with a bride from his own harem. * * And the son of Andritzes became generally known and envied throughout the mountains of Roumelia."—p. 78.

This man has been at the head of the military party in Greece, who have enriched themselves by the common plunder, to an extent which is wretchedly contrasted with the public poverty of the government. The head of the civil party was prince Mavrocordato, the poorest, the honestest, and the most enlightened man who has held authority in Greece. Nothing but his character, his talents, and the consequent admiration of his country, have upheld him against the boisterous hostility of the Capitani. It was to this man that Colonel Stanhope, in his misguided zeal,

addressed at his departure from Greece the most sarcastic and irritating letter that his talents enabled him to compose.* In proof that we have not overrated Prince Mavrocordato's character, we appeal to every part he has taken in Greece hitherto; to Lord Byron's opinion, to Mr. Blaquiere, to Colonel Stanhope's letters themselves. Mr. Waddington says, "Every one speaks well of him, and there are some who profess to consider him 'the only hope of Greece.' Of the organization and consolidation of Greece, it is, I fear, but too true, that our hopes do mainly repose in him." (p. 113.) "Prince Mavrocordato is still preserved to the hopes and vows of his country, and to the friendship of every friend of honest and practicable freedom."—p. 170.

Unhappily, Colonel Stanhope went on a mission to Odysseus:—

"Odysseus, to gain any end, will profess any principles; and as the colonel was believed to be the dispenser of the good things collected at Messolunghi, and to possess influence in the future distribution of the loan, he was obviously a person to be gained. Behold then, the robber Odysseus, the descendant from a race of robbers, the favourite pupil of Ali Pacha, the soldier, whose only law through life had been his sword—suddenly transformed into a benevolent, liberal, philanthropic republican!"—p. 82.

Colonel Stanhope became his dupe, and a letter was afterwards intercepted, of Sophianopulo, an unprincipled, intriguing accomplice, boasting of the success. Will it be believed that Colonel Stanhope's hostility allowed him to descend to grudge Mavrocordato the title of *prince*, which custom and courtesy had prefixed to his name, and endeavour to strip him of the harmless continuation of a remnant of Turkish etiquette?† Giving Colonel Stanhope all credit for zeal and enthusiasm, we cannot forgive the Greek committee for complimenting him on his powers of conciliation—when he became the tool of one party, and (right or wrong) had done all in his limited power to exasperate the other. We will make some remarks on the points in dispute, not to illustrate the quarrel, to which we bid a hearty farewell,‡ but to exhibit the state of opinions in the country. Prince Mavrocordato was inclined to watch the lately established newspapers, and Lord Byron joined in the opinion. "I hope," says he, "that the press will succeed better there (Athens) than it has here, (Messolunghi.) The Greek newspaper has done great mischief, both in

* Colonel Stanhope's note, and Prince Mavrocordato's fine letter to Mr. Blaquiere on the subject, are worth referring to. They are in "Blaquiere," p. 77, part 2d. Colonel Stanhope's Letters, pp. 223-335.

† Parry.—p. 304.

‡ We may, en passant, remind the reader, that Odysseus, after Colonel Stanhope's departure, *joined the Turks!* Mavrocordato's name is still untainted.

the Morea and in the islands." (Stanhope's Greece, p. 126.) Mavrocordato was suspected to be in favour of a foreign king. These were the two points on which Colonel Stanhope's anger was founded. Yet all parties seem to unite in the latter opinion. "It is quite certain," says Mr. Waddington, "that the great majority of the nation is at this moment in favour of a constitutional monarchy. But whom are they to select for their monarch? No Greek can ever be generally popular in Greece. * * * The sceptre then seems destined to the hand of no native. * * * They therefore rest their only hope of organization and repose in the vigour and impartiality of a foreign king." (W. p. 162.) Among these proposed potentates, are Gustavus of Austria, Jerome Buonaparte, Bernadotte, and Prince Leopold. Colonel Stanhope has suggested the Duke of Sussex. We leave the decision to our readers.

The place of Odysseus, after his desertion of the cause, has been assumed by his disciple Gourra; and as this has rendered him one of the most important men now in Greece, it may be as well to know something of him:—

"A Turkish officer of some consequence, residing at Athens, had incurred the enmity of Ali Pacha, who consulted Odysseus as to the means of procuring his destruction; the latter selected Gourra, one of the most daring and hardiest of his soldiers, to be the instrument of assassination. To avoid suspicion, Gourra was first despatched to Patras, where he had not long waited when an opportunity presented itself of travelling to Athens in the company of a merchant, unknown and unquestioned. He speedily became acquainted with the person of his victim, but the number and assiduity of the guards rendered it difficult to execute his commission with impunity. At last, one dark evening, the Turk returned to his house slightly attended, and entered his gate the last of the party; and Gourra availed himself with courage of the opportunity. He was not so fortunate in escaping suspicion as in accomplishing murder; he was presently seized and examined, and the discovery that one of his pistols had been recently discharged was sufficient for his condemnation. His liberation was, however, subsequently obtained, by the interference of Ali Pacha, and he returned to his master with pride and honour, a distinguished and successful assassin."—W. p. 83.

Of the celebrated Colocotroni, it may only be necessary to say, that he has been successively a Klepht, a butcher, and a Capitan, and in these trades he has amassed great wealth—he has coined his country's heart, and dropped her blood for drachmas—and is, or was, the richest man in Greece, and the greatest rascal.

Mr. Waddington selects Napoli di Romania as the probable capital when Greece shall be free:—

"Its vicinity to the luxuriant plain of Argos, on the one side, and

to the commercial islands of the Archipelago, on the other, its unassailable strength, and the security of its port, mark it out distinctly for the capital of a mercantile country; and such must Greece be, if it intends to be any thing. * * The city, as having been exclusively inhabited by Turks, is by far the best built in Greece; the greater part of it has escaped the injuries of war, and the fortifications appear not to have sustained any damage. * * While philanthropic foreigners are establishing, (or threatening to establish,) schools, presses, and laboratories, in every corner of the country, this lively and unscholastic people has already erected, for its own civilization, an excellent café and billiards. I should be sorry to appear paradoxical: but I am not at all certain, that the path which the Greeks have chosen for themselves is not surer and shorter than that by which their foreign friends would conduct them."—p. 130.

It may indeed be asked, what great benefit have the Greek committee conferred on Greece?* We question not their zeal, but their philosophy. The laboratory was a failure, the schools, presses, and Utilitarian societies, have done nothing to keep the Turks out—the money was a bone of contention—all parties quarrelled over it, the debt remains, and Greek scrip is at 16 discount. Pecuniary assistance should be great enough to sweep every thing before it, or it should be nothing at all. Its obvious effects are to paralyze the efforts of individual patriotism in Greece. No one will sacrifice his private fortune, when foreign money-lenders are to go hand-in-hand with him: no one knows the extent to which the loan will aid his country's difficulties, nor consequently the need there may be of his scanty assistance; the result is, that each man is content to hoard his own wealth as long as the state has such good friends to help her. Just as in this country, whenever government has come forward to assist any charitable institution, individual contribution has immediately ceased.

If Greece be once set free, it will be, *pro tanto*, an enlargement of the market for English commerce. But this result must never be sought by our direct interference. The great continental powers will never tamely watch the *possibility* of Greece coming under the *protection*—in other words becoming *the appendage*—of this country. The possession of Greece would lead to the seizure of the Dardanelles, on the first dispute with Turkey: and a government in possession of the British islands, Gibraltar, Malta, Greece, and the Dardanelles, would so effectually surround Europe, and have such numerous methods of resenting a quarrel, and destroying the whole commerce of the continent, that no step

* "I have often perceived," says Mr. Waddington, "that the people most disposed to ridicule and despise practical Phil-hellenism, are the very Greeks for whose benefit (fruitlessly, I allow) it has been exerted." Note p. 117.

will be permitted towards its establishment. However pure the intention of England might be, the possible consequences of its direct interference in the affairs of Greece, will unite the continent against her. And the object of her interference, however valuable, is not such as to warrant a great risk.

By what means, then, is the independence of Greece to be effected? By the protection of Russia? this has been the bugbear of politicians from the days of Catharine to the present. Greece once in the hands of Russia—Constantinople will follow. What then? the march of history has been teaching us in vain, if we fancy that St. Petersburgh and Constantinople will continue in one hand. Contrasted in climate, manners, morals, tastes, and wants, both would be commercial cities, with commercial interests diametrically opposed. The same war which might be unimportant or advantageous to one, would probe the other to the quick. Each the head of a viceroyalty, a pachalik, an archduchy, or any other titular government, call it what you will, St. Petersburgh and Constantinople must still remain capitals—and like two great weights, would break the slender balance that connects them, and fall asunder. History affords not even the resemblance of such a permanent connection—and a thousand instances of unsuccessful attempts. If Constantinople were unable to remain in the same hands with Rome, it is ten times more impossible for her to be united to St. Petersburgh.

But as long as this terror of Russian omnipotence remains, Greece must be secured by other means. It must be either by general mediation, or her own unassisted efforts.

Greece has several singular advantages in this struggle, which have not been generally remarked. A great branch of the revenue of Turkey arose from the capitation tax, or literally, the annual ransom which was paid by its Christian subjects for the privilege of wearing their heads a year longer. So ample a source of wealth was this, that it has more than once been the only argument which has prevented a general massacre of the Christians in Turkey.* The mere contest itself cuts off this supply. Besides this, it need hardly be repeated, the Turkish navy was almost exclusively navigated by Greeks; so that the Porte is deprived of two powerful weapons at the very moment she wants them most. And she is not only deprived of them, but they remain in the hands of her enemies. Her loss is quadruple; what she loses they gain. The last-mentioned fact is the obvious reason why the Greeks with such inferior numbers have generally baffled the Turks at sea. At land, the main force of the Otto-

* It was used, if we recollect rightly, by the famous Gazi Hassan. *Eton's Survey.*

man army has always consisted in her admirable cavalry. The nature of Greece prevents the operation of cavalry.

What then is the probability that Greece will be able single-handed to fight out her own independence? The greater part of the present campaign has unhappily witnessed only the advance of the Pacha of Egypt's forces in the Morea. But at the period at which we now write, reports have reached us—too numerous, and from too many quarters, and too accordant, to be *false*—of a happy reaction. Colocotroni has been released from the control to which his equivocal conduct had subjected him—and however unprincipled it be, it is hoped that his interest alone will persuade him to use the talents and influence which he certainly possesses, to save his unhappy country and his own reputation. The Greeks are still strong at sea. Their vessels are peculiarly adapted to the narrow seas they have to fight in. They are brigs, carrying from eight to twenty guns. The greatest muster was in the first year of the revolt, consisting of one hundred and sixteen sail—all private property. The commerce of the islands has of course been crippled. Their vessels have been turned into ships of war—but in other respects insurrection has been found hardly more expensive than submission. The islands of Hydra contributed annually in the way of taxes, presents, and extortions 20,000 dollars to her late masters; since the revolt, a year's expenditure in "the cause" has amounted to 30,000 dollars.

However the regeneration of Greece be effected, by force or mediation—and the last seems now most probable—the great question mooted over Europe, is the form and nature of her future government. Those who have called loudest for a republic, forget that Greece stands in a situation in which no country in the world has ever stood. The precedents of antiquity, and modern examples, are inapplicable to her. More circumscribed in extent than her neighbours, she has on one side a range of formidable powers, in all the strength of military science and modern civilization, each of whom would willingly swallow her in ostensible *protection;* and on the other side her ancient tyrant, in unprogressive stupidity, ready to snatch, not the first cause of dispute, but the first opportunity of weakness, to reclaim his slaves, and—once reclaimed—to render them for ever incapable of future revolt. A sketch of the effects to which different forms of government are peculiarly adapted, will make it plain immediately, what the choice of Greece should be.

When a nation is bent on foreign conquest—when she wishes to diverge from her centre, her powers must be intrusted to the hands of many, she must have a restless emulation among her

citizens—a commonwealth. If she turns her attention inwards, content with her integrity, and willing to improve and ensure it, her forces will concentrate, and, under whatever name, she must have a monarchy in effect. Rome under kings must have stood still. "Il devoit arriver de deux choses l'une; ou que Rome changeroit son gouvernement, ou qu'elle resteroit une petite et pauvre monarchie." (Montesq. Gr. des Rom. ch. i.) Her republican powers spread over the earth. When nothing was left to conquer, her powers were again concentrated under the emperors; when the progress of man again gave her enemies from the north and the east, her forces were again divided, and when Constantine united the powers of the six emperors in himself and strove against nature, the empire fell asunder and was dismembered. History is full of similar examples. Alexander's conquest was but a rocket thrown from west to east, which burst into a hundred pieces when the first impelling force was spent. For an extension of territory a republic is best adapted. For a settled and established state, a monarchy. No one will pretend that the object of Greece is the former.

After all, where are the boasted liberties of a republic, which a monarchy has not? are not rights as sharply defined, and is not property as accurately preserved in the latter? Ask those who throw up their arms and shout out for a republic in Greece, what more they want than a monarchy contains? Nothing but the name—the name! Prince Mavrocordato was content to have a constitution in substance, "et M. le Colonel (Stanhope) ne paraît courir qu'après son ombre." Mr. Waddington is far above these verbal babbles. "If," says he, "I could ensure for them the reality of independence, I would not dispute very obstinately about the name: the thing once obtained, the name follows as a matter of course." (p. 158.) It was well enough for Rome to perpetuate her sacred horror of *kings*, and permit her emperors to establish a despotism, when the whole population would have risen had they added the cursed three letters to their title; but in these days, when the nature of government is so well understood, it is ignorance or prejudice to suppose that monarchy, one whit more than a republic, is literally the *μόνον ἀρχή*.

A federative republic has been suggested for Greece. There is far too much clannishness already. At Hydra, Mr. Waddington says there "is a feeling purely Hydriote, and it operates nearly equally against all the world; and, in fact, if there be any people whom the Hydriotes hate as a people, it is their brother Albanians and neighbours, the Spezziotes and Crenidiotes." (p. 104.) In Greece—"in this singular land, every man's country is his own city, or his own mountain, or his own rock; and to these his mere

patriotism, as separated from his interest, is almost entirely confined; and he appears even to detest every thing beyond them. Islanders abuse Moraites, and Moraites calumniate islanders, while many districts in the Morea, and many isles in the Egean, have their subdivisions of animosity." (p. 110.) No well-wisher to Greece can wish that feeling to remain. It is the very poison of confidence, and therefore of commerce. A federative republic is the very form to foster and exasperate the distemper. Greece must look to commerce as her prop. She must look to be the connecting link in trade, as she is in situation, between Europe, Africa, and Asia; and whatever interferes with this, interferes with her real interest.

ART. II.—*The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S. &c.* Now first collected, with occasional Notes, by William Upcott. 4to. London, 1825.

FEW, if any similar publications of our own days, more strongly attracted public attention on their first appearance, or are likely to retain a more permanent station in our National Literature, than the *Diary and Correspondence* of John Evelyn. In this work we were introduced to the private hours and the domestic intercourse of a name which had been long valued and highly honoured, and the honour and the value of which increased in proportion as the familiarity of our acquaintance was permitted to become closer. In duty to his God, in loyalty to his Sovereign, in love to his Country, in benevolence to all Mankind, there are few on record who can pretend to rival this amiable and high-minded English gentleman; and richly and variously as his intellect was cultivated, large as were his acquirements, discursive as were his powers, not even the splendour of these has contributed so much to his reputation, as the goodly ends to which they were applied. What evil he might restrain, or what useful purpose he might effect, appear to have been the first questions which he asked himself on sitting down to composition; and be his vein, "grave or gay," "lively or severe," the promotion of good is the ultimate goal to which his steps are always directed. Neither for this purpose was it only on subjects which of themselves confer dignity on him who essays to treat them that Evelyn's pen was employed. We meet him, it is true, as the champion of the Religion upon which Fanaticism had trampled, and of the Government which Treason had uprooted. We find him improving the Agriculture, and providing for the future Naval greatness by which his Country, in our own times, has become arbitress of the destinies of the World. Nor less is he to be regarded as civilizing his

contemporaries in their taste for the finer Arts. In Painting, Sculpture, Engraving, and Architecture, he was himself equally competent and willing to give instruction to the practical artist. But besides these higher objects, slight as some may deem the παρέργα to which he dedicated his subsecival hours, even these are marked by his pervading spirit of benevolence. The citizen could not hesitate to express lively gratitude to the writer who sought how to relieve him from the dingy and unwholesome atmosphere, which he was condemned to inhale; and the peaceful lover of the country garden would gladly listen to those precepts which taught him how to add another herb to his salad, or to shelter an additional shrub in his conservatory.

The Editor of the volume before us has brought into one body the numerous minor *brochures* (as they would now be called) of this kind, which Evelyn from time to time threw to the world; and which, while dispersed, were of rare occurrence, and known, for the most part, only to bibliomaniacs. Our task is little more than to inform our readers of the chief contents of this collection, and occasionally to let the originals tell in their own language how worthy they are of complete perusal.

It was not till his twenty-ninth year that Evelyn appeared before the public as an author, and his *coup d'essai* was prompted by a noble daring which sufficiently declared the unshaken firmness both of his political principles and of his courage. A few days only before the murder of the unhappy Charles, at a time when men's hearts were failing them for fear of the tyranny with which they were beset, and even the boldest shrank from an open avowal of monarchical feeling, he published a translation of an Essay by De la Mothe Vayer, *On Liberty and Servitude*; the scope and object of which, as it is explained in the following paragraph, must have been sufficiently offensive to the Regicides; and indeed is proved to have been so, by a MS. note in his own copy, "I was like to be call'd in question by the rebells for this booke, being published a few days before his majesty's decollation."

"TO HIM THAT READES.

"This free subject, coming abroad in these licentious times, may happily cause the world to mistake both the Author and the Translator, neither of whom by Liberty do understand that impious *impostoria pila*, so frequently of late exhibited and held forth to the people, whilst (in the meane time) indeed, it is thrown into the hands of a few private persons. By Freedome is here intended that which the Philosopher teacheth us: *Nulli rei servire, nulli necessitati, nullis casibus, fortunam in æquum deducere*, &c. not that Platonique chimæra of a State, no where existant save in Utopia.

"Verily, there is no such thing in *rerum naturâ* as we pretend unto: seeing, that whilst we beare about us these spoiles of mortality, and

are subject to our passions, there can be no absolute perfection acquired in this life: and of this truth we have now had the experience of more than five thousand yeeres, during all which tract to this present epoch of time, never was there either heard or read of a more equal and excellent form of government than that under wch we ourselves have lived, during the reign of our most gratious Soveraignes Halcion daies; the sole contemplation of which makes me sometimes with the sweet Italian to sing,

——— "*Memoria sola tu*
Con rammentarm' il fù
Spesso, spesso vien à rapirmi,
E qualch' istant' ancor, ringiouanirmi.
Of which the memory
No sooner strikes my braine,
But ah! transported, I
Methinkes wax young againe.

"If therefore we were once the most happy of subjects, why do we thus attempt to render our selves the most miserable of slaves? God is one, and better it is to obey one than many.* *Neque enim Libertas tutior ulla est, quam* DOMINO *servire bono*,† that is, (Charles.)"—p. 5.

Vayer was a voluminous writer much in vogue at this time. He is for the most part grave and sententious, always sensible, and, occasionally, somewhat caustic. We do not know that any particular value attaches to the tract now in question, which Evelyn, probably, selected less from its intrinsic merit than from its fitness for the season at which he printed it; and from the opportunity which it afforded him of conveying his own sentiments with that slight degree of shelter which was afforded by the name of another. Bayle, who never spares La Mothe when he finds a loophole open for his attack, has pointed out the singular misrepresentation of the well known story of Stratonica and Combabus, with which this little Essay is disfigured. Indeed from the frequent similar errors into which La Mothe has fallen, it is more than probable that, like the generality of his countrymen, he invented for himself, or took much on the authority of others, whenever he had to draw from a Grecian fountain.

The state of France as it stood in the ninth year of this present monarch, Louis XIV., appeared three years afterwards, and it is an able and acute summary of the observations which Evelyn had made during a visit to that Kingdom. The remarks on the utility of foreign travel contained in the preliminary letter to a friend, may be consulted with advantage in our own days, by many among those countless shoals who think wisdom and politeness are the product of every land, but that one to which Providence has assigned their own birth; and who believe that they are

* Mat. vi. 24. † Claudian.

certain of obtaining these valuable commodities abroad, whatever may be the lack of preparation under which they set out from home:—"for it is not every man," says Evelyn, "that crosses the seas, hath been of an academy, learned a corranto, and speaks the languages, whom I esteem a traveller, of which piece most of our English are in these countries at present."

The profane mummery of the *Ampulla*, which has been recently exhibited at Rheims, had it seems fallen into discredit even at the time in which Evelyn wrote; and we cannot but think that it would have been consistent with the good sense of the restored dynasty to have allowed it to slumber, with many other follies which the Revolution swept away in its destructive, though, in some instances, purifying, torrent. "Touching that other legend of their Sainte Ampoule, which in the time of Clovis, first Christian king of France, was (as they give out) brought by an angel from heaven, and reserved at Rhemes for the royal chrisne, we will give it leave to pass as a vulgar (yet not unpolitick) errour or impertinent tradition." It would be difficult to state in what respect it continues to be "not unpolitick," at present, when the lapse of one hundred and seventy years has unveiled its "errours" and "impertinence," to the eyes even of the lowliest hind who gazes on the juggling trick with a contemptuous grin.

The character of the existing Royal Family of France, the functions of the chief officers of the Court, the revenue, the naval and military resources, the foreign policy, and the domestic manners, are all slightly but clearly touched. They present an interesting outline, the truth of which is internally evident from the boldness and distinctness with which it is sketched, and the impartiality of which in its distribution of praise and blame whenever French and English customs are compared together, has not often been equalled. Thus, notwithstanding the pomp and variety of office by which the *Grand Monarque* was nominally surrounded, Evelyn holds that his *cortége* is far inferior to that of the King of England, "the splendour, hospitality, order, and decent magnificence of whose service and attendance in this kind, I am confident no Court in Europe hath ever approached or parallelled." The nobility of France considered as soldiers, he esteems to be the best disciplined and most adroit cavalry of Europe; as citizens, much given to "laudable magnificencies," and, though some of them are polite scholars, yet for the most part, accounting a studious and contemplative life "below their spirits." Of the plebeians, he says, they are "of a far more vile and naturally slavish genius, than they really are in any part of Christendom besides; which meannesse of spirit I easily conjecture to have been long since contracted from the over severity and liberty of their supe-

riors; their incomparable poverty and excessive oppression"—again—"truly I esteem them for the most miserable objects that one may likely behold upon the face of the earth; especially those which live towards the frontiers, so immeasurably exhausted by taxations, gabels, impositions, spoyls, and contributions, unto which they are generally obnoxious." The men of learning "prove as polite scholars, and as trim wits as any Italian of them all," nevertheless many of them from their presumption and pedantry are "most egregious talkers and intollerably pragmaticall." Learning is too much levelled by "their intemperate translations," for almost all the ancient poets have been turned into prose. Amongst the Faculties of Paris are some "good dextrous divines," but their school exercises are "dull perfunctory things" when compared with our own. "Generally the chirurgeons are pretenders to physick, and the physician as great a friend to the emperick." The mechanics are "universally excellent, inventive, and happy."—Of the ladies—but we must not deprive the gallantry of the following passage of a single spice of its seasoning:—

"The French Children are the fairest letter that Nature, I think, can shew through all the humane alphabet; but though they be Angels in the cradle, yet are they more like Divels in the saddle: age generally shewing, that what she so soon bestows, she takes as fast away; for the French (after twenty) presently strike forty in their faces, and especially amongst their women, who are then extremely decayed, when ours, if not beautifull, are yet very tolerable at those years; which whether it proceeds from the siccity of the air, drinking water, ill diet, or other accident, I dare not easily determine; and yet am the rather inclined to think, something of that nature it must needs be, when we finde the women of quality for the most part as exquisite beauties as any the whole world produces, without disparaging our ladies at home, whom I would be unwilling this paragraph should in the least degree offend."—p. 90.

The youthful gentry are "more open and free" even than the Italians in their "indifferency of beleeving and living:"—

"Albeit yet not in all points so enormous as the depraved youth of England, whose prodigious disbaucheries and late unheard of extravagancies, far surpasse the madnesse of all other civilized nations whatsoever. Gaming also they frequent, but are in no one vice so abandoned, as to the exhausting their estates, especially in point of drink and tobacco; which, though it have of late got some footing upon the more vile sort, and infected some northern parts of the kingdom; yet fewer persons of quality use either in excesse: but what they do not in drink, they pay in bread, and are strange devourers of corn; they adore a good pottage (whatever the rest of the repast be) as the Egyptians did garlick; nor will a true Monsieur be brought at any rate to

taste a glass of wine, *sans premier manger*; which although they neither do so much, nor sit so long at it, yet they use to collation more often, the most temperate of them."

"They are exceedingly courteous, and have generally their tongues well hung; which promptitude of theirs, as it becomes them well in encounter, so they are for the most part of joviall conversation, and far from that constrained addresse which is naturall to our sullen nation, who never think ourselves acquainted, till we treat one another with Jack and Tom; familiarities which, as we finde no where else in use, so they commonly terminate in vaine and rude associations."—p. 91.

Evelyn was next employed on his favourite subject of Horticulture, and we are presented with the Epistle dedicatory to his translation of *The French Gardener*, 1658, a volume which, much to the delight of the Anti-Browns and Anti-Reptons of the day, treated of parterrs, grotts, fountains, walks, perspectives, rocks, aviaries, vivaries, apiaries, pots, conservatories, piscinas, groves, cryptas, cabinets, ecchos, statues, and other ornaments of a *vigna*, flowers and evergreens, palisades, and contr-espaliers.

No reader of the *Memoirs of Evelyn* can have forgotten the deep interest with which he must have dwelt upon the account therein given (1. 299.) of the death of his most extraordinary and promising child. In order to divert the melancholy which this bitter loss occasioned, he employed himself in translating from the Greek, *The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children*, 1659, and prefixed to it an *Epistle Dedicatory to my most incomparable Brothers, George and Richard Evelyn of Wooton and Woodcot in Surrey, Esqs.* We cannot call to mind any composition in any language more deeply imbued than this is, with tenderness and affection, more pathetically laying bare the sorrows of a wounded spirit, and yet at the same time exhibiting so composed a resignation, so truly pious a surrender of self-will to the wisdom which has been pleased to inflict the heavy blow by which the writer was well nigh overwhelmed. On the vaunted proemium to the Sixth Book *de Institutione Oratoriâ*, Quinctilian doubtless lavished all the powers of his Art, and the effect has been, for the most part, that the ear is tickled, while the heart remains untouched. We say, for the most part, since there are passages in this address in which the father breaks forth in spite of the rhetorician, and we are carried on with him by the flood of his grief. *Non sum ambitiosus in malis, nec augere lacrymarum causas volo, utinamque esset ratio minuendi. Sed dissimulare qui possum, quid illi gratiæ in vultu, quid jucunditatis in sermone, quos ingenii igniculos, quam præstantiam placidæ, et (quod scio vix posse*

credi tantum) *altæ mentis ostenderet? qualis amorem quicunque alienus infans mereretur. Illud vero insidiantis, quo me validius cruciaret fortunæ fuit, ut ille mihi blandissimus, me suis nutricibus, me aviæ educanti, me omnibus, qui solicitare solent illas ætates, anteferret.* Who can doubt on reading this extract that the marks of fondness exhibited by the child were called out by the exuberant affection of the parent? and it is this impression which is conveyed throughout by Evelyn, who dwells so much more upon his lost treasure than upon himself. Our citation must be long; but no one will regret its length:—

"I cannot, with St. Augustine*, say of my son, as he of his, *Annorum erat fere quindecim, & ingenio præveniebat multos graves & doctos viros.* But this I can truly affirm; he was little above five years old, and he did excel many that I have known of fifteene. *Tam brevi spatio tempora multa compleverat.* He was taught to pray as soon as he could speak, and he was taught to read as soon as he could pray. At three years old he read any character or letter whatsoever used in our printed books, and, within a little time after, any tolerable writing hand, and had gotten (by heart) before he was five years of age seven or eight hundred Latine and Greek words, as I have since calculated out of his 'Ονομαστικὸν, together with their genders and declensions. I entered him then upon the verbs, which in four months time he did perfectly conjugate, together with most of the irregulars excepted in our grammar. These he conquered with incredible delight, and intelligence of their use. But it is more strange to consider, that when from them I thought to set him to the nouns, he had in that interim (by himself) learned both the declensions and their examples, their exceptions, adjectives, comparisons, pronouns, without any knowledge or precept of mine, insomuch as I stood amazed at his sedulity and memory. This engaged me to bring him a *Sententiæ Pueriles*, and a *Cato*, and of late *Comenius*; the short sentences of which two first, and the more solid ones of the last, he learned to construe and parse, as fast as one could well teach and attend him: for he became not onely dextrous in the ordinary rules by frequent recourse to them (for indeed I never obliged him to get any of them by heart as a task, by that same *carnificina puerorum*) upon occasions, but did at this age also easily comprehend both the meaning and the use of the relative, the ellipsis, and defects of verbs and nouns unexpressed.† But to repeat here all that I could justly affirm concerning his promptitude in this nature, were altogether prodigious, so that truly I have been sometimes even constrained to cry out with the father, as of another. Adeodatus, *horrori mihi est hoc ingenium.* For so insatiable were his desires of knowledg, that I well remember upon a time hearing one discourse of Terence and Plautus, and being told (upon his enquiring

* Conf. lib. 9. cap. 6.

† Quid in illo virtutum, quid ingenii, quid pietatis invenerim, vereor dicere ne fidem credulitatis excedam. Hier. ad Marcell. Epitaph.

concerning these authors) that the books were too difficult for him, he wept for very grief, and would hardly be pacified: but thus it is reported of Thucydides, when those noble Muses were recited in his hearing, at one of the most illustrious assemblies of Greece, from whence was predicted the greatness of his genius. To tell you how exactly he read French, how much of it he spake and understood, were to let you onely know that his mother did instruct him without any confusion to the rest. Thus he learned a catechism and many prayers, and read divers things in that language. More to bee admired was the liveliness of his judgment, that being much affected with the diagramms in Euclid, he did with so great facility interpret to me many of the common postulata and definitions, which he would readily repeate in Latine and apply it. And he was in one hour onely taught to play the first half of a thorough basse, to one of our Church psalmes, upon the organ. Let no man think that we did hereby crowd his spirit too full of notions. Those things which we force upon other children were strangely natural to him; for as he very seldome affected their toyes, to such things were his usual recreations as the gravest man might not be ashamed to divert himself withal. These were especially the Apologues of Æsop, most of which he could so readily recount, with divers other stories, as you would admire from whence he produced them: but he was never without some book or other in his hand. Pictures did afford him infinite pleasure; above all, a pen and ink, with which he now began to form his letters. Thus he often delighted himself in reciting of poems and sentences, some whereof he had in Greek, fragments of comedies, divers verses out of Herbert, and, amongst the psalms, his beloved and often repeated *Ecce quam bonum*: and indeed he had an ear so curiously framed to sounds, that he would never misse infallibly to have told you what language it was you did read by the accent only, were it Latine, Greek, French, Italian, or Dutch. To all I might add, the incomparable sweetness of his countenance and eyes, the clean fabric of his body and pretty addresses: how easily he forgot injuries, when at any time I would break and crosse his passions, by sometimes interrupting his enjoyments, in the midst of some sweet or other delicious things which allured him: that I might thereby render him the more indifferent to all things, though these he seldom quitted without rewards and advantage. But above all, extremely conspicuous was his affection to his younger brother, with whose impertinencies he would continually bear, saying, he was but a child, and understood no better. For he was ever so smiling, cheerful, and in perfect good humour, that it might be truly verified of him, as it was once of Heliodorus,* *gravitatem morum hilaritæ frontis temperabat.* But these things were obvious, and I dwel no longer on them: there are yet better behind; and those are, his early piety, and how ripe he was for God. Never did this child lye in bed (by his good will) longer than six or seven, winter or summer; and the first thing he did (being up) was to say his French prayers, and

* Hierom.

our Church Catechism; after breakfast that short Latine prayer, which having encountred at the beginning of our Lillie's Grammar, he had learned by heart, without any knowledge or injunction of mine, and whatsoever he so committed to memory, he would never desist till he perfectly understood; yet with all this, did he no day employ above two houres at his book by my order; what he else learned was most by himselfe, without constraint or the least severity, unseene, and totally imported by his own inclination. But to return, wonderful was it to observe the chapters which himselfe would choose, and the psalmes and verses that he would apply upon occasions, and as in particular he did to some that were sick in my family a little before him, bidding them to consider the sufferings of Christ, how bitter they were, and how willingly he endured them. How frequently would he pray by himself in the day time, and procure others to joyn with him in some private corner of the house apart? The last time he was at church (which was, as I remember, at Greenwich), at his return I asked him what he brought away from the sermon; he replyed, that he had remembered two good things, *bonum gratiæ*, and *bonum gloriæ*, which expressions were indeed used, though I did not believe he had minded them.

"I should even tire you with repeating all that I might call to mind of his pertinent answers upon several occasions, one of the last whereof I will only instance. When about Christmas a kinsman of his related to us by the fire side some passages of the presumptuous fasting of certain enthusiasts about Colchester, whilst we were expressing some admiration at the passage, That, sayes the child (being upon the gentlemans knee, and, as we thought, not minding the discourse), is no such wonder, for it is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, &c.' But more to be admired was his perfect comprehension of the sacred histories in the method of our Golden Author, so as it may be truly affirmed of this child, as it was once said of Timothy*, *Quod à puero sacras literas noverat.* Nor was all this by rote only (as they term it), for that he was capable of the greater mystery of our salvation by Christ I have had many infallible indications. And when the Lords day fortnight before he died, he repeated to me our Church Catechism, he told me that he now perceived his godfathers were dis-engaged; for that since he himself did now understand what his duty was, it would be required of him, and not of them for the future. And let no man think, that when I use the term dis-engaged, it is to express the childs meaning with a fine word, for he did not only make use of such phrases himself, but would frequently in his ordinary discourse come out with such expressions as one would have admired how he came by them; but upon enquiry he would certainly have produced his authority, and either in the Bible, or some other booke, showed you the words so used. How divinely did this pious infant speake of his being weary of this troublesome world (into which he was scarcely entred), and whilst he lay sick, of his desires to goe to Heaven; that the

* 2 Tim. iii. 15.

angels might conveye him into Abrahams bosome, passionately perswading those that tended him to dye with him.; for he told them that he knew he should not live: and, really, though it were an ague which carried him from us (a disease which I least apprehended, finding him so lively in his interval), yet the day before he took his leave of us, he call'd to me, and pronounced it very soberly; Father (sayes he), you have often told me that you would give me your house, and your land, your bookes, and all your fine things; but I tell you, I shall have none of them; you will leave them all to my brother. This he spake without any provocation or passion; and it did somewhat trouble me, that I could not make him alter this conceit, which in another would be esteemed prophetick. But that I may conclude, and shew how truly jealous this child was least he should offend God in the least scruple, that very morning, not many howres before he fell into that sleepe which was his last, being in the midst of his paroxcisme, he called to me, and asked of me whether he should not offend, if in the extremity of his pain he mentioned so often the name of God calling for ease; and whether God would accept his prayers if he did not hold his hands out of bed in the posture of praying? which when I had pacified him about, he prayed, till his prayers were turned into eternal praises. Thus ended your nephew, being but five years five monthes and three dayes old, and more I could still say. *Nam quem corpore non valemus recordatione teneamus, et cum quo loqui non possumus de eo loqui nunquam desinamus.* But my tears mingle so fast with my inke, that I must breake off here, and be silent—I end therefore with that blessed Saint: *Munera tua tibi confiteor, Domine Deus meus, Creator omnium, multum potens reformare nostra deformia: nam ego in illo puero, præter delictum nihil habebam. Quod enim enutriebatur à nobis in disciplinâ tuâ. Tu inspira veras nobis, nullus alius. Munera tua tibi confiteor.—Cito de terra abstulisti vitam ejus, et securior eum recordor.* Deare Brothers, indulge me these excesses. It is not a new thing which I doe. St Hierom wrote divers Epistles, which he inscribed his Epitaphs; and never was a Paula or Estochium dearer to him than this young nephew was to,

" Dear B. B.

" Your most affectionate brother and most humble servant,

J. E.

" Grot. ad Patrem.

" *Carere liberis durum non est, nisi his qui habuerunt.*"

The triumph of Christianity over the world, the balm which it pours into the rankest wounds, the consolation which it sheds on the severest sufferings, ("for most truly," does Evelyn say, "of all the afflictions which can touch the heart in this life, one of the most superlative is the loss of a hopeful child,") were never more fully exhibited than in the brief and simple expressions of submission to Heaven which may be found in the earlier part of this incomparable Epistle,—"Let us make our children fit for God, and then let us not be displeased whensoever he takes them from us. *Deus*

nobis illos educandos non mancipio dederat." "These topics," he goes on to say, speaking of the moral aphorisms of the Greek and Roman sages, "are most of them derived from Philosophy, the pride and courage of another institution, and afford us but uncertain consolation in the wiser estimate of things,"—"there being nothing capable truly to compose the mind of a good man for the absence of his friend or of his child, like the contemplation of his undoubted felicity." In what powerful contrast do these holy breathings stand with the feeble and querulous cowardice of mourning which prompted the heathen orator to blame himself because he had not sought relief in suicide, and to employ his gift of eloquence only in railing against Heaven! Hear him speaking of his *impia vivacitas*, asking *quis in me est alius usus vocis quam ut incusem Deos, superstes omnium meorum?* accusing himself, because he continued to live as, *dignus his cruciatibus quos fero;* and summing up his lamentation by a condensed and pointed apophthegm, which might furnish his disciples with an excuse for self-destruction. *Nemo nisi sud culpâ diu dolet.* Look at these two pictures and then doubt, if you can, whether our blessed Lord hath in truth plucked the sting from Death, and won the victory from the Grave!

A *Character of England* which Evelyn had first published in 1651, under the assumed form of a translation from the French, had been thought to treat the faults and foibles of our country with too severe a hand, and it was coarsely and bitterly censured in an anonymous reply entitled *Gallus Castratus.* Both these Tracts, which are exceedingly scarce, are now reprinted. The last deserves little notice. In that of Evelyn we fear the portrait is by no means overcharged. He touches upon the rudeness of the lower orders to foreigners, on the poverty of our public buildings, on the irreverence of sectarian worship, on the insipid, tedious, immethodical, affected and mysterious prayers of the Presbyterians, the canting, whining gibberish of their sermons, consisting of speculative and abstracted notions of things, which neither the people nor themselves well understand; on their extraordinary length and Pharisaical repetition; on the want of distinction of habit in their Ministers, who, as he truly says, when they lay by their cloaks have "more the action of a thrasher than of a divine." No catechism, no administration of Sacraments, little notice of the Lord's prayer, none of the Creed and Decalogue which are considered "milke for babes and they are all giants," but "the religion of England is preaching and sitting still on Sundays." He condemns also those abuses which are still, even now, sanctioned among us, and which we fear are too inveterately rooted to admit of remedy. The entire closing of the church doors on

week days, and the impounding of the congregation in pews. He then passes on from the Tryers to the Independents whom he terms "a refined and apostate sort of Presbyters:"—

"Or, rather such as renounce all ordination, as who having preached promiscuously to the people, and cunningly ensnared a select number of rich and ignorant proselytes, separate themselves into conventicles, which they name congregations. There is nothing does more resemble this sect than our Romish Missionaries sent out *in partibus infidelium;* for they take all other Christians to be Heathens. These are those pretenders to the Spirit, into whose party do's the vilest person living no sooner adscribe himself, but he is, *ipso facto*, dub'd a saint, hallow'd and dear to God. These are the confidents who can design the minute, the place, and the means of their conversion; a schism full of spiritual disdain, incharity, and high imposture, if any such there be on earth."—p. 155.

And after these he names "the Anabaptists, Quakers and Fifth Monarchy men, and a cento of unheard of heresies besides, which at present deform the once renounced church of England."

Smoke, beer, and tobacco are among his next abominations. "I have been in a spacious church," he says, "where I could not discern the minister for the smoak, nor hear him for the people's barking." Ladies suffer themselves to be treated in taverns, "drink their crowned cups roundly, daunce after the fiddle, kiss freely, and tearm it an honourable treat." In the evening the men drink, the women game, brawls are not uncommon in private houses, and if conversation at all takes place, it is in separate *coteries* of each sex by itself.

Two circumstances of those times we do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere. A dancing master generally opened the ball in private houses, and "performed" the greatest part of it with the ladies, while the gentlemen looked on as idle spectators; and Hyde Park during the usurpation of the Commonwealth, was sold to a beggarly individual, who took toll from all persons who exercised in it. Spring-gardens, which appears to have been a sort of Vauxhall, was pleasing in itself from the "solemness of the grove and the warbling of the birds," but the company walked too quick to please the taste of the assumed Frenchman, who assures his friend that he does not think there is "a more illustrious sight in the world, than to meet the divinities of our Court, marching up the long walks in the Thuilleries, where the pace is so stayed and grave, the encounters so regular and decent." In England, on the contrary, every thing is in rapid motion—"All Englishmen ride so fast on the road, that you would swear there were some enemie in the ariere, and all the coaches in London seem to drive for midwives."

In the same year also, Evelyn again drew his pen in the Royal cause with his customary boldness, at a time when it was still a capital offence even to speak in favour of the dethroned family. His *Apology for the Royal Party* was three times printed within the year of its publication. It was followed in 1660, by another political pamphlet, *The Late News from Brussels Unmasked*, which he rose from a sick bed to write, while attended by three physicians who considered his recovery doubtful. This Tract was an answer to Marchmont Needham, who had put together a low and virulent attack upon the King, in a pamphlet describing the principal characters of the exiled Court, and pretending to be written by a person in close attendance on the person of the Monarch.

On the King's return, Evelyn received a most gracious message from the Royal lips. The effect of the Restoration upon his mind is powerfully described in a single sentence, "I stood in the Strand, and beheld it, and blessed God." The King received him in a distinguished manner at Court, called him his old acquaintance, and offered him the Order of the Bath, which honour however Evelyn declined.

In 1661, was published by the King's command, *Fumifugium, or the Inconvenience of the Aer and Smoak of London dissipated, together with some remedies humbly proposed, &c.* Charles it seems was so struck with the evils herein noticed, and approved so well of Evelyn's suggestions, that he instructed him to prepare a Bill for the next Session of Parliament to carry part of them into effect. Nothing however was done: and it was reserved for Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor to commence a reform which has been highly beneficial, as far as he has been allowed to proceed, and which we sincerely hope to find him advancing much further.

The first circumstance which attracted Evelyn's attention to this curse of London was his perceiving while walking in Whitehall, "a presumptuous smoak issuing from one or two tunnels neer Northumberland-house," a princely residence, which, we believe, at the present moment, would readily compound for half a dozen such nuisances, if it could be secured against the creation of more. This "hellish and dismall cloud of sea-coal," which hovers above the whole metropolis, corrupts the lungs, and disorders all habits, by its fuliginous and filthy vapour; so that there are more cathars, phthisicks, coughs, and consumptions raging in London, than on the whole earth besides; and that it resembles the face rather of Mount Etna, the court of Vulcan, Stromboli, or the suburbs of Hell, than an assembly of rational creatures, and the Court of an incomparable Monarch.

The sure remedy which Evelyn suggests, and which assuredly might, in some degree, be administered, is the formation of a *Transtiberine* district, at a competent distance from town, within which all noxious and offensive factories, as those of brewers, dyers, soap and salt boilers, lime burners, *cum multis aliis*, should be confined. The point which he proposes for the concentration of smoke is down the river, five or six miles from London, beyond the promontory which shelters Greenwich from the Plumstead marshes, a pestilent and uliginous spot, which no doubt would, in turn, be corrected and ameliorated, by this increase of artificial heat. Tallow-chandlers and butchers, with the long train of abominations which they occasion, by their meltings and slaughterings, should join this ill-favoured colony, and London would then be freed from much, which, in spite of a just pretence to superiority in internal national cleanliness, excites the surprise and disgust of the foreigner, who nevertheless snuffs up the savour of his own personal and domestic dirtiness with unreluctant complacency.

The third part of this Tract proposes a fanciful improvement, the mention of which we are almost tempted to omit, lest it should weaken the former and more practicable suggestions. It is no other than to plant all the low grounds circumjacent to London with such shrubs as yield the most fragrant and odoriferous flowers. Evelyn is now fairly on his *hobby*, and he revels through a page and a half in more aromatics than Eden itself produced. Our sense of smelling is saturated with his *copia narium*, with the sweetbrier, the periclymenas and woodbines, the common, white, and yellow jessamine, with the syringas or pipe trees, the guelder rose, the musk and all other roses; the genesta hispanica, rubus odoratus, bayes, juniper, lignum vitæ, lavender, and rosemary; the sweet smelling sally, and the blossom of the tilia or lime tree: then again succeed pinks, cloves, carnations, stock-gilly flowers, primroses, auriculas, and violets; cowslips, lilies, narcissuses, and strawberries; parietaria lutea, musk, lemon, and mastic; thyme, spike, cammomile, balm, mint, marjoram, pempernel, and serpillum. Who can even read of these ravishing and delicious odours, without a desire to apply to the paring knife of Taliacotius, not for a supplemental but for a transcendental snout! without secret encouragement of that wish which the epigrammatist expressed to his friend Fabullus, that the gods would bless him with a totality of nose! "And this," Evelyn says in his peroration, "is what (in short) I had to offer for the improvement and melioration of the Aer about London, and with which I shall conclude this discourse."

The *Sculptura* next finds its place, and as the reprints of this Essay, in 1765 and 1769, have made it generally accessible, there

was, we think, little reason for incorporating it in this volume; which, on the same principle, if its limits would enclose them, might have been made to infold the *Sylva* and *Pomona*. If this is an error of *commission*, we hold that there are yet others of omission. The versions of Roland Freart's *Parallel between Ancient and Modern Architecture*, and of the *Mysterie of Jesuitism*, are neither of them given; because, as the Preface expressly states, they are not original works: a reason which might have equally excluded the tract on *Liberty and Servitude*, and the *Golden Book of St. Chrysostom*.

To the third edition of Freart's *Parallel*, in 1697, was appended an *Account of Architects and Architecture*, by Evelyn himself. From this we learn that he was no friend to Gothic architecture. After condemning the "slender and misguine pillars, or rather bundles of staves," and the "pondrous arched roofs without entablature," which distinguish the earlier remains of this style, he passes on to the "sharp angles, jetties, narrow lights, bare statues, lace; and other cut-work, and crinkle crankle," which mark the florid style in Henry VIIth's chapel. It seems to have been supposed, in the days of Evelyn, that no man of sound taste could approve both a Grecian and a Gothic building; and in the usual want of temperance and judgment which accompanies party spirit, even in the Arts, matters between which no comparison could be fairly instituted were eagerly compared; and the amateur of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren held himself bound in honour to condemn Mauritius and De Blois. Warton has the merit of being among the first who ventured to point out that each style had its own peculiar merits, and to vindicate the just pretensions to admiration possessed by our chief religious structures.

The *Kalendarium Hortense, or Gard'ner's Almanack*, has had the fortune of being the most popular among Evelyn's works. From its first appearance, in 1664, to its reprint in 1706, it had passed through ten impressions; and it appears, in truth, to contain very excellent instructions for the exact education of asparagus and spinach, cabbages, cucumbers, and currants.

But the most singular composition in which Evelyn ever embarked, was occasioned by a work of Sir George Mackenzie, of Rosehaugh, King's Advocate for Scotland, entitled *A Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to public Employment, and all its Appendages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Pleasures, Conversation, &c.* 1665. The doctrine here espoused, it might have been thought, would be peculiarly agreeable to Evelyn's taste and feelings; for although his own writings were, for the most part, practical, and all directed to

the benefit of Society, his course of life was purely contemplative; and if not recluse, at least was not public. Nevertheless, on this occasion, he adopted an opinion opposite to that espoused by Mackenzie; and probably more after the manner of an exercise of the Schools than as intending to convey his real choice, like one *In pugnam qui Rhetorica descendit ab umbrâ*, he undertook to answer the champion of retirement (who himself, on the other hand, was successfully engaged in the busiest scenes of active life), by a Tract, *Public Employment and an Active Life, with all its Appendages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Conversation, &c. preferred to Solitude*, 1667. This controversy was conducted with spirit, but, at the same time, with all the chivalrous courtesy which a trial of arms with pointless lances might be supposed to demand. The opponents mutually exchanged complimentary cartels, each affected to prefer his adversary's exploits to his own, and each rested more upon the merits of the cause itself which he maintained, than of the arm by which it was supported.

Differing as we do from Evelyn, in his main position, and believing that the question which he dismisses for all men at once, by general arguments, must be decided for each individual separately, by reference to his temper and talents, we still think, that there are few publications in which he has been more happy in occasional passages, than in this little Tract. It is not to Diocletian, nor to the Fifth Charles, nor to Christina, that the reader need look for an exemplification of the following assertion. There are heads below a Crown, to which his memory will tell him it belongs: but we cite it less for this purpose than as a proof of the elegance of the author's style:—

"Verily there is more of ambition and empty glory in some solitudes, and affected retreats, than in the most exposed and conspicuous actions whatsoever. Ambition is not only in public places, and pompous circumstances, but at home, and in the interior life; heremits themselves are not recluse enough to seclude that subtle spirit—vanity: * *Gloriari otio iners ambitio est*: 'tis a most idle ambition to vaunt of idleness, and but a meer boast to lie concealed too apparently, since it does but proclaim a desire of being observed. Wouldst thou be indeed retir'd, says the philosopher, let no man know it. Ambition is never buried; repress'd it may be, not extinguish'd."—pp. 511-12.

"Princes," he says soon after, "are shepherds, whose function it is not to play all day on the pipe, and make love to Amaryllis (did he borrow this from Lycidas, 'and sport with Amarillis in the shade?'), but to attend to the good of their people." Well were

* Sen. Ep. 78.

it for Princes if this admirable commentary had always been appended to the Homeric ποιμένα Λαῶν: a commentary which shows how free from servility and adulation was the attached and devoted loyalty of Evelyn.

The pair of pictures with which this essay is summed up deserve extraction :—

"Let us therefore rather celebrate public employment and an active life, which renders us so nearly ally'd to virtue, defines and maintains our being, supports society, preserves kingdoms in peace, protects them in war; has discover'd new worlds, planted the gospel, encreases knowledge, cultivates arts, relieves the afflicted; and in sum, without which the whole universe itself had still been but a rude and indigested chaös. Or if (to vie landskips with our Celador) you had rather see it represented in picture, behold here a sovereign sitting in his august assembly of parliament enacting wholesome laws; next him my Lord Chancellor and the rest of the reverend judges and magistrates dispensing them for the good of the people; figure to yourself a secretary of state, making his dispatches and receiving intelligence; a statesman countermining some pernicious plot against the commonwealth; here a general bravely embattailing his forces and vanquishing an enemy; there a colony planting an island, and a barbarous and solitary nation reduc'd to civility; cities, houses, forts, ships, building for society, shelter, defence, and commerce. In another table, the poor relieved and set to work, the naked clad, the oppress'd deliver'd, the malefactor punish'd, the labourer busied, and the whole world employed for the benefit of mankind. In a word, behold him in the nearest resemblance to his almighty maker, always in action, and always doing good.

"On the reverse, now represent to yourself, the goodliest piece of the creation, sitting on a cushion picking his teeth; his country-gentleman taking tobacco, and sleeping after a gorgeous meal; there walks a contemplator, like a ghost in a church-yard, or sits poring on a book whilst his family starves; here lies a gallant at the feet of his pretty female, sighing and looking babies in her eyes, whilst she is reading the last new romance, and laughs at his folly; on yonder rock an anchorite at his beads; there one picking daisies, another playing at push-pin, and abroad the young potcher with his dog and kite, breaking his neighbours' hedges or trampling o'er his corn for a bird not worth sixpence: this sits basking himself in the sun, that quivering in the cold; here one drinks poyson, another hangs himself; for all these, and a thousand more, seem to prefer solitude and an inactive life as the most happy and eligible state of it. And thus have you land-skip for your land-skip."—pp. 551-2.

The History of the three late famous Impostors, &c. 1669, is an interesting and entertaining account of personages whose memory has now evaporated. The first, Padre Ottomano, was the child of a beautiful slave, whom the chief eunuch of Sultan

Ibrahim introduced into the seraglio, in 1643, as nurse to the young Mohammed, his son. Ibrahim lavished such marks of affection on this child, (who nevertheless was born before the chief eunuch had purchased the mother,) that the Sultana became jealous, and ordered both the slave and her boy to be expelled from the seraglio. Ibrahim chose an odd revenge—in a fit of passion, he one day snatched his own son from the Sultana's arms, and very nearly drowned him in a fountain. So bitter was the hatred with which the Sultana persecuted the chief eunuch, in consequence of this outrage, that, in order to secure his personal safety, he sought, and with the utmost difficulty obtained permission to absent himself a while on a pilgrimage to Mecca; on which he carried in his retinue the beautiful slave and her boy. The vessels which conveyed them were captured by some Maltese gallies; and in the action Sciabas, the slave, (a Russian,) and the chief eunuch himself, were killed. The captors inquired the parentage of the child, and, in the hope of obtaining better quarter, the prisoners informed them that he was the son of the Sultan Ibrahim, going to Mecca for circumcision. The glory of so distinguished a prize delighted the Maltese, and was soon bruited abroad through all Europe; so that, in the end, the Knights of the Order seriously thought of proposing to the Grand Signior the exchange of his captured son for their ancient seat in Rhodes. Letters to this effect were written to Constantinople; nor was it till the year 1650, that the inquiries of a secret agent convinced them that their young *protégé*, very innocently, without any fraudulent intention on his own part, had been invested with honours not belonging to him. On the discovery of the illusion, they relinquished the ceremony with which they hitherto had treated him; and having sent him into Italy for education, in the end they converted him into a Dominican friar.

Mahomed Bey, the second hero, who was resident in England, and much noticed at the time at which Evelyn wrote, asserted himself to be John Michael Cigala, of the Imperial blood of the Ottomans. The Viscount Cigala, who was taken prisoner by the Turks in 1561, had a son Scipio, who being captured together with him, renounced the Christian faith. After this he was advanced, by Solyman the Magnificent, to the dignities of Grand Vizier, and Seraschier, or Generalissimo of the whole army; and was married to the Canou Salie Sultana herself, the daughter and the sister of the Sultan. Of this marriage Mahomed Bey was the issue, and at a fitting age he was appointed Viceroy of the Holy Land; to this post succeeded the government of Cyprus; then, in consequence of many and great military exploits, the sovereignty of Babylon, Caramania, Magnesia, and other ample territories; and lastly,

he was installed Viceroy of Trebesona, and Generalissimo of the Black Sea. Notwithstanding these glittering prizes, miracles and supernatural influences had for a long time been largely at work to convert him to Christianity; and he had, as he thought, secured a safe retreat in Moldavia, wherein he might avow his new religion. The treachery of his chief agent revealed his design, and nearly cost him his life; but happily he effected his escape, though wounded, and in piteous plight; and after a tedious flight, through unknown ways, on foot, he joined the Cossaque army, where he found three soldiers whom formerly he had freed from Turkish captivity, and who, in return, generously made his quality known to their commander. Mahomed, however, intended to profess himself at Rome; and the Cossaque, who was a heretic, could not abide the odour of Popery: so that the Prince was fain to steal away into Poland. Here the Queen received him with such distinguished honour, that he condescended to accept her Majesty as his sponsor, and to be baptized by the name of John, at the hands of the Archbishop of Warsaw, in the Metropolitan cathedral.

Loretto and Rome next received him; and on his journey back, in sight of the Imperial and Turkish armies, having offered himself as a volunteer to the first, he slew the General of the last, fighting hand to hand. The Emperor, as in duty bound, gave him presents of infinite value, and named him Guardian of his artillery. But even these honours could not prevail upon him, at the conclusion of peace, to remain at Vienna; and he continued his travels through Sicily, Calabria, Naples, the territory of the Church, and of Sardinia, till he arrived in Paris; where he was courted by the Blood Royal and Nobility, lodged in a palace, and presented with medals of the King and Queen, appended to chains of gold.

Here, also, he compiled his *Memoirs*, from which the above adventures are taken; and having dedicated them to the French King, he crossed over into England. He was at first presented at Court in the Ottoman garb, and was well received by Charles II.; till, by his evil stars, an Austrian and a Persian, both of high quality, who were acquainted with his real origin and history, accidentally meeting in London at the same time, exposed the imposture; and proved the converted Turkish Prince, and Sovereign of Trebesona, to be the son of Christian parents in Walachia, who first had turned renegade at Constantinople, and afterwards had roamed about Europe, repeating his incredible tale to all who would listen, and finding many, who, as we have seen, not only listened, but who also believed.

The third impostor was Sabatai Sevi, the son of a Jew broker at Smyrna, who set his countrymen wild, in the year 1666, by

pretending to be the Messiah; and who might, perhaps, have played a still more profitable game, if he had fixed upon England as his theatre of action. Those who have lived in the days of Joanna Southcote, and her still existing disciples, cannot be surprised at the following passage:—

"According to the predictions of several Christian writers, especially of such who comment on the Apocalyps, or Revelations, this year of 1666 was to prove a year of wonders, of strange revolutions in the world, and particularly of blessing to the Jewes, either in respect of their conversion to the Christian faith, or of their restoration to their temporal kingdome; this opinion was so dilated, and fixt in the countreys of the reformed religion, and in the heads of fanatical enthusiasts, who dreamed of a fifth monarchy, the downfall of the pope, and antichrist, and the greatness of the Jewes; in so much, that this subtle people judged this year the time to stir, and to fit their motion according to the season of the modern prophecies; whereupon strange reports flew from place to place, of the march of multitudes of people from unknown parts into the remote desarts of Arabia, supposed to be the ten tribes and halfe, loste for so many ages. That a ship was arrived in the northern parts of Scotland with her sails and cordage of silke, navigated by mariners who spake nothing but Hebrew; with this motto on their sails, the Twelve Tribes of Israel. These reportes agreeing thus near to former predictions, put the wild sort of the world into an expectation of strange accidents this year should produce in reference to the Jewish monarchy."—p. 587.

Sabatai Sevi, though troublesome, was neglected in his follies, till he talked of leading the Grand Signior himself captive in chains. The Sultan had no taste for such an exercise of spiritual power; and, sending for Sabatai, he promised to believe him on the evidence of a miracle, namely, that he should be stripped naked, and set up as a mark for archers, to prove his invulnerability. Sabatai, on this proposition, abandoned his pretensions: but this was not sufficient for the Sultan, and he offered him the choice, either of Mahomedanism or of impalement, the first of which was cheerfully accepted. The Jews were confounded to hear that their Messiah had turned Turk; and, as a last resource, they asserted with unblushing confidence, that it was the shadow only of Sabatai which remained on earth, and walked with a white head, and in the habit of a Mahometan: but that his natural body and soul were taken into heaven, there to reside until the time appointed for the accomplishment of the wonders which he had promised.

We think that Padre Ottomano is not a little ill-used by being associated as a third in this triad of impostors, for he was plainly rather an unconscious victim of the deceit of others, than a voluntary supporter of his own. The reader who wishes

for more intimate acquaintance with the two other rogues, will find Cigala's adventures detailed by Rocollas, in *Les Impostures Insignes;* and more of Sabatai Sevi, in the second part of La Croix's *Mémoires de l'Empire Ottomane.*

Navigation and Commerce, which appeared in 1674, professes to give a history of trade and discoveries, especially as they regard the English, and also to vindicate the right of the English Crown to the dominion of the sea. This was intended as an introductory chapter to a *History of the Dutch War,* which Evelyn had undertaken at the Royal command, with leave of unlimited access to State papers. By the same command he desisted, after he had advanced a considerable way towards conclusion. The stoppage, it is shrewdly conjectured, was occasioned by his unbending love of truth; for there were but few transactions in the disgraceful reign of the Second Charles which would endure narration from any pen but that of a courtly historiographer; and if there is one which can be pointed out preeminent in abomination over another, it is that one which was here committed to the honestest man of his times. The arguments by which he supports the claim of *right,* asserted by the kings of England to the dominion of the seas, may be read as a specimen of the facility with which even an upright mind may permit itself to become entangled in the maze of subtle distinction. Evelyn evidently had studied his subject; and all the learning, and all the sophistry, which had been so profusely poured out on the *mare clausum* and the *mare liberum,* was at hand and familiar to him. It was, most probably, this very erudition which prevented him from arriving at one plain and simple conclusion—that the original *right* of nations over the sea is founded on the same basis as the right of nations over the land,—the *lex fortioris,* the claim of propinquity and of power; of propinquity, which makes it easy to win; of power, which makes it equally easy to retain that which has been won.

Evelyn is said to have failed whenever he applied his talents to verse: the single specimen of his powers in this department, preserved in the volume before us, does not justify this assertion. The *Mundus Muliebris, or Lady's Dressing-room Unlock'd,* as the title itself bespeaks, does not aspire to the rank of Poetry; but it may assume a very respectable position among *Vers de Société;* and it has this paramount merit, that while treating the same theme, it has nothing, but its title, in common with the disgusting piece which passes under the name of Swift. It is curious also, as transmitting the toilet *slang* of the time; which, however little worth preserving, we know not where else to search for. The lofty head tire which was then in fashion, is described as emulating Bow Steeple, Grantham Spire, or the Septizonium at Rome;

and the ornaments of his lady's chamber, perhaps, were not forgotten by a more accomplished poet, when he sketched those of the apartment of Belinda:—

" The graceful oval and the round,
This horse tire does quite confound;
And ears like satyr, large and raw,
And bony face, and hollow jaw,
This monstrous dress does now reveal,
Which well-plac'd curls did once conceal.
Besides all these, 'tis always meant
You furnish her apartment
With Moreclack tapestry, damask bed,
Or velvet richly embroidered;
Branches, *brassero*, *cassolets*,
A *cofre-fort*, and cabinets,
Vasas of silver, porcelan, store
To set, and range about the floor:
The chimney furniture of plate
(For iron's now quite out of date);
Tea-table, skreens, trunks, and stand,
Large looking-glass, richly japann'd;
An hanging shelf, to which belongs
Romances, plays, and amorous songs;
Repeating clocks the hour to show
When to the play 'tis time to go,
In pompous coach, or else sedan'd
With equipage along the Strand,
And with her new beau fopling mann'd."

" But I had almost quite forgot
A tea and (likewise) chocolate pot,
With *molionet* and caudle cup,
Restoring breakfast to sup up;
Porcelan saucers, spoons of gold,
Dishes that refin'd sugars hold;
Pastillos di Bocca we
In box of beaten gold do see,
Inchas'd with diamonds, and tweeze
As rich and costly as all these,
To which a bunch of onyxes
And many a golden seal there dangles,
Mysterious cyphers, and new fangles.
Gold is her toothpick, gold her watch is,
And gold is every thing she touches."—pp. 707. 709.

We must confess our weakness, however, and admit at once that the Tract with which this collection is wound up, and which was the last of Evelyn's works, *Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets*, 1699, is among our chief *deliciæ*. How exquisitely is the title-

page mottoed, *ου παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστιν ἀρτῦσαι καλῶς*! how apt is the proemium in its definition! "Sallets in general consist of certain esculent plants and herbs, improv'd by culture, industry, and art of the gardener; or, as others say, they are a composition of edile plants and roots of several kinds, to be eaten raw or green, blanched or candied, simple and *per se*, or intermingl'd with others, according to the season!" how laboriously does the body of the work enumerate the seventy-three materials which may be mingled with the *oxelæum* of vinegar, pepper, and oil, so preferable to the *oinomelita* of Aristoxenus! How feelingly does it dilate upon the qualities necessary for a skilful *Acetarialegulist!*

"What care and circumspection should attend the choice and collection of sallet herbs has been partly shew'd. I can therefore by no means approve of that extravagant fancy of some, who tell us, that a fool is as fit to be the gatherer of a sallet as a wiser man; because, say they, one can hardly choose amiss, provided the plants be green, young, and tender, where-ever they meet with them. But sad experience shews how many fatal mistakes have been committed by those who took the deadly *cicutæ*, hemlocks, aconits, &c. for garden persley and parsneps; the *myrrhis sylvestris*, or cow-weed, for *chærophilium* (chervil); *thapsia* for fennel; the wild *chondrilla* for succory; dogs-mercury instead of spinach; *papaver corniculatum luteum*, and horn'd poppy, for eringo; *œnanthe aquatica* for the palustral apium, and a world more, whose dire effects have been many times sudden death, and the cause of mortal accidents to those who have eaten of them unwittingly."—p. 760.

To which fearful catalogue may be added, the nameless venomous weed of which Mr. Stafford gravely assures us, (Phil. Trans. III. xi. p. 794,) "I have seen a man who was so poyson'd with it, that the skin peel'd off his face, and yet he never touch'd it, onely looked on it as he pass'd by." Again, what enthusiasm for the science is displayed in the following passages!—

"We have said how necessary it is, that in the composure of a sallet every plant should come in to bear its part, without being overpower'd by some herb of a stronger taste, so as to endanger the native sapor and vertue of the rest, but fall into their places, like the notes in music, in which there should be nothing harsh or grating: and tho' admitting some discords (to distinguish and illustrate the rest) striking in the more sprightly, and sometimes gentler notes, reconcile all dissonancies, and melt them into an agreeable composition."—p. 763.

"From all which it appears, that a wise man is the proper composer of an excellent sallet, and how many transcendencies belong to an accomplish'd sallet-dresser, so as to emerge an exact critic indeed. He should be skill'd in the degrees, terms, and various species of

tastes, according to the scheme set us down in the tables of the learned Dr. Grew,* to which I refer the curious."—p.764.

Would that we had room to transcribe at length the nine golden rules for dressing, without the study of which no man can ever hope even to contemplate in his mind's eye the *beau ideal* of a sallet! I. Of the culling, cleansing, washing, and dressing.—II. Of the pallid olive greenness and the tastelessness of the oil.—III. Of the distill'd, aromatiz'd, or impregnated vinegar.—IV. Of the detersive, penetrating, quickening bay-salt.—V. Of the sound, weighty, sifted, and winnowed mustard flour, tempered to the consistence of pap.—VI. Of the strewings of pepper, not bruised to too small a dust.—VII. Of the yolks of new-laid eggs, mingled and mashed.—VIII. Of the silver knife disdaining all metallic relish.—IX. And last, of the porcelain *saladiere*, neither too deep nor shallow. We cannot bring ourselves to omit any portion of the receipt for the liquor, in which this food for the Gods is finally to swim:—

"Your herbs being handsomely parcell'd, and spread on a clean napkin before you, are to be mingl'd together in one of the earthen glaz'd dishes. Then, for the Oxoleon; take of clear, and perfectly good oyl-olive, three parts; of sharpest vinegar (sweetest of all condiments †), limon or juice of orange, one part; and therein let steep some slices of horse-radish, with a little salt. Some in a separate vinegar, gently bruise a pod of Guinny-pepper, straining both the vinegars apart, to make use of either, or one alone, or of both, as they best like; then add as much Tewkesbury, or other dry mustard grated, as will lie upon an half-crown piece. Beat and mingle all these very well together; but pour not on the oyl and vinegar 'till immediately before the sallet is ready to be eaten; and then with the yolk of two new-laid eggs (boyl'd and prepar'd, as before is taught), squash and bruise them all into mash with a spoon; and lastly, pour it all upon the herbs, stirring and mingling them till they are well and throughly imbib'd; not forgetting the sprinkling of aromaticks, and such flowers as we have already mentioned, if you think fit, and garnishing the dish with the thin slices of horse-radish, red beet, berberries, &c.

"Note, That the liquids may be made more or less acid, as is most agreeable to your taste.

"These rules and prescriptions duly observed, you have a sallet (for a table of six or eight persons) dress'd and accommodated, *secundum artem*."—p. 744.

* Dr. Grew, Lecture vi. chap. 2, 3, read before the Royal Society.

† For so some pronounce it. V. Athenæum, Deip. Lib. ii. cap. 26. ἥδυσμα, perhaps for that it incites appetite, and causes hunger, which is the best sauce.

And here we must pause; loth, indeed, not to dilate upon the remaining discourse on the wholesomeness of sallets; on the authorities to be found for their use among the Chaldæans, the Assyrians, and the Arabians; on the probability of their having been the diet of the Antediluvians, as they certainly were of the Bramins and Gymnosophists, and of the Platonists and Pythagoreans; of Xenocrates, Polemon, Zeno, Archinomus, Phraartes, and Chiron; and, finally, on the brutality and impiety of the aimatophagy of the Occidental Blood-eaters. All these tempting topics we are compelled to fly from, with many a lingering look; conscious that we have occupied a large, though by no means an undue, space, in affording our readers some *gusto* of a volume, upon which they may venture to make many a hearty meal.

ART. III.—*The Harmony of the Law and the Gospel, with regard to the Doctrine of a Future State.* By Thomas William Lancaster, M.A. Vicar of Banbury, and formerly Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Parker, Oxford; and Rivingtons, London, 1825. pp. 470.

"*A propos des dieux,*" says Gibbon, in the second volume of his miscellaneous works, "I remark in Juvenal that indecision, with respect to the gods, which is so common among the ancients. This moment, nothing can be more pious and philosophical than his resignation and faith; the next, our own wisdom is sufficient for us, and prudence alone supplies the place of all the deities." The same indecision and the same inconsistency are still always observable in those who reject the light of revelation. Thus the infidel Bolingbroke, at one time, declares, "I receive with joy the expectations which the prospect of immortality raises in my mind,—and the ancient and modern Epicureans provoke my indignation when they boast, as a mighty acquisition, their pretended certainty that the body and soul die together. If they had this certainty, could this discovery be so very comfortable? I should have no difficulty which to choose, if the option were proposed to me, to exist after death, or to die whole."* At another time, he speaks of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, as "*invented* by the ancient theists, philosophers, and legislators, to give an additional strength to the sanctions of the law of nature, and indebted for its reception to the predominant pride of man; since

* Vol. v. p. 491.

every one was flattered by a system, that raised him in imagination above corporeal nature, and made him hope to pass an immortality in the fellowship of the gods."* He asserts, that "reason will neither affirm nor deny a future state," and that "it cannot decide for it on principles of natural theology;"† that "it was originally an hypothesis, and may therefore be a vulgar error, taken upon trust by the people, till it came to be disputed and denied by such as did examine;"‡ that "there is not any thing, philosophically speaking, which obliges us to conclude that we are compounded of material and immaterial substance;"§ that "it neither has been, nor can be proved, that the soul is a distinct substance united to the body;" that "when we are dead all these (intellectual) faculties die with us;" that "it might as reasonably be said, we shall walk eternally, as think eternally;"‖ and that all the phenomena from our birth to our death seem repugnant to the immateriality and immortality of the soul; so that he is forced to conclude with Lucretius:—

> —"Gigni pariter cum compore, et una
> Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem."¶

Nevertheless, out of sheer hatred to revelation, he urges it as a decisive argument against the divine original of the law of Moses, that he makes no express mention of future rewards and punishments, and uses no motive to induce the people to a strict observation of it, of a higher nature than promises of immediate good, and threatenings of immediate evil; whence he concludes, that "it is absurd, as well as improper, to ascribe these Mosaical laws to God. Whether Moses had learnt among the schools of Egypt this doctrine, (of another life, wherein the crimes committed in this life are to be punished,) cannot," he says, "be determined; but this may be advanced with assurance: If Moses knew that crimes, and therefore idolatry, one of the greatest, were to be punished in another life, he deceived the people in the covenant they made by his intervention with God. If he did not know it, I say it with horror, the consequence, according to the hypothesis I oppose, must be, that God deceived both him and them. In either case, a covenant or bargain was made, wherein the conditions of obedience and disobedience were not fully, nor by consequence fairly, stated; the Israelites had better things to hope, and worse to fear, than those that were expressed in it. And their whole history seems to show how much need they had of these additional motives to restrain them from polytheism and

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* Vol. v. p. 228. Ibid. p. 237. † Ibid. p. 322. ‡ Ibid. p. 352.
§ Vol. iii. p. 363. ‖ Ibid. p. 516. et seq. ¶ Ibid. p. 557.

idolatry, and to answer the assumed purpose of divine providence."*

These objections, though they came with a very ill grace from one who affirmed that the law of nature, (which he every where extols as bearing sufficient proofs of its divine original,) employs only temporal sanctions, and such as affect nations collectively, and not men individually, are, it must be acknowledged, extremely plausible, and present us with an apparent difficulty; for natural religion itself, which teaches us the unchangeable goodness of the Deity, and the indispensable necessity of a future state of retribution to deter men from a vicious course of life, to support them in the practice of virtue, and to compensate for the unequal distribution of good and evil in this world, leads us, it may seem, to expect, that the knowledge of a truth which, in every age, is equally necessary to individual happiness and the well-being of society, should in every age have been discovered to mankind with the fullest assurance of revelation. Cooler reasoners will discover at a glance the gross fallacy which this argument involves. To the infidel it seemed unanswerable. But whilst the deists were glorying in the impregnable position which their leader had chosen, there appeared a champion in the camp of Israel who boldly met him on his own ground, and maintained with equal confidence, and far superior powers, that the omission in the Mosaic law of the sanctions of a future state, afforded in itself a direct and decisive proof of its divine origin; for if the doctrine of a future state of retribution is so necessary to the well-being of civil society, that whatever religions or societies have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence, the conclusion is inevitable, that the Mosaic dispensation, which confessedly wanted this support, must have been supported by extraordinary interpositions of divine power, and, consequently, must have had a divine original. Such is the position which Warburton undertook to maintain in his immortal work, "The Divine Legation of Moses;" where, in removing the objections that lay in his way, he was obliged to stretch the inquiry so high and wide, that men of feebler minds, who were unable to follow him, affected to acquire the praise of judgment and consistency, by condemning his love of paradox, his dogmatical boldness, and the strong but devious flight with which he swept through the boundless regions of science and learning:—

τρόπον ἀιγυπιῶν, ὅτ', ἐκπατίοις
ἄλγεσι παίδων, ὕπατοι λεχέων
στροφοδινοῦνται,

* Vol. v. p. 195.

πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,
δεμνιοτήρη
πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες.*

Of this stupendous work, which will continue to the end of time to occupy a most conspicuous station amongst the noblest monuments of human wit, such is the immensity of the plan that ordinary readers are scarcely able to comprehend the proposed coherence and union of its parts; nor, whilst they are forced to admire the exuberance of learning, and the indomitable vigour of original genius, which so profusely break forth in Warburton's delightful dissertations on the Eleusinian mysteries, and the Egyptian hieroglyphics, can they perceive in what possible way these most profound and fascinating essays could have been made conducive to his great purpose of proving the divine origin of the Mosaic law. Had the author completed his original design, these pigmy cavillers might, perhaps, have acknowledged, that "throughout the body of his discourse, every former part was so contrived as to give strength to all that follow, and every latter to bring some light to all before;" and, ashamed of their former prejudices, have run, as such are wont to do, into the opposite extreme, and blindly admired the wildest aberrations and exorbitances of his mighty mind.

But, with respect to this wonderful man, prejudice and partiality are now alike at rest; and the work before us abundantly evinces, that the period is arrived in which other voyagers on the same vast ocean, in pursuing the track of this daring adventurer, may avail themselves of all his discoveries, and yet avoid the rocks and shoals on which his safety was so often endangered. It has been truly said of Warburton, that he appears to have read the works of others, not so much for the sake of profiting by their assistance, as that he might be certain of avoiding the beaten path, and striking out into some unknown and unexplored region. Somewhat of this tendency we have observed in Mr. Lancaster; for, though his good sense has taught him to avoid the most plausible of Warburton's errors, the desire to appear original on an exhausted subject has sometimes led him into untenable positions. His paradoxes, indeed, are less violent; but it must also be acknowledged that he shows less ingenuity in maintaining them. Nevertheless, the "Harmony of the Law and the Gospel," though it can by no means pretend to rival the unequalled and gigantic powers which are displayed in the "Divine Legation," is creditable to Mr. Lancaster both as a Christian and a scholar: it contains a strong and perspicuous statement of the great truths

* Æschyl. Agam. 49—54.

of the Christian religion; it abounds in various learning; has some specimens of acute and original criticism; and, we need hardly say, is entirely exempt from that coarseness of invective, and that propensity to sarcasm, which sometimes led Warburton to the very verge of brutality and impiety; qualities which could not have been tolerated in a professed satirist, and which were but more conspicuously misplaced in the graver pages of the theologian.

In Chap. I., it being first assumed, as a fact incapable of reasonable dispute, that future rewards and punishments do not form the subjects of direct and explicit revelation in the books of Moses, the subject of inquiry is clearly stated:—

"The volume of holy Scripture unfolds to the knowledge of mankind a wonderful scheme of redemption, which has been appointed by God as the means of their deliverance from the penalties incurred by sin. This scheme is represented to have taken its rise immediately after the first transgression, and to have received its accomplishment in the publication of the gospel. Its beginning, the progressive stages of its advancement, and its completion, are discovered to us in many successive revelations, which have been, at different periods extending through a long tract of time, communicated to the world by men divinely inspired and authorized.

"Whatever variety may exist as to the time and circumstances of these several communications, it may reasonably be expected, that they should all agree in their reference to one great design of benevolence to the human race. And this expectation will not be disappointed by an examination of the holy Scriptures; provided that such examination be conducted with that attention, that candour, and that deep humility, which are justly due from a creature in contemplating the ways and counsels of the all-wise and perfect Governor of the world. The reference for which we contend may not, indeed, on a separate consideration of each distinct portion of these writings, be always equally manifest; but the truth of the principle will be readily acknowledged, if we bear in mind, as we ought to do, that every revelation of the divine will which is therein recorded, however partial and restricted in its primary aspect, is to be regarded as having a connection, nearer or more remote, with that comprehensive purpose of mercy to fallen man which was to receive its completion in the gospel."—pp. 1-2.

As the several revelations which have been made from God to man have all, confessedly, the same benevolent design, we might expect, that however they might be diversified, as to the time or mode in which they were imparted, they would be at all times perfectly uniform as to the matter, degree, and extent of the knowledge conveyed. Here then arises a question: Why were those clear assurances of a future state, which are afforded to

Christians under the Gospel, withheld in the law of Moses from the chosen people of God? The answer to this inquiry forms the proper subject of the present work. Before he enters directly on his proposed task, there are two observations, however, which Mr. Lancaster thinks it right to premise:—

"My first observation is, that nothing is here assumed respecting the silence of the Mosaic code on the subject of a future life, further than the absence of all express declaration on that head. Explicit declaration is only one out of a great variety of modes by which truth may be made known. That a future state is not thus directly taught in the Pentateuch, is all that is at present asserted as the groundwork of the argument which is to follow. Whether this important doctrine may be gathered in the way of inference from the Mosaic writings; whether those writings were designed to favour such an inference, and to cherish the hope of a triumph over the grave; these are points which will properly offer themselves for discussion in the progress of our inquiry.

"Secondly, We shall consider as separate parts of one entire dispensation, all those various revelations contained in holy Scripture, in which God at sundry times and in divers manners hath spoken to the world, from the fall of our first parents, down to the sealing up of the vision and prophecy under the Messiah. At the same time, it forms no part of the design of this inquiry to take in the whole scheme of revealed religion: its object being limited to a particular provision of the Mosaic law, for the purpose of illustrating the wisdom of that provision in its adjustment and adaptation to the general plan of which it forms a part. The scheme of man's redemption will be contemplated as it is set forth in holy writ; and nothing further is proposed, than to prove, from a general view of this mysterious economy, that the specific point selected for consideration, is perfectly consistent with the design of the whole, wisely adapted to promote its success, and perfectly agreeable to the divine attributes of goodness and mercy. If any thing further should be offered, it will be only incidentally, as occasion may happen in the course of our inquiry to suggest reflections, tending to vindicate the ways of Providence, to strengthen the obligations of piety and gratitude, and to silence the cavils of ignorance and presumption."—pp. 5-6.

Chap. II. contains the "*Reasons why the Doctrine of a Future State is not expressly taught in the Law of Moses.*" Since the whole system of divine revelation forms one entire dispensation, which has received its full developement in the Gospel when we inquire why the knowledge of a future state afforded to the Israelites was, for many ages, so indistinct, it is evident, that we ought not to consider the subject simply as it affected that single people, but as having an ulterior reference to that glorious scheme of universal redemption, which, in the fulness of time God had

decreed to accomplish: or, that we may state it in the words of Warburton: "The Patriarchal, the Jewish, and the Christian religions, all professed to come from the only one God, the Creator of all things. Now, as the whole race of mankind must be the common object of its Creator's care, all his revelations, even those given only to a part, must needs be thought ultimately directed to the interests of the whole: consequently, every later revelation must suppose the truth of the preceding. Again, when several successive revelations are given by him, some less, some more extensive, we must conclude them to be the parts of ONE ENTIRE DISPENSATION; which, for reasons best known to infinite Wisdom, are gradually enlarged and opened: consequently, every later must not only suppose the *truth* of every preceding revelation, but likewise their mutual *relation* and *dependency*."* That *the atonement of Christ is the only warrantable foundation on which a human creature can establish his hopes respecting a future life* is justly stated by Mr. Lancaster to be the great fundamental principle of pure Christianity; whence he argues, that any explicit declarations respecting the felicity which is prepared for the faithful in a future state would have been premature, if they had been conveyed before the performance of that meritorious sacrifice; or, at least, before a distinct explanation had been furnished to mankind of the only ground on which they could entertain any well-founded hopes relating to another world. In a subsequent part of the work, (pp. 338-340,) a very sufficient reason is given, why the *mode* of human redemption was not distinctly revealed; viz. that such an explicit discovery would have defeated its own purpose; men would not have dared to put to death Him whom they recognised as the Son of God, the promised Redeemer of the world. The Israelites, who lived under the law, might derive from it a *general* faith in the Messiah, but could not frame any distinct conception of the peculiar nature of that great atonement, by which the sins of the faithful were to be expiated. Under these circumstances, a promise of immortal life, *conveyed in* the law, would have been understood as a promise *annexed to the observance* of the law; and, consequently, obedience to that law would have been regarded as constituting a meritorious title to eternal life.

On the supposition, that the promise of life and immortality, which have been "brought to light through the gospel,"† were not, what it now is, the peculiar distinction of the evangelical covenant, but had been a mere repetition of a promise already given in the law, Christianity, Mr. Lancaster justly argues,

* Div. Leg. b. 5. sect. 2. vol. iii. p. 37. ed. 1788. † 2 Tim. i. 10.

would have been robbed of that very attraction which chiefly recommended it to the hearts of its early converts; and the Jews would have been confirmed in all their prejudices respecting the excellency and sufficiency of the Mosaic dispensation, if their law, which, being weak, was unable to *give* everlasting life, had nevertheless *plainly assured* them of it. But—

"It is to be remembered, that the ancient people of Israel are not the only persons whose welfare is involved in this question. The Mosaic code was destined to form a standard portion of the volume of inspiration, for the perpetual instruction and edification of mankind in general,* after its ceremonial and political enactments had been abrogated in favour of a more perfect and comprehensive dispensation. What now, in its influence on the general welfare of man, must have been the consequence of introducing into it any positive declarations respecting a future state? What effect would thus have been produced on the religious sentiments of those who should in after-ages embrace the Gospel? Would it not have led them to contemplate a legal obedience as the ground of justification? When it was discovered, that a promise of everlasting happiness had been conveyed by the divine law to those ages and generations to whom the manner of our redemption was a mystery, would it not have been difficult to persuade men, that the merits and sacrifice of Christ are the only just foundation of their hopes respecting a future state? Would not they have been prone to overlook the connection which subsists between the cross of Christ and their own salvation? There are those who deny the necessity and efficacy of an atonement as the means of reconciliation between God and man. Would not such opinions have enjoyed, on our present supposition, a show of countenance and support from Scripture, of which they are now destitute?"—pp. 19-20.

Having thus shown, that the doctrine of a future state is not explicitly revealed in the books of Moses, and having assigned the reasons for its omission, Mr. Lancaster, in Chaps. III. and IV. proceeds to prove, that "*the doctrine of a future state was always entertained by the Israelites, from the very earliest period of their history;*" and to "*inquire into the sources from which they may have derived it.*" On this point, he is directly opposed to Warburton; who, having proved "that Moses did not teach a future state of reward and punishment, and that he omitted it with design; that he understood its great importance to society, and that he provided for the want of it; endeavours, in the fifth and sixth sections of his fifth book, to establish it as a necessary consequence, that *therefore the* Jewish *people had not the know-*

* "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." Rom. xv. 4.

ledge of that doctrine;" or, as he subsequently qualifies his position, that "*the body of the early Jews* had no expectations of a future state of rewards and punishments." * These opinions appear to have been adopted, in their full extent, by Mr. Davison, in his late Warburtonian lectures; the subject, therefore, besides its intrinsic importance, acquires an additional claim to our present attention.

With respect to the degree and extent of religious knowledge in general, the Jewish people, as compared with the rest of mankind, were placed on very advantageous grounds. "What advantage hath the Jews?" says St. Paul; "*Much every way.*"†

"Now the belief of a future state has been entertained in every age to which the memory of the world extends, and by every nation among whom any religious sentiments have been found to exist. On the inestimable value of this doctrine in its tendency to promote the happiness of mankind; on its importance as the great incitement to virtue, the main pillar and support of human society, the sanction and enforcement of morality; on its connection with the private duties of individuals, and the public welfare of civil communities: we need not expatiate. That it is the anchor of the soul when beaten by the blasts and storms of adversity; that it is of absolute necessity in order to sustain and invigorate the spirits of suffering innocence under the discouragement of an unequal Providence; that it provides the most effectual restraint upon the evil passions of mankind; that the wisest provisions of legislative policy, unaided by its support, are but feeble barriers against violence and injustice: these are principles, so generally recognised by common acknowledgment, that they seem to border upon the character of self-evident truths. We need not dwell upon the hardship of man being accountable, without knowing that he is so; of his being capable of everlasting happiness, without incitement to labour after it; of his being subject to retribution, and yet not aware of his danger. Neither the advantages connected with the belief of this doctrine, nor the miseries attendant upon the want of it, can be denied or disputed. On the whole, it may be asserted, that, of all the doctrines of revealed religion, there is none so important in its consequences, none so interesting to the feelings of mankind, none attended with such a powerful moral influence, as the doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment.

"Can it then be deemed consistent with the notion of a people peculiarly favoured by God, that they should continue for nine hundred years,‡ excluded from participating in a benefit, which during the same period was enjoyed by every other nation in the world, even

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* Div. Leg. b. v. sect. 5. vol. iii. p. 151. † Rom. iii. 1, 2.

‡ The law was given (according to the common chronology) 1491 years, and the captivity took place 588 years, before the Christian era: the intervening space thus amounting to 903 years.

the most idolatrous and wicked? Shall we, in conformity with the language of St. Paul, admit that they had in *every* respect much advantage over the rest of mankind; and shall we yet believe that they were totally destitute of that doctrine which is more essential to the happiness of man than any other religious principle whatever?"—pp. 30-32.

This, if it be not proof, is, at least, strong presumption; and, admitting the validity of the reasoning by which it is supported, admitting even that the religious condition of the Israelite was not inferior to that of the Gentile; we must infer, that if the belief of a future state was entertained by the Gentile world, it must have been entertained in common with them by this peculiar nation. In the fourth chapter, therefore, which is divided into three sections, Mr. Lancaster proceeds, first, to "*Inquire into the origin of the belief in a future state, considered as a doctrine belonging to the universal religion of mankind;* secondly, to show, "*that the silence of the Mosaic Law would have no tendency to eradicate from the mind of the Israelite that belief in a future state, which, independently of that law, he would have entertained in common with the rest of the world;* and thirdly, that "*the writings of Moses were specially adapted to countenance the belief in a future state.*" The inquiry into the sources from which mankind in general might have derived their belief in that doctrine of a future state, which was universally incorporated into the religious systems of the Gentile world, is prefaced by these judicious reflections:—

"But, on the other hand, it is a principle highly important to our argument, that the universality of this belief in a future retribution be regarded as the result of a special appointment of the divine will. We are fully warranted in so regarding it: nay, we cannot without impiety regard it otherwise, even though the secondary causes, through which that will has been carried into effect, may lie concealed from our view. It is not necessary in order to recognise an appointment of Providence, that we should be able to trace the various successive steps which have intervened between its first origin and its final accomplishment. The mode of operation belonging to some of the most important laws which regulate the movements of the natural creation, will ever baffle the utmost penetration and sagacity of man: such are the gravitation of bodies, the process of vegetation, and the connection subsisting between the volition and the motions of animal life. Now as we alike refer to God, as their author, both the dispensations of revealed religion and the constitution of the natural world, it is reasonable to suppose, that a similarity of proceeding should be observable in both. It cannot therefore be required, that we should distinctly unfold all the means which may have been employed by Infinite Wisdom, for the purpose of bringing about a general concurrence in the expectations of mankind respecting a future retribution. Methods may have been em-

ployed, and those too of powerful operation, with a view to this end, which the unsearchable wisdom of God may have judged it right to withhold from the knowledge of his creatures.* The possible employment of such methods we may well conceive. This ought to be borne in mind as a weighty consideration in the reasoning which is about to be introduced; since it is adequate to supply any deficiency of proof under which that reasoning may be supposed to labour."—pp.37-8-9.

Among the causes which may have operated to produce a general belief in the doctrine of a future retribution, Mr. Lancaster insists chiefly on those arguments in its favour, which arise from the antediluvian records of the sentence passed on our first parents; the murder of Abel, and the translation of Enoch. His remarks on the death of Abel are particularly deserving of attention:—

"What feelings, then, must have been excited in the bosoms of the first parents of mankind by this tragical occurrence? when they beheld their son carried off by a premature death, in consequence of an act, which was acceptable to God, which had been performed in submissive conformity to his will, and with a confident reliance on his protection and blessing. Nothing but the belief in a future state could have placed the transaction in a light consistent with what they knew respecting the perfections of the Supreme Being. Had they viewed it apart from the prospect of retribution in another life, the dreadful calamity must have led to conclusions still more distressing than the event itself. It must have induced a conclusion, that a conformity to the will of God is of no avail towards conciliating his favour; that final destruction would be the probable consequence of devotion to his service; that God is *not* the rewarder of them that diligently seek him; and that there is *no* reward for the righteous. On such a view of the subject, the fear and service of God must have been at an end: religion and virtue must have become totally extinct among men: wickedness and injustice must have obtained a universal dominion. That this result did not actually follow, can be explained only by supposing, that the belief in a future retribution was entertained by our first parents."—pp. 44-45.

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* "'There might possibly be among the few faithful in the world a traditionary exposition of the promises of God, grounded upon more express revelations, made either before or soon after the flood, *than have come down to our times.*' Bishop Sherlock's Dissertations, Diss. II. p. 176, in the 4th vol. of his works, edit. Oxford, 1812. The observation relates to the celebrated passage in Job, xix. 25, 26, 27. The term *promises* is not, indeed, strictly agreeable to the views maintained in this treatise; but we may by a parity of reasoning suppose, that means sufficiently efficacious may have been providentially employed for the same purpose, of which means no knowledge has been transmitted to us. But indeed I do not object to the above term, provided that nothing further is understood by it than *the promise of a Messiah*, the blessedness of whose expected advent could in no other way have been reasonably understood, than by regarding him as the author of everlasting life, and of man's deliverance from the effects of the fall."

In addition to the evidence which these transactions supply, he argues, that departed spirits *may have been* permitted to hold communications with men. That the dead have sometimes been restored to life is an undoubted truth of revelation; and they who are disposed to treat this hypothesis with ridicule, may do well to consider the arguments of Addison in its favour.*

But there are persons who would at once set aside all arguments which are founded on the scriptural records of the antediluvian world. The question then will be, from what other source did mankind derive their universal belief of a future state? Reason, Mr. Lancaster argues, could not possibly discover that the soul is capable of existing after the dissolution of the body, nor establish a conviction of its immateriality. But if it were assumed, as by many ancient philosophers, and some of the early Christian writers, (to whom we may add many of the modern Socinians,) it has been assumed, that the soul is material; "to imagine that unassisted reason should conduct man to a belief that the soul was, at the same time, both corporeal and imperishable, is an absurdity at which the judgment of every candid person must revolt."

The necessity of future rewards and punishments (which obviously imply the future existence of the soul,) is often insisted on, as deducible, from the consideration of the moral attributes of the Deity. "When it came to be seen," says Warburton, "that God was *not always* a rewarder and a punisher *here*, men necessarily concluded, from his moral attributes, that he would be so *hereafter;* and consequently, that this life was but a small portion of human duration."† On this great principle of natural theology, the remarks of Mr. Lancaster are very unsatisfactory; and, we are sorry to add, as far as Warburton is concerned, very unjust; for he argues as if it was the design of that distinguished prelate to place religion on a different basis from that which the apostle requires: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid; which is Jesus Christ."‡ No man knows better than Mr. Lancaster, that, in the very first section of the "Divine Legation," Warburton unequivocally asserts, that no one well versed in the internal evidence of the Christian religion can be ignorant of this important principle: that THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY; and that, in the ninth book, he expatiates at length on the Divine Goodness, which "so graciously displayed itself, in the RESTORATION of our *lost* inhe-

* Spectator, No. 110.
† Div. Leg. b. v. Append. vol. iii. p. 185. edit. 4to. 1788.
‡ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

ritance, by changing the *condition* annexed to eternal life, from something to be DONE, to something to be BELIEVED. And this was FAITH IN OUR REDEEMER."

Mr. Lancaster next attempts to prove, that natural religion could never teach men to expect a state of future *reward*:—

"When, among those promiscuous dispensations which now characterise the providential government of the world, wickedness is beheld to flourish prosperous and triumphant to the end of life; then, if the moral attributes of God be firmly believed, reason has doubtless a strong ground for calculating on a future retribution. Thus far the conclusion is inevitable: but how far does it extend? Certainly no farther than to establish the prospect of a future punishment to the wicked. But how the reason of man, wholly unenlightened from above, can establish on such considerations the proof of a future reward, is quite inexplicable."—pp. 73-4.

The proposition here is incompletely stated. We not only see wickedness triumphant and prosperous, but *virtue oppressed and afflicted*, to the end of life; the conclusion, therefore, is as valid to establish the prospect of future rewards to the virtuous, as of punishment to the evil. The whole analogy of nature, and the present system of God's moral government, in which virtue, as such, is honoured and rewarded, confirm this conclusion. When Mr. Lancaster affirms, that it is quite inexplicable how human reason, *wholly unenlightened from above*, can establish, on such considerations, the proof of a future reward, he completely changes the terms of the proposition; for human reason (as he himself has taken great pains to prove) never has been wholly unenlightened from above on this momentous subject; and how, with the traditionary doctrine of a future state, it should have arrived, on the principles of natural religion, at the hope of a future reward, is a matter easily explained. For if God designs the happiness of the virtuous, "and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him,"* then, since the virtuous are not *always* rewarded in this life, reason would lead us to expect a future state of retribution. That "natural religion can neither give us any *certain clear security* of a future life, nor means to attain it,"† we fully admit: but it is at least as true with respect to the future punishments of the wicked, as the future rewards of the virtuous. The doctrine of eternal punishments, prepared for the wicked in a future state, certainly is not, as Mr. Lancaster represents it, more agreeable to natural reason, than the hope of future rewards to virtue. The truth is, neither could be *known*, except through the medium of a Divine Revelation.

* Heb. xi. 6.

† Ellis's "Knowledge of Divine Things," p. 422.

The remainder of this section is taken up in an analysis of the Phædon, &c. of Plato; and in a summary statement of the opinions, concerning the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution, which were held by the different schools and teachers of ancient philosophy. This inquiry is conducted with great ability, and every where displays the fruits of various reading and sound judgment. Even those who may think with us, that he hardly does impartial justice either to the arguments for the soul's immortality, which Plato has adduced in his Phædon, Phædrus, and Republic, or to his sincerity in maintaining them; will agree, at least, in his concluding reflections, that all that Plato suggests

"Is little available for the conviction of your understanding or the assurance of your hopes: and the best improvement which you can gather from it is, to feel the natural darkness of the human mind, to confess the want of divine illumination, and to be thankful to the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort, who, in raising Jesus from the dead, hath afforded to all men a proof of immortality, alike suited to the nature of their faculties and the satisfaction of their desires."—p. 87.

Having thus satisfactorily proved the universal prevalence among mankind of the belief in a future state, in the following section Mr. Lancaster proceeds to show, that the silence of the Mosaic Law would have no tendency to eradicate from the mind of the Israelite that belief, which, independently of that law, he would have entertained in common with the rest of the world. The question is: How could such belief vanish from their minds? Why should they now surrender those pleasing hopes and fond desires, to which human nature is found, in general, so tenaciously to adhere?"—p. 156.

The answer to this question is presented in the words of Warburton:—"While God exactly distributed his rewards and punishments *here*, the light of reason directed men to look no farther for the sanction of his laws: but when it came to be seen, that he was *not always* a rewarder and a punisher *here*, men necessarily concluded, from his moral attributes, that he would be so *hereafter*: and consequently, that this life was but a small portion of the human duration. In this manner was a future state brought, by natural light, into religion: and from thenceforth became a necessary part of it. But under the Jewish theocracy, God was an exact rewarder and punisher *here*. Natural light, therefore, evinced, that under such an administration, the subject of it did not become liable to *future* punishments, till this sanction was known among them." *

* Div. Leg. Append. to b. v.

Mr. Lancaster shows with great force, that the egregious fallacy of this argument of Warburton's consists in his employing the words *extraordinary* providence and *equal* providence as equivalent terms:* that the *extraordinary* providence under which the Jews were actually placed, instead of removing the inequalities which occur in the general system of God's moral government, would, in numberless instances, be found to multiply them; and consequently, that such an administration could never operate to veil the prospects of a future life.

It is the object of the third section of this important chapter to prove, that "*the writings of Moses were specially adapted to countenance the belief of a future state.*" It was a signal advantage, he argues, that with respect to those transactions of the antediluvian world, from which he supposes that the Gentiles derived the notion of a future state, the belief of the Israelite was grounded on the authentic records of sacred truth, whilst the belief of the Gentile rested on no other foundation than a tradition orally transmitted through the medium of Noah to his posterity. But the point on which he chiefly insists is, the prophetic declarations of the Messiah, which are delivered in the Pentateuch, and more fully developed in the volumes of succeeding prophecy: "the structure of the revealed word," he says, "was so framed, that the promise of a Messiah should be understood to comprise within it the promise of everlasting life; and that the hope of everlasting life might be afforded only in connection with faith in him, who, in the fulness of time, was to purchase it for mankind."—p. 174.

It is easy, indeed, for Mr. Lancaster, who possesses, in the New Testament, a key to the right interpretation of the Old, so to combine these hopes and promises: but was the belief of the *Israelite* in a future state thus actually held in connection with faith in the Redeemer? Is not the supposition at variance even with his own hypothesis, that the Jews, though they had the knowledge of a future state, and a *general* anticipation of a Redeemer, were altogether ignorant of the *means* whereby eternal life was to be restored to the sons of Adam? Lastly, we must be permitted to ask, is there any thing in Warburton himself more fantastical, or more paradoxical, than this attempt to prove that the writings of Moses are *specially adapted to inculcate the belief of a future state*, though the very existence of a future state is not once mentioned in them?

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* "I used, throughout my whole discourse of the Jewish economy, the words *extraordinary providence* and *equal providence*, as equivalent terms." Note [AA] to b. v. of the Div. Leg.

Chap. V., which is also divided into three sections, on the origin, the meaning, and the uses of sacrifice, is, perhaps, the most carefully written of any in the whole work; great pains have been bestowed on it, and it merits close attention. Sacrifice, in the present inquiry, is restricted to that species of offering which is distinguished by the *mactation* of a living victim; and is considered to be a symbolical institution, in which man is set forth as a sinner and a penitent; and his Maker, as a God forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin. In this view, it is regarded as a particular provision, which was calculated at once to confirm the hope of a future life, and to obviate the perversion of that hope; so that the prospect of immortal happiness, as the reward of well-doing, might be guarded from all association with opinions, which derogate from the freedom of Divine grace, and contradict the scheme of redemption:—

"The prevalence of this rite having been commensurate with the belief in a future retribution, afforded therefore a suitable corrective to any errors which might have been grafted upon it. It was adapted to silence the plea of human merit, and to bring out to view (as far as man, in the early and imperfect stages of a progressive scheme, was capable of viewing it,) the only real ground of justification and acceptance before God. Hence do we obtain a corroborative testimony to the validity of the reasoning we have pursued, respecting the omission of a future state as a sanction to the Mosaic law. And we discover, at the same time, a remarkable instance of the harmony which pervades the divine dispensations in the economy of the old and new covenants."—p. 119.

With respect to the *origin* of sacrifice, Mr. Lancaster successfully maintains its divine institution against Spencer, Sykes, and Warburton, who preposterously maintained, that both the act of sacrifice, and the matter of sacrifice, were the simple dictates of natural reason. But even in this part of the work, notwithstanding all the labour he has bestowed on it, treading, as he does, in a beaten path, it is evident, that Mr. Lancaster has weakened his argument, and fettered his own movements, by his anxiety not to step in the traces of his predecessors.

They who have read the dissertations on sacrifice, in Archbishop Magee's work on "The Atonement," (and who, that has once read, can ever forget them?) will perceive how greatly Mr. Lancaster has impaired his general proof of the harmony of the Law and the Gospel in this respect, by his endeavour to show, that the institution of sacrifice was designed chiefly to operate as a check on the pernicious tendency of that *special* aptitude to encourage the belief of a future state, which he, of all mankind, has first discovered in the Pentateuch.

The two succeeding sections, on the "*Meaning of Sacrifice,*" and "*The Use and Importance of Sacrifice, considered as a subordinate and temporary Provision belonging to the general Plan of revealed Religion,*" are not liable to this objection. Sacrifice may be said to consist of two parts, a sacrament, and an emblem :—

"As a sacrament, it was the appointed means of conveying to the faithful worshipper the pardon of his sins and acceptance with God. As an emblem, it was designed to be the vehicle of instruction. And the kind of instruction it was intended to convey, would naturally be suggested by the contemplation of its piacular and vicarious character. It would be viewed, to use the words of an excellent prelate, 'as a sensible and striking representation of a punishment, which the sinner was conscious he deserved from God's justice: and then, on the part of God, it would be a public declaration of his holy displeasure against sin, and of his merciful compassion to the sinner.'*

"It was an appointment of infinite wisdom, that the great consummation of sacrifice by the crucifixion of the Son of God should not be carried into effect, till mankind for a long series of ages had experienced the evils connected with their fallen state, and resulting from the first transgression. By the same wisdom it was decreed, that the mystery of our redemption should be hid from ages and from generations. But the Lamb of God was, in the eternal purpose of God, slain before the foundation of the world: and numbers have been saved through his merits before the Divine purpose was actually fulfilled, numbers to whom, though the general promise of a deliverance was known, the manner of that deliverance was never unfolded. Meantime, while the great design was in preparation and progress, while it was veiled under an awful darkness, impenetrable to mortal eyes; it was fit that man should be taught, what was his own condition by nature, and what was the relation in which he stood to his Creator. This, I say, was fit, in order that he might be qualified for mercy and acceptance on such terms, as should be consistent with the inviolable attributes of God, and should not derogate from the authority of that law, which the Divine holiness was concerned to maintain.

"Such was the use of that instruction which sacrifice was designed to afford. Man was hereby brought to feel and to acknowledge his guilty character and helpless condition; he saw, in the mode of worship prescribed for him, an affecting representation of that punishment which he had incurred; he was made sensible, that an awful satisfaction was due to the Divine justice before he could be capable of pardon: and yet, he was cheered with an assurance, that the Deity was not implacable, but that mercy might in some way or other be obtained."

* Magee on Atonement and Sacrifice, vol. i. p. 40.

"Thus was the plea of self-righteousness put to silence, and the humility of the contrite was raised into hope: and thus were laid the great foundations of an evangelical justification before the Gospel itself was published. The darkness of natural ignorance, under which religious hope and comfort, together with every incitement to obedience, would have been extinct, was relieved by a slender light, till the Sun of righteousness should himself arise and confer a more abundant illumination."—pp. 236-7-8.

In Chap. VI., "*The Examination of Scriptural Testimonies, in Support of the Doctrine which has been maintained in the foregoing Chapters,*" is conducted with great ability. We have no room for quotations; but desire to point out to particular notice the whole of the latter part of this chapter, from p. 263 to p. 300; in which he examines in detail, and triumphantly confutes, the arguments of Warburton, that the Jews had no knowledge of the separate and personal existence of the soul in a future state, and, consequently, no expectation of future rewards and punishments.

In Chap. VII., some "*other remarkable instances of omission in the Mosaic code*" are noticed and explained. First, with respect to prayer:—

"The omission of this subject in the Pentateuch can admit no other reasonable explanation than the following. The law which Moses gave contained not in itself any thing, which could render prayer acceptable to God or effectual for the benefit of the worshipper. This could be accomplished only through the atonement of Christ. No man cometh unto the Father but by him. The promise is to those who shall ask in his name. We are to draw near in full assurance of faith, and to come boldly unto the throne of grace, because we have a great High Priest, who is passed into the heavens.* It would therefore have been premature, if this great distinction of the Gospel had been anticipated in the Mosaic dispensation. For it could never have been the *sanction* of that law: and if it had been introduced in any other form, it would naturally have been regarded as a sanction. Thus would it have thrown a shade over the riches, the splendour, and the beauty, of the Gospel: since these are most conspicuous, when seen in contrast with the imperfections attendant on all the former stages in the progressive advancement of revelation.

"The observance of prayer as a religious exercise is manifestly supposed and recognised in the Pentateuch; as must appear from the instances to which we have already adverted, and also from a variety of facts which occur to us in the narrative of that book. But still we find not in the writings of Moses any precept, declaratory of its gene-

* Heb. iv. 14, 15, 16.

tal obligation; nor any promise, that it should be offered with effect to the worshipper."—pp. 310-311.

In the next place, with respect to the doctrine of sanctification by the Holy Spirit; the promise of the Holy Spirit, as an active power of sanctification in the heart of man, formed no part of the law, but belongs exclusively to the New Covenant of the Gospel:*—

"Shall we then say, that the sanctifying graces of God's Spirit were altogether withholden from all who lived under the Mosaic covenant? Certainly not: because, had this been the case, we should not have read, as we now do, of holy men, living under that law, whose faith and piety were acceptable to God. To assert, with regard to these characters, that the principle of sanctification was, or could be, derived from any other source than the Spirit of God; can never be maintained by any but a Pelagian. The true state of the case is explained with admirable clearness and brevity by Bishop Bull: 'The Spirit of God was given *under* the law, but not *by virtue of* the law.'"†—p. 312.

Of the remaining chapters, the VIIIth insists on the harmonious consistency which pervades the various dispensations and successive epochs of revealed religion, as affording the most convincing evidence of its truth. The IXth and Xth, in which the want of antiquity and universality in the scheme of revelation are considered, are thrown in "*mantissæ loco*," and, to say the truth, seem rather out of place; they contain, however, some ingenious and forcible arguments, and are marked throughout by that spirit of sincere and enlightened piety, which shines in every page of this truly Christian writer. We will conclude our extracts from the present work with the following eloquent passage:—

"Thus doth the whole body of Scripture, however detached may be its parts, however varied its temporary and relative provisions, exhibit to the view one united system. This harmonious character is principally seen, in the concurrent reference of all its parts to the plan of our redemption through the sacrifice of Christ. Every separate portion of revealed religion has a connection, nearer or more distant, with this leading purpose. Each distinct provision is subordinate and subservient to this. It is either auxiliary to it, or illustrative of it. Redemption is the great centre-point of scriptural instruction: every other Divine ordinance either meets in this point, or diverges from it. The doctrine of the Atonement is the great and leading doctrine of the Bible from beginning to end. This was darkly intimated to fallen man, before he was expelled from the abode of innocence and bliss,

* Jer. xxxi. 33.

† "Sub lege quidem, at non ex lege." Harm. Apost. Diss. II. c. xi. §. 4.

The sacrifices offered by the faithful immediately after the fall, were in unison with this intimation. Abraham rejoiced in it when he saw the day of Christ afar off. The bloody ordinances of the Levitical law shadowed out the same truth in emblem and mystery. The sweet psalmist of Israel spoke a congenial language, when he painted the sufferings of him who was to be the Saviour of men. In strains of mingled sadness and triumph, the prophetic song announced the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, who was bruised for our transgressions and wounded for our iniquities: and it bore also, in different ages of the Jewish church, a varied, yet harmonious, testimony, to the great Personage in whom that truth was substantially verified. The latest prophet under the Law, and the immediate harbinger of the Messiah, proclaims the same truth, when he announces Christ as the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. Christ himself declares the doctrine, he verifies, and bears witness to it in his death. The apostles proclaim our Redeemer, as him whom God hath set forth to be a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of the whole world. The holy martyrs under the agonies of death and torture testify the same. Nor does the attestation of it stop here. After the church militant hath maintained it throughout every stage of its warfare, the church triumphant takes up the heavenly theme, resounding it in hymns of exultation and praise to the end of time. It was first heard in the terrestrial Eden, and it ceases not to be heard in the songs of the blessed spirits who inhabit the celestial paradise: 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.'"* pp. 326-7.

Art. IV.—ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ. *ÆSCHYLI CHOEPHORŒ. Ad fidem Manuscriptorum emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, S.T.P. Collegii SS. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses olim Socius.* Cantabrigiæ, Typis ac sumtibus Academicis excudit Joannes Smith. Prostant Londini apud J. Mawman. Cantabrigiæ apud J. Deighton et Filios, 1824.

In proceeding to give an account of the progress of Dr. Blomfield's labours upon the father of Grecian tragedy, we have unfeigned satisfaction in knowing, that we are to review a work, not of Dr. Blomfield merely, but of the Bishop of Chester. The *station* of a writer indeed neither has, nor ought to have, the

* Rev. v. 12.

slightest effect upon the mind of him who proposes to give an impartial account of his performance; but we must be permitted to express our honest gratification, that so sound a classical scholar, as we *know* Dr. B. to be, and so good a parish priest, as we *believe* him to be, has attracted the notice of those, who have it most in their power to promote the interests of learning, and render substantial service to the cause of religion; and that he has been so appropriately seated in the episcopal chair, heretofore occupied by the stupendous learning, and the edifying piety of a Walton and a Pearson!

The name of Pearson, indeed, was an omen of good to his present successor, the editor of Æschylus; for it is well known that this truly learned prelate, amidst his episcopal duties and theological labours, found leisure to study and improve the text of this great tragedian.* The book before us contains some of these conjectures, as well as some concerning which Dr. Blomfield doubts whether he is to ascribe them to Pearson or to Portus. See Notes on vv. 411 and 503.

The learned editor has been permitted to avail himself of some conjectures, which appear to have been suggested by Portus and Auratus; and, probably, some readings from MSS. to which they had access. They occupy the margin of a copy of Æschylus, belonging to Mr. Mitford, and liberally communicated to the editor, as we learn from the preface to the work before us, as well as from the Cambridge *Museum Criticum*, (vol. ii. p. 488.)

These conjectural and other readings stamp additional value upon this edition; for, although the greater part coincide with suggestions, made independently by other scholars, yet in some instances they appear to be wholly new; and yet of such value, as occasionally to deserve admission into the text. See Notes on vv. 32, 122, 126, 146, 205, 211, 218, (where a conjecture of Auratus is permitted, and we think properly, to supersede the old reading,) 274, 277, 376, 483, &c.

We shall now proceed to mark more particularly some of the characteristic qualities of this edition; and, in so doing, shall select indifferently from the Notes and Glossary.

Gloss. v. 29. Here is quoted the celebrated passage from Œd. Col. 1623, where the argument is omitted; and which, upon that

* Dr. Butler says of Stanley's materials for a second edition, "Conjecturas adhibuerat nonnullas cum Casauboni, tum Joannis Pearsoni Episcopi Cestriensis."—Præf. p. xx. In referring to Dr. Butler's edition of this most difficult author, we cannot help expressing a wish that some of the good fortune, which the last editor has experienced, may be extended to a man so learned, so excellent, and useful, as Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury.

account, most scholars, except Brunck, have agreed in pronouncing corrupt. Professor Porson, at Phœn. 5, restores it thus: "φθέγμα δ' ἐξαίφνης τινὸς Θεῶν ἐθωΰξ'." The last editor, however, of the Œdipus Coloneus, the lamented Dr. Elmsley, thought the conjecture too bold, and that αὐτὸν was to be retained; although he acknowledges that he knows of no authority for such a construction, as θωΰσσειν with an accusative. He therefore conjectured, but somewhat timidly, "φθ. δ' ἐ. θεοῦ Ἐθωΰξεν αὐτόν." Our editor does not interpose his own judgment, but contents himself by marking τινος with an obelus. We side with Porson.

V. 53. "φοβεῖται δέ τις." The Note and Glossary seem here at variance. The former says, "Clytæmnestram innui puto; *terretur autem* quædam." But in the Glossary, τις is explained "*Unusquisque*, pro πᾶς τις." and this sense is illustrated, as usual, with great learning. No doubt, such is often the sense of τις, as most of the passages quoted by our editor distinctly show. Still it is not the only sense. Τις is used by the tragedian in allusion to a person, whom the speaker is unwilling to name; and this we conceive to be the sense, admitted by our editor in his annotation, as belonging to the context. It is also used δεικτικῶς, as the critics say, where the speaker alludes to himself. Both these significations may be traced in a single passage, Antigone, 750. (*Brunck.*) Hæmon speaks δεικτικῶς, while the father replies angrily, conceiving that there is a threatening application to himself. See moreover Ajax, 786, 1138. Iph. Taur. 522, 548. (*Markl.*)

Gloss. 61. The following is satisfactory, from its learning as well as its fairness. "Διαῤῥυδήν. *Ita ut diffluat*, seu *diluatur*, adverbium est; non adjectivum, quod ait Schneiderus in Lexico, qui fingit vocabulum διαῤῥυδήεις. Recte autem observavit Schutzius, hæc populari quadam superstitione intelligenda, ad nostram usque ætatem propagata, quæ maculam ex sanguine hominis injuste cæsi, in terram effuso, semper manere, nec elui posse fingebat. Noster Theb. 731.

"Ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν αὐτοκτόνως
Αυτοδάϊκτοι θάνωσι,
Καὶ χθονία κόνις πίῃ
Μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοίνιον,
Τίς ἂν καθαρμοὺς πόροι;
Τίς ἂν σφε λούσειεν;

"Conf. Sophocl. Œd. T. 1236. Eurip. El. 320, αἷμα δ' ἔτι πατρὸς κατὰ στέγας Μέλαν σέσηπεν."

Gloss. 62. "Διαφέρω. *Differo*, i. e. *discerpo*. διασπαράσσει,

Schol. quam interpretationem pessimam vocat Heathius; probat vero Abreschius."

Abresch's judgment is to be preferred to Heath's; and the learned editor might have confirmed it by two passages in Horace. That ardent admirer and close imitator of Greek forms of speech, has twice used *differo* in the very sense here affixed to its prototype, διαφέρω :—

"Post, insepulta membra *different* lupi." Epod. v. 99.

"Fractosque remos *differat*." *ib.* x. 6.

In the Glossary on v. 65 and 91, a passage from the Eumenides, 644, *Pors.* is quoted :—

"ἀνδρὸς δ' ἐπειδὰν αἷμ' ἀνασπάσῃ κόνις."

We are disposed to think that κοπὶς ought to be substituted here for κόνις, as it has most properly resumed its place in Antig. 602, where the old reading was νεκτέρων ἀμᾷ κόνις. The learned reader will call to mind the "*hauserit* ensis" of Virgil, Æn. ii. 600, and "gladio——latus *haurit*," x. 313 :—

V. 105. "πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὴν, χὥστις Αἴγισθον στυγεῖ."

Dr. B. has, in our judgment, done well in adopting the Aldine reading. But we cannot help thinking that αὐτὴν here has a peculiar sense, which he has overlooked, and which has been mentioned by some most learned men, as belonging to αὐτός. "Sunt αὐτὸς, et ἐκεῖνος (says Casaubon, in his 'Commentary on the Characters of Theophrastus,' p. 120,) voces servorum, quas honoris causa propriorum nominum loco usurpant. Aristophanes Ranis,

"Ἴσθι νῦν φράσων * πρωτιστα ταῖς αὐλητρίσι
Ταῖς ἔνδον οὔσαις αὐτὸς ὡς εἰσέρχομαι.

"Scholiastes, αὐτὸς, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὁ δεσπότης. Sic apud Latinos, Plautus Casina, ubi Stalino, et ancilla colloquuntur. St. *Quid tu hîc agis?* An. *Ego eo quò me Ipsa misit.* Ipsa, hoc est, Hera mea. Terentius Hecyra, *Sed Pamphilum ipsum video stare ante ædes.* Donatus, Ipsum, *a quo missus sum: vel dominum;* ut Græci, αὐτόν. Idem notat Asconius in quendam Verrinarum locum. Erat et discipulorum vox, cum de præceptore loquerentur: unde illud Αὐτὸς ἔφα," &c. Now, just as Plautus has used *Ipsa* in the passage above quoted, we conceive Æschy-

* We quote the words of Casaubon as we find them. The passage is, Ran. 519, Br. and the true reading, Ἴσθι νυν, φράσων.

lus used *αὐτὴν*, as equivalent to "*my mistress*." See, in further illustration of this usage, Hemsterhuys on Pollux, iii. 74, *n.* 53; and on Plutus, v. 959.

108. "Τιν' οὖν ἔτ' ἄλλον τῇδε προστιθῶ στάσει;"

Στάσις is here used as the abstract for the concrete, of which we have so many examples in the dramatic writers. It should have been interpreted, *ταῖς ὧδ' ἑστηκυίαις*.

The following Notes are selected as favourable specimens of Dr. B.'s accuracy as a grammarian, and sagacity as a critic:—

171. "Grammatici docent particulam *μῶν* compositam esse ex *μὴ*, et *οὖν*, vel *ὦν*: quod si verum sit, quomodo stare simul possunt *μῶν οὖν*? An legendum, *μῶν οὐκ Ὀρέστου κρύβδα δῶρον ἦ τόδε*? *Vereor ut hoc sit Orestæ donum. μὴ οὐ δῶρον ἦ*, idem valet ac *δῶρον οὐκ ἂν εἴη*. Herodot. v. 79. *ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἦ τὸ χρηστήριον, veremur potius ut hoc sit oraculi sensus.*"

186. "Constructio imperfecta est. Schol. *τάδ' αἰνέσω*: *λείπει οὐκ ἔχω*. Si omnia recte se habent, potest esse aposiopesis quædam post Ὀρέστου. Sed forsan legendum *ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς—*;"

199. "Hanc agnitionis partem Euripides perstrinxit, a Stanleio allegatus, in Electr. 534. 541. Quod Euripides Æschylo vitio vertit, id pulcherrimum et omnino naturæ consentaneum esse arbitror. Notum est apud nostrates proverbium, homines in undis perituros vel stipulas captare. Quid mirum, si, in re desperata, vel levissimam spei occasionem avide captaverit Electra, quum jamdudum Orestæ reditum cupide exspectasset? Quinetiam ipsa suspicionum levitas mentem indicat a recto statu nonnihil dejectam, et a quovis momento in hanc vel illam partem facile impulsam. Accedit, ut recte observavit Botheus, quod tumulus regis desertus erat, iram Ægisthi et Clytæmnestræ timentibus Argivis, unde non male de Oreste ejusque aliquo sodali cogitat virgo. Porro ipse poeta in iis quæ loquitur Orestæ persona, v. 219. sq. ostendit se, quam leves fuerint *ἀναγνωρίσεως* rationes, satis intellexisse."

359. "Interpretes connectunt *πολύχωστον ἀν' ἔιχες τάφον—μηδ' ὑπὸ Τρωΐοις, κ. τ. λ.* quod vereor ut recte fieri possit, quum potius dicendum esset *οὐδ' ὑπὸ Τρ.* Si locus est sanus, continuatur votum, *εἰ γὰρ κατηναρίσθης — μηδ' ὑπὸ Τρ.* Locum recte intellexit Scholiasta; *γυναικικῶς οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἀρέσκεται, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνηρῆσθαι*, i. e. Electra vero, velut femina, ne hoc quidem Orestis votum probat, scilicet ut pater olim ante Trojam succubuisset; sed potius hoc sibi placiturum fuisse dicit, si pater omnino intactus evasisset, interfectores autem prius interissent; ut fatum, quod mortem iis intulerit, e longinquo aliquis, harum calamitatum expers, audivisset."

555. "Quum *Παρνάσιος* dixerint Attici de monte Phocico, *Παρνήσιος* vero de Parnethe, monte Attico, sic etiam *Παρνασὶς* eos dixisse puto potius quam *Παρνησίς*, quum sermo esset de Parnaso. Vid. Elms. ad

Aristoph. Ach. 348. Ruhnken. ad Timæi Lex. p. 209.—Παρνησοῦ male editur in Eumen. 11. pro Παρνασσοῦ. Ubi quæ Burgessius allegat exempla, Τευμησσός, Μυκαλησσός, nihil proficiunt; quippe 'antiquior pronuntiatio videatur Τευμησὸς istius temporis, quo nondum literæ geminabantur.' Valckenaer. ad Phœn. 1107. 'Vetusti Græci,' inquit Hemsterhusius ad Lucian. Cont. p. 503, 'literas geminare vix unquam solebant.' Eustath. ad Od. T. p. 1872, 50. ὁ δὲ Παρνησός, ὃν ἡ κοινὴ χρῆσις διὰ τοῦ ἀ λέγει, Παρνασόν, πολὺς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, φυλάσσων μέχρι καὶ νῦν παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς ὑποβάρβαρον τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα. Τερνεσὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν παραλαλοῦντες φασὶν οἱ ἐγχώριοι. ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν δύο σσ γραφὴ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ, κατήργηται παρὰ τοῖς ὕστερον. Contra vero scripturam per duo σσ recentiorum fuisse censet Heynius ad Pindar. Pyth. i. 75. Παρνησὸς scribit Photius, Παρνασὸς Hesychius, et Proclus in Platonis Tim. p. 31. *Parnasus* codices scripti vetustiores Virgilii, Propertii, Ovidii, aliorum. Παρνάσιον Theocrit. vii. 148. Exempla quæ protulit Eustathius, p. 890, 3. parum ponderis habent; quum Ἁλικαρνησὸς per unum σ scribendum esse certissimum sit. Quare dissentio ab Hermanno et Erfurdtio ad Sophocl. Antig. 1130. scripturam per σσ tuentibus."

233, 4. "ἔμοι· προσαυδᾶν δ' ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον
πατέρα τε, καὶ τὸ μητρὸς. κ. λ."

The Note here does not give a completely full account of the state of the reading. In fact it gives more credit to Schutz, than really falls to his share; and it does not explain from what source the present text was derived. The note is simply thus; "πατέρος Turn. Steph. Stanl. πατέρα σὲ Schutz." The truth however is, that Schutz, in his *first* edition, retains the corrupt old text; namely, πατέρος, with a colon at ἔχον, and from Dr. Butler we learn, that πατέρα, without the colon, was the lection of "Med. Guelph. Ald. Rob." Dr. Blomfield's text corresponds with that of Porson, from which we conjecture that Schutz, in his *second* edition, adopted it, with the alteration of σε for τε.

285—9. It is well known that Professor Porson attempted the restoration of this perplexed passage by means of a transposition, which we were at one time disposed to think as correct, as it is ingenious. See his Tracts, &c. by Kidd, p. 211. We were therefore at first startled not to see the conjecture taken into the present text. But, upon full consideration, we think that Dr. B. has exercised a sound judgment in adopting the suggestions of Hermann and Elmsley. The reading then exhibits an important and perhaps indisputable instance of the real words of the author, preserved amidst every appearance of corruption, merely by altering the punctuation and inserting a particle.

"βωμῶν τ' ἀπείργειν οὐχ ὁρωμένην πατρὸς
μῆνιν. δέχεσθαι δ', οὔτε συλλύειν τινά·"

In the Note on v. 313, we perceive the usage of *forte* for *fortasse*, which is certainly incorrect, although sanctioned by the practice of so many modern writers of Latin. The learned editor, we are confident, will avoid it in future. Now we are on the subject of mistakes, to which all who write, as well as all who do not write, are liable, we conceive that *sunt*, not. on v. 485, should be *sint*. Perhaps, however, it is a typographical error, of which there appears to us an unusual number in this play, owing no doubt to the distance at which Dr. B. was residing from the press, and his important professional engagements. Thus we have *penatuce*, p. 37, for *penacute*, *quinta* for *sexta*, p. 73, *de quæstionis dubitet*, p. 74, *'αλλὰ* for *ἄλλα*, p. 162. We have, however, far more delight in contemplating great excellencies than in dwelling upon petty defects, although the duty we have imposed upon ourselves obviously requires us to notice these also. We therefore recur with pleasure to the improvements which have been made in the text, partly by the acuteness of the editor, partly by the candour and judgment with which he has listened to the suggestions of others. Among various other instances, *δρεμὺν ἀήτας*, adopted from Salvini, v. 386, *ἀπρικτόπληκτα* from Scaliger, 419, *προχαλκεύει* from Jacobs and Hermann, 636, *εὐβάλως*, 684, from Porson (with the phrase happily illustrated in the Glossary,) *διὰ δίκας*, 775, from Pauw and others, *διὰ πέδου*, 785, his own conjecture for *δάπεδον*, *γοητῶν*, or *γοατῶν* from *γοατὴς*,* *plorator*, the transposition or conjecture at 1027, 8, with the aposiopesis, at 1030, from Schutz and Butler; are so many proofs of the impartiality, as well as skill, with which the arduous duties of editor have been discharged.

In the phrase "*ἔκοψ' Ἄρειον κομμόν*," v. 417, there is an ambiguity which our English idiom retains. We say with equal propriety, "*struck up* a mournful *strain*;" and, "*struck* a heavy *blow*."

At the close of v. 455, an iambus evidently is wanting: "*δίκας* satis apte reponit Hermannus," says our editor. We would suggest *ἀράς*.

763. "*ἀλλ' εἰ τροπαίαν Ζεὺς κακῶν θήσει ποτέ.*"

"† *εἰτροπαιαν* Porson. qui ad Eurip. Suppl. 647. sic scribit; "In Æschyli loco *τροπαίαν* edd. male præferunt; quod ambigas utrum in *τρόπαιον*, an *τρόπαια*, mutandum sit." Sed retinendum puto *τροπαίαν*,

* This is formed by strict analogy from *γοάω*, as *γόος* is from *γόω*, an old form used by Homer. Il. Z. 500.

conversionem. Schol. *μετατροπήν*, ut in Agam. 213. *φρενὸς πνέων ἀνεσσεβῆ τροπαίαν*, Theb. 703. *λήματος ἐν τροπαίᾳ*. sc. *αὔρα*. Quod si una ex Porsoni conjecturis recipienda sit, malim *τρόπαια*, Eurip. Or. 713. *Στῆσαι τρόπαια τῶν κακῶν*."

This is good so far as it goes. But we would substitute *στήσει* for *θήσει*, on the very ground of the passage cited from the Orestes.

We are not quite satisfied with the explanation of the word *ξυνωρὶς* in the Gloss. on v. 969 :—

"*Ξυγωρίς*. *Jugum*. Hesych. *Ξυνωρίδα*: *ζυγήν*. *ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων*, *ὀρεὺς γὰρ ὁ ἡμίονος*. Absurde; quum sit a *ξυναείρω*, quod vere monuit Eustathius, p. 573, 36. Sæpius vero usurpatur de ipsa biga, vel de equis bijugibus, quam de jugo: Agam. 626. Valckenaer. ad Eurip. Phœn. 331."

This also is very true; but it does not enable the *tiro*, or indeed any reader, to discover the exact sense, which Dr. B. would assign to *ξυνωρὶς* in the passage in question. It must either mean "fetters fastening the feet together, as a yoke connects the two mules in a car;" or it may even signify, "a *pair* for the feet."

But let us attend to the sage observation of Homer:—

"*ὥρη μὲν πολέων μύθων, ὥρη δὲ καὶ ὕπνου*."*

We will not dwell at any greater length upon this small, but valuable, volume. We have shown, we trust sufficiently, the claims it possesses to the thanks of the literary public; while we have without scruple pointed out any difference of opinion that has arisen, in the course of our observations, between ourselves and Dr. Blomfield; as difference of opinion there *must* be among all who carefully examine a very extensive subject.

We must not, however, conclude without expressing our hope, that this very learned prelate may yet find leisure, as well as inclination, to *complete* that which he has more than *begun* well; and that, when he feels himself in some degree relieved from the occupation, incident to his change of situation and the accession of so much new business, he may, amidst the graver and more important claims of theology, bestow some portion of his time upon literature, which, although styled *profane*, is nevertheless essential to the critical

* Od. λ. 378.

and accurate knowledge of holy writ. Thus will he follow the example of his illustrious predecessor, Bishop Pearson, as well as that of Archbishop Potter; each of whom occasionally refreshed himself from diocesan duties and theological inquiries, by restoring the expressions and illustrating the sentiments of heathen poets.

ART. V.—*Tales of the Crusaders.* By the Author of "Waverley," &c., 4 vols. 12mo. Edinburgh.

To do justice to the works which continue to swell the Waverley series to the size of a moderate encyclopædia of human life and manners, is in general only to vary the language of panegyric; a task fatiguing to the patience of those who dislike the imputed politics of the author, and whose gentle readers require the stimulus of a snarl as an anti-soporific. As, however, for our own parts we are inclined to prefer truth to novelty, and not in the habit of catering for the splenetic, we shall take the liberty of ranking the tales before us on the footing of our old favourites, Ivanhoe and Quentin Durward. With the exception of Goëthe, whose vivid and original portrait of Goëtz von Berlichingen we suspect him to have studied minutely, our nameless author is perhaps the only modern writer who has departed from the established Amadis model, and given us the stout old barons and champions of the dark ages "in living lith and limb," and with the body and savour of reality, instead of such elegant carpet-knights as might be shadowed out by the pencil of Westall, or Angelica Kauffman. Instead of the set and courtly phrase of tilt and banquet, he puts into their mouths the business-like language of real working-day life, reflecting faithfully the joys and sorrows, the mirth and moodiness, the piques and prejudices which flesh is heir to; and tinctured with just sufficient of knightly roughness to give an easy and natural effect to the noble sentiments which it so often expresses. Confident that they bear the true stamp of gentle blood, he does not fear to strip his favourite characters of the mere gaudy trappings of chivalry, to subject them to the vulgar wants of ordinary life, or even upon occasion to commit the unheard-of solecism of making them thick-set and bandy-legged. In short, to use his own words, his knights

"wear their linked hauberks with as much ease as if the meshes had been formed of cobwebs."

We certainly concur with the sentiments of the author himself, as hinted in his preface, in giving the preference to the Talisman upon the whole. It is true that the interest of the Betrothed commences at an earlier period of the story, and is kept up to the last by a succession of noble and touching incidents. That, however, of the Talisman is more intense and uninterrupted when it once begins, and its crisis more startling, nor do we recur to the Betrothed with the same lively zest, to discover fresh beauties of plot and character. Although too every means be taken to render the final event of the Betrothed uncertain to the last, yet we can foresee pretty well the general train of occurrences by which either the happiness or misery of the lovers is to be brought about: while in the Talisman our curiosity is kept more perplexingly on the alert. We are besides disappointed to find the Crusade itself treated as an object merely secondary, in a tale which we had expected to find replete with that never-wearying theme, and its accompaniments of battles, shipwrecks, witchcraft, "antres vast and deserts idle," Paynims and Paladins of all tribes and nations, perchance even Huns and Troglodytes; in short, to have our imaginations launched into the boundless field of the east, under the auspices of our modern Ariosto: and we turn therefore to the second tale with more pleasure, as fulfilling more exactly the pledge implied in the title of the work.

Of these causes of inferiority as affecting the Betrothed, the author is obviously aware, and has therefore neglected no means of awakening and refreshing that interest which depends upon suspense. Hence the evil omens and prognostics which are studiously multiplied from the first, as in the Bride of Lammermoor; the accidental stain of Damian's blood, the curse of Ermengarde, and the episode of Randal and Cadwallon, who seem introduced chiefly to create an alarm and interest in behalf of the Constable, just when the reader is puzzled how to dispose of his claims. A ghost also is brought in to threaten and predict, if indeed the apparition of Vanda is intended for any thing but a nightmare, occasioned by former impressions and the recent repletion of the Baldingham supper. (Damian, we are assured by the Wardour MSS., always spoke of it as the gorge in the Saxon wolf brach's kennel.) Nor is the destiny of the parties finally settled till the prison scene, which, full of interest as it is, we think somewhat too long, and far inferior in original conception to the ordeal which Sir Kenneth encounters in vol. iv. p. 257.

The character of "grim old Hugh" is one of those which improve on acquaintance, and which the author is conscious of describing well; rough and austere, like strong bodied wine, but possessing spirit, flavour, and generous qualities, which are developed by the mellowing test of time:—

"Hugo de Lacy paced a short turn before the stone monument, endeavouring to conquer the deep emotion which he felt. 'I forgive her,' he said. 'Forgive, did I say?—Alas! I have nothing to forgive. She used but the right I left in her hand—yes—our date of engagement was out—she had heard of my losses—my defeats—the destruction of my hopes—the expenditure of my wealth; and has taken the first opportunity which strict law afforded, to break off her engagement with one bankrupt in fortune and fame. Many a maiden would have done,—perhaps in prudence should have done,—this;—but that woman's name should not have been Eveline Berenger.'

"He leaned on his esquire's arm, and for an instant laid his head on his shoulder with a depth of emotion which Guarine had never before seen him betray, and which, in awkward kindness, he could only attempt to console by bidding his master 'be of good courage—he had lost but a woman.'

"'This is no selfish emotion, Philip,' said the Constable, resuming self-command. 'I grieve less that she has left me, than that she has misjudged me—that she has treated me as the pawnbroker does his wretched creditor, who arrests the pledge as the very moment elapses within which it might have been relieved. Did she then think that I in my turn would have been a creditor so rigid?—that I, who, since I knew her, scarce deemed myself worthy of her when I had wealth and fame, should insist on her sharing my diminished and degraded fortunes? How little she ever knew me, or how selfish must she have supposed my misfortunes to have made me! But be it so—she is gone, and may she be happy. The thought that she disturbed me shall pass from my mind; and I will think she has done that which I myself, as her best friend, must in honour have advised.'

"So saying, his countenance, to the surprise of his attendants, resumed its usual firm composure."—p. 259-60.

"The minstrel was so much astonished at this change of deportment, from the sensitive acuteness of agony which attended the beginning of his narrative, that he stepped back two paces, and gazing on the Constable with wonder, mixed with admiration, exclaimed, 'We have heard of martyrs in Palestine, but this exceeds them.'

"'Wonder not so much, good friend,' said the Constable, patiently; 'it is the first blow of the lance or mace which pierces or stuns—those which follow are little felt.'

"'Think, my lord,' said Vidal, 'all is lost—love, dominion, high office, and bright fame—so late a chief among nobles—now a poor palmer.'

" ' Wouldst thou make sport with my misery?' said Hugo, sternly; ' but even that comes of course behind my back, and why should it not be endured when said to my face? Know, then, minstrel, and put it in song, if you list, that Hugo de Lacy, having lost all he carried to Palestine, and all which he left at home, is still lord of his own mind; and adversity can no more shake him, than the breeze which strips the oak of its leaves can tear up the trunk by the roots." '

To use the words of his favourite Wilkin Flammock, he is " of a generation that will not shrink in the washing."

Honest Flammock himself, on the contrary, may be compared to his native schwartz-bier, excellent for every ordinary use, and possessing in his own gross and muddy fashion, the genial good qualities of more refined liquor. His probity is invincible, his affections kindly, his homespun acuteness more than a match for finer intellects, and his courage and presence of mind as ready at any hour of the day or night as that of the " brave Crillon :" but all after a manner of his own, and totally abstracted from those notions of honour and delicacy, for which he entertains a sovereign contempt. Even his benevolence, which is genuine, is qualified by the following downright Dutch sorites, which would be worth its weight in gold in the eyes of Malthus:—

" Foreign expeditions and profligate habits have made many poor; and he that is poor will murder his father for money. I hate poor people; and I would the devil had every man who cannot keep himself by the work of his own hand !"

The lovers are tolerably well rescued from the influence of that dulness which is usually attendant on the predicament of love; indeed we could even have borne a little more of it towards the conclusion, where it would not have been misplaced. Too much, however, cannot be said of the pure and lofty principles on which they were made to act, and which it is this writer's delight to exemplify, both in his romantic and more familiar works. It is hardly possible, indeed, to draw other than a favourable augury from the first appearance of Damian upon the scene, which after all the elaborate descriptions we have read of the persons of heroes, has nothing trite in it:—

" They found him just alighted from the raven-coloured horse, which was slightly flecked with blood as well as foam, and still panted with the exertions of the evening; though, answering to the caressing hand of his youthful rider, he arched his neck, shook his steel caparison, and snorted to announce his unabated mettle and unwearied love of combat. The young man's eagle look bore the same token of unabated vigour,

mingled with the signs of recent exertion. His helmet hanging at his saddle-bow, showed a gallant countenance, coloured highly, but not inflamed, which looked out from a rich profusion of short chestnut curls; and although his armour was of a massive and simple form, he moved under it with such elasticity and ease, that it seemed a graceful attire, not a burthen or incumbrance. A furred mantle had not sat on him with more easy grace than the heavy hauberk which complied with every gesture of his noble form. Yet his countenance was so juvenile, that only the down on the upper lip announced decisively the approach to manhood. The females, who thronged into the court to see the first envoy of their deliverers, could not forbear mixing praises of his beauty with blessings on his valour; and one comely middle-aged dame, in particular, distinguished by the tightness with which her scarlet hose sat on a well-shaped leg and ancle, and by the cleanness of her coif, pressed close up to the young squire, and, more forward than the rest, doubled the crimson hue of his cheek, by crying aloud, that Our Lady of the Garde Doloureuse had sent them news of their redemption by an angel from the sanctuary;—a speech which, although Father Aldrovand shook his head, was received by her companions with such general acclamation, as greatly embarrassed the young man's modesty."

Of Eveline more hereafter. From her natural and spirited little handmaid Rose, less is required, and fewer traits therefore serve to compose the character. In our eyes she is a delightful personage; but whether the gentle Amelot maintained in subsequent life the needful authority over a wife somewhat his senior, whose propensity to govern had perplexed his liege lady at so early a period, (i. 224.) the Wardour MSS. saith not.

We must confess to the same dislike of buxom dame Gillian the tire-woman, which poor Rose betrays; indeed the former abuses rather too broadly the privilege of tongue granted to the wife of Bath, and ladies of her school; but as it appears that Eveline finally restored her to favour for the sake of honest Raoul her spouse, (who with Mahound his horse, somewhat resembles crusty Christy and Pepper in Bracebridge Hall,) it is not for us to impeach the fair Castellane's choice. The warm-hearted Father Aldrovand is worthy of a far kinder feeling, though in truth the education which has taught him to use the "trebuchet and quarrel" with such dexterity, has rendered him somewhat of a better-conditioned Friar Tuck.

We hardly know whether to like or not the episode of the disguised Cadwallon, which can only be called for by reasons already alluded to. The death of Gwenwyn certainly needed no revenge. Like the white dragon his symbol, and all other

dragons, white, red, and green, down to the dragon of Wantley, his business was to be slain in due course, and duly slain he is, in a manner highly creditable to the strength of the Constable's arm and lance. The night-march which precedes this event, is in the following passage strikingly brought home to the ear and imagination of the reader :—

" At length Rose suddenly felt her young mistress shiver in her embrace, and that Eveline's hand grasped her own arm rigidly as she whispered, ' Do you hear nothing ?'

" ' No—nothing but the hooting of the owl,' answered Rose timorously.

" ' I heard a distant sound,' said Eveline,—' I thought I heard it—hark, it comes again—Look from the battlements, Rose, while I awaken the priest and thy father.'

" ' Dearest lady,' said Rose, ' I dare not—What can this sound be that is heard by one only ?—You are deceived by the rush of the river.'

" ' I would not alarm the castle unnecessarily,' said Eveline, pausing, ' or even break your father's needful slumbers, by a fancy of mine—But hark—hark !—I hear it again—distinct amidst the intermitting sound of the rushing water—a low tremulous sound, mingled with a tinkling like smiths or armourers at work upon their anvils.'

" Rose had by this time sprung up on the banquette, and flinging back her rich tresses of fair hair, had applied her hand behind her ear to collect the distant sound. ' I hear it,' she cried, ' and it increases—Awake them, for Heaven's sake, and without a moment's delay !'

" Eveline accordingly stirred the sleepers with the reversed end of the lance, and as they started to their feet in haste, she whispered, in a hasty but cautious voice, ' To arms—the Welch are upon us !'

" ' What—where ?' said Wilkin Flammock,—' where be they ?'

" ' Listen and you will hear them arming,' she replied.

" ' The noise is but in thine own fancy, lady,' said the Fleming, whose organs were of the same heavy character with his form and his disposition. ' I would I had not gone to sleep at all, since I was to be awakened so soon.'

" ' Nay, but listen, good Flammock—the sound of armour comes from the north-east.'

" ' The Welch lie not in that quarter, lady,' said Wilkin, ' and, besides, they wear no armour.'

" ' I hear it, I hear it !' said Father Aldrovand, who had been listening for some time. ' All praise to St. Benedict ! Our Lady of the Garde Doloureuse has been gracious to her servants as ever ! It is the tramp of horse ; it is the clash of armour ; the chivalry of the Marches are coming to our relief..Kyrie Eleison !'

" ' I hear something too,' said Flammock, ' something like the hollow sound of the great sea, when it burst into my neighbour Klinkerman's warehouse, and rolled his pots and pans against each other. But it were

an evil mistake, father, to take foes for friends; we were best rouse the people.'

"'Tush!' said the priest, 'talk to me of pots and kettles? Was I squire of the body to Count Stephen Mauleverer for twenty years, and do I not know the tramp of a war-horse, or the clash of a mail-coat? But call the men to the walls at any rate, and have me the best drawn up in the base-court; we may help them by a sally.'"

This is fully equal in its way to any thing which is to be found in the Talisman. To the latter tale, however, every one must give the preference, as more skilfully adjusted in point of plot, and abounding more in character, action, and electrifying stage effect. It derives an additional interest also from names familiar to our early associations, but existing in a sort of dim and shadowy outline whose details we can trust the author's black-letter lore to fill up faithfully. The conquests of Saladin, and the military renown which he acquired at so early an age, are the least extraordinary features in a character which did honour to the faith he professed, and deserved a better. His chivalrous sense of honour, and the solemn acts of self humiliation and universal benevolence with which he closed his life, have supplied a fine historical foundation for a character such as is here described, and which we the more admire from its perfect keeping as a Turkish portrait. The Malek Adhel of Madame Cottin, which has delighted us all in our younger days, is certainly a great improvement on Rowe's Bajazet, and other Turks of the old regulation standard; save only that he is no Turk at all, but a preux chevalier, masquing with a turban and scimitar. In Saladin, on the contrary, the peculiarities arising from creed and education are strongly marked, and constantly present when not broken through by the vigour and frankness of his natural character. His allusions to his own dignity are words of course, his secret contempt for the mere distinctions of rank, (vol. iv. pp. 6-353,) perfectly sincere; and he appears to enjoy the opportunity of playing the bon compagnon with a manly antagonist, which his incognito affords him, without departing from the Eastern reserve which is thus acutely contrasted with the manners of Kenneth:—

"The manners of the Eastern warrior were grave, graceful, and decorous; indicating, however, in some particulars, the habitual restraint which men of warm and choleric tempers often set as a guard upon their native impetuosity of disposition, and at the same time a sense of his own dignity, which seemed to impose a certain formality of behaviour in him who entertained it.

"This haughty feeling of superiority was perhaps equally entertained by his new European acquaintance, but the effect was different; and the same feeling, which dictated to the Christian knight a bold, blunt, and somewhat careless bearing, as one too conscious of his own importance to be anxious about the opinions of others, appeared to prescribe to the Saracen a style of courtesy more studiously and formally observant of ceremony. Both were courteous; but the courtesy of the Christian seemed to flow rather from a good-humoured sense of what was due to others; that of the Moslem, from a high feeling of what was to be expected from himself."

His restraint and decorum in the presence of the royal ladies, appear to arise from motives somewhat analogous, and equally in character; and perhaps the scanty respect with which he treats their moral and intellectual natures will be somewhat atoned for in fair eyes, by the fervour of the following expressions:—

"'If the sight I saw in the tent of King Richard escaped thine observation, I will account it duller than the edge of a buffoon's wooden falchion. True, thou wert under sentence of death at the time; but, in my case, had my head been dropping from the trunk, the last strained glances of my eyeballs had distinguished with delight such a vision of loveliness, and the head would have rolled itself towards the incomparable houris, to kiss with its quivering lips the hem of their vestments. Yonder royalty of England, who for her superior loveliness deserves to be Queen of the universe; what tenderness in her blue eye; what lustre in her tresses of dishevelled gold! By the tomb of the prophet, I scarce think that the houri who shall present to me the diamond-cup of immortality, will deserve so warm a caress!'"

It may be noticed too that the Eastern fire of Saladin only breaks out on just occasions, (pp. 78-188, vol. iv.) and that in every other instance his self command, though sharply tried during his disguise, is exerted in a manner which gives rise to much of powerful description.

In the portrait of Cœur de Lion, which is made to correspond exactly with that given in Ivanhoe, we recognise, with pleasure, a character more familiar with our recollections and partialities than his real merits warrant. The mere "lion-hearted and bull-necked" qualities of this monarch would hardly have redeemed his character as a son, excepting as combined with the romantic history of his captivity, the magnanimity of his death bed, and those frank and soldier-like traits, which compose the character of a popular leader in Marmion:—

" They love a captain to obey,
Boisterous as March, yet fresh as May;
With open hand, and brow as free,
Lover of wine, and minstrelsy:
Ever the first to scale a tower,
As venturous in a lady's bower:
Such buxom chief shall lead his host
From India's fires to Zembla's frost."

The above sketch is enlarged and heightened in the present tale into a portraiture of a restless, fiery being, " wholly compounded of humours;" proud as a monarch, prouder as a Norman knight and guild-brother of the joyous science; equally open-hearted in his anger, his vanity, and his sarcasms; headstrong enough " not to serve God if the devil bade him;" as prompt to forgive and make reparation as to offend; and " winning the love of his faithful mastiffs by being ready to brawl, wrestle, or revel among the foremost of them, whenever the humour seized him."

De Vaux, (or De Mutton, for we like him better as a Saxon,) is still a rougher diamond than Hugh de Lacy, but of an equally fine water; and pleases us the more from the totally unconscious manner in which, like Moliere's bourgeois speaking prose, he does the very thing of which he despairs. " It is useless to expect manners from a mule," quoth stout Tom of the Gills, while, at the same time, the rough instinct of a noble nature supplies the want of polish in more genuine essentials. Hence, while he puts no restraint on his bluff independent humour in the presence of Saladin, and treats King, Kaisar, and Grand Master with equal surliness of deportment, he racks his dull brains for somewhat consolatory to the pride of the supposed poor knight, (p. 170, vol. iii.) and concludes his sweeping gibe against his royal master, and all other minstrels, with a special exception of the humble Blondel, " as a born gentleman of high acquirements." His faithful and fearless attendance on the unruly patient gives occasion to some of the most touching scenes in the tale; and his kindly nature breaks out very characteristically while soliciting the confidence of the condemned knight:—

" He came hastily back to the bundle of reeds on which the captive lay, took one of his fettered hands, and said, with as much softness as his rough voice was capable of expressing, ' Sir Kenneth, thou art yet young; thou hast a father. My Ralph, whom I left training his little galloway-nag on the banks of the Irthing, may one day be thy years; and, but for last night, would to God I saw his youth bear such promise as thine. Can nothing be said or done in thy behalf?'

" ' Nothing,' was the melancholy answer. ' I have deserted my charge; the banner intrusted to me is lost. When the headsman and block are prepared, the head and trunk are ready.'

" ' Nay, then, God have mercy !' said De Vaux; ' yet would I rather than my best horse I had taken that watch myself. There is mystery in it, young man, as a plain man may descry, though he cannot see through it. Cowardice ? pshaw ! No coward ever fought as I have seen thee do. Treachery, I cannot think traitors die in their treason so calmly. Thou hast been trained from thy post by some deep guile; some well-devised stratagem: the cry of some distressed maiden has caught thine ear, or the laughful look of some merry one has taken thine eyes. Never blush for it, we have all been led aside by such gear. Come, I pray thee, make a clean conscience of it to me, instead of the priest. Richard is merciful when his mood is abated. Hast thou nothing to intrust to me ?'

" The unfortunate knight turned his face from the kind warrior, and answered—' Nothing.' "

In the character of Kenneth, his self-imposed military obedience is well contrasted with the high spirit of a prince; and both set off by the tinge of shrewd Scots canniness, which is required to preserve his incognito successfully. He somewhat reminds us of Harry Bertram, in the fearless frankness, and backwardness to take offence slightly, which commonly attends on the consciousness of mental and bodily strength. His liege lady Edith we prefer to Eveline on the whole, not because her positive merits as a heroine are greater, but because they are brought more familiarly under our notice. We chiefly behold Eveline as at a distance, doing her devoir after the example of other heroines of beleaguered castles, and fair ghost-seers; while in Edith, though she says and does less, we behold the gratitude and tenderness of the woman overcoming the pride of the Plantagenet, and bearing up against the domestic war of taunts and menaces which assails her; while, as in the following animated scene, the energy of a strong mind breaks through the little decorums imposed by rank and station:—

" ' Hasten to your post, valiant knight; you are deceived in being trained hither—ask no questions.'

" ' I need ask none,' said the knight, sinking upon one knee, with the reverential devotion of a saint at the altar, and bending his eyes on the ground, lest his looks should increase the lady's embarrassment.

" ' Have you heard all ?' said Edith, impatiently. ' Gracious saints, then wherefore wait you here, when each minute that passes is loaded with dishonour.'

" ' I have heard that I am dishonoured, lady, and I have heard it from you. What reck I how soon punishment follows ? I have but one

petition to you, and then I seek, among the sabres of the infidels, whether dishonour may not be washed out with blood.'

" ' Do not so, neither,' said the lady. ' Be wise; dally not here; all may yet be well, if you will but use despatch.'

" ' I wait but for your forgiveness,' said the knight, still kneeling, ' for my presumption in believing my poor services could have been required or valued by you.'

" ' I do forgive you—O, I have nothing to forgive—I have been the means of injuring you—But O, begone—I will forgive—I will value you—that is, as I value every brave crusader—if you will but begone.'

" ' Receive, first, this precious yet fatal pledge,' said the knight, tendering the ring to Edith, who now showed gestures of impatience.

" ' Oh no, no,' she said, declining to receive it. ' Keep it—keep it as a mark of my regard—my regret, I would say. O begone, if not for your own sake, for mine.'

" Almost recompensed for the loss even of honour, which her voice had denounced to him, by the interest which she seemed to testify in his safety, Sir Kenneth rose from his knee, and, casting a momentary glance on Edith, bowed low and seemed about to withdraw. At the same instant, that maidenly bashfulness, which the energy of Edith's feelings had till then triumphed over, became conqueror in its turn, and she hastened from the apartment, extinguishing her lamp as she went, and leaving, in Sir Kenneth's thoughts, both mental and natural gloom behind her.' "

Much as we approve of the Homeric diversity of character with which the back ground is filled up by princes and warriors, their attendants abuse rather too far their privilege of dull foolery; excepting indeed, which is very probable, the wits of Jonas and the spruch-sprecher are purposely blunted down to the Austrian court-standard.—Nor can we see much necessity for such coups de théâtre as the assassination of Conrad, (who is taken out of the hands of the Old Man of the Mountain,) or the prompt decapitation of the Templar. After this latter circumstance, it is less perhaps to be wondered at that Richard grew riotous at the smell of blood, and so modestly proposed to his munificent host the friendly amusement of having his brains knocked out.

The romance of Thomas a'Kent is somewhat improved from the old fablian of "The Three Knights and the Smock," though the whole is not worth one magic line of "County Gay." In most respects, however, we are pleased to find that the chivalrous vein of Quentin Durward is fresh and unexhausted; and inclined to hope, that leaving the Lady Penelopes and Sir Bingos to the inferior pens of the mob of "young men about town," the author of Waverley will continue to exercise on the chiefs and heroes of old, the fabled power of

the eastern dervise, who could throw his spirit into dead bones, and speak from their mouths the language which they uttered when living.

ART. VI.—*An Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics, with some Additional Discoveries, by which it may be applied to decipher the Names of the Ancient Kings of Egypt.* By Henry Salt, Esq. F.R.S. Longman and Co. 1825.

ALTHOUGH many important discoveries have been effected by means of the system of phonetic hieroglyphics, we fear that much remains to the developement of the whole plan, and that many symbols, like the cuneiform characters of the Gabr and Chaldee, will defy the utmost ingenuity, and most acute researches of inquirers into these monuments of antiquity. Horapollo, indeed, led the way; yet, we cannot wholly rely upon his declarations; for his writings merely exhibit the original idea communicated by the symbols, without any reference to their phonetic powers. If, from his works, we pass to those of Kircher, a labyrinth of fanciful theories and strained etymologies is presented to us, to which neither history nor philology extends any clue; and even after an examination of Jablonski and more accurate authors, notwithstanding their acknowledged illustrations of obscure facts, we shall be forced to conclude, that the hieroglyphics are covered with a veil, like that of Isis, which no mortal, in these latter times, has been able entirely to raise.

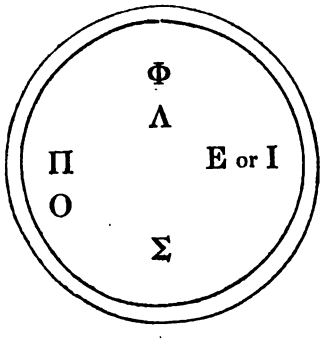
But, since our acquaintance with the Rosetta stone, a new light has been darted upon this perplexed subject; and the researches of Young and Champollion have holden the torch to future explorers of Ægyptian antiquities. They have advanced beyond the disclosures of Horapollo and Jamblichus, and shown, by indisputable documents, that these mystical envelopements of ancient wisdom are also phonetic; from whence we ascertain the curious fact, that there were hieroglyphics which were phonetic, and hieroglyphics, properly so called, which expressed the names and offices of deities *without any alphabetical arrangement;* and these (although they may have been distinct at first,) were interblended in the inscriptions of the Hierophants; but which description of them was originally adopted on the stones and pillars of the earlier

ages, we can never with accuracy find out. The inscriptions on the Babylonian bricks and the Chehel Minar, which essentially differ from each other, prove, that the secret characters in which the sacred legends and deeds of heroes were veiled were alphabetical; and possibly, we shall not err in comparing them to the phonetic hieroglyphics; for we not only discern figures of Gods, and representations of illustrious men, but alphabetical characters; whether cuneiform, as in Babylon and Persia; or Sassanian, as in the latter alone, describing their history and adventures. The Chinese characters, also, attest a similar practice, although they be different in their application: here, an immense combination of primitives appears, emblematical, not of *words* but of *ideas*, and intelligible by men of various languages, to whom the secret of deciphering them is known; and if to these we add the picture-writing of the American Indians, we shall perceive a somewhat similar system of unlimited extension prevailing in different countries; and, in each, adapted to national peculiarity.

Few things, therefore, are more desirable, than an accurate knowledge of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and enchorial characters; from them the history and antiquities of the place may be elucidated, the language may be restored to a great extent, and some insight may be afforded into the sacred tongue. From thence may be decided the great question, whether any analogy subsisted between the ἱερὰ διάλεκτος of Ægypt, Babylon, India, and Persia; since, from the similar roots existing between these on the one hand, and the Coptic and Sahidic on the other, the extraordinary dissimilarity of grammar, in the latter, prevents us from arguing to a certain conclusion; but, if such a tongue existed, as we have every reason to believe, and if traces of one not entirely reducible to Coptic grammar, but analogous to the Zend, and the surviving sacred language of the Indians, could be discovered, immense difficulties, which now oppose themselves to a critical inquiry into the respective mythologies, would be radically removed.

The essay which we are now passing under review, has advanced one important step in investigations of this nature. Whilst Mr. Salt justly assigns the first idea of the phonetic powers to Dr. Young, he awards the credit due to the labours of his rival Champollion. To the names which have been already explained, he adds, in plate I., those of Arsinoe, and Philip, the father of Alexander; and in that of Berenice, corrects Dr. Young's and Champollion's error respecting the

goose of the Nile, which, as in the name of Cleopatra, evidently appears to have been "*an hawk, or a crow, or eagle.*" The latter writer is proved, by his own phonetic alphabet, to be decidedly wrong; since he makes the goose representative both of A and Σ, which could not have been the case, without inducing an inextricable confusion in the whole system. The specimens of the name of Arsinoe, from Gau Kibeer, Edfou, and Dakké, exhibit most complete illustrations of the characters hitherto discovered. Here we notice symbols united with the phonetic hieroglyphics, the figure of Isis as ordinarily sculptured, indicating the goddess, the egg and the half-circle denoting her sex. The name of Philip, changed into Greek characters, will show the singular order in which the letters were often placed:—



But here we must notice an omission in Mr. Salt's alphabet, which assigns to the O the hieroglyphic ⵔ, but not its inverted form ⵓ, which actually occurs in this name. This mode of arranging the letters has some faint parallel in the modern as well as ancient coins of the Arabs and Persians.

In plate II. the names of Nero, Commodus, Adrian, Antoninus, "and one which appears to be Marcus Verus Antonine Sebastos Autokrator Cæsar, forming the ornaments of a cornice in the interior of a small propylon, on the west of the island of Philæ," were observed in these symbolical characters. From hence, Mr. Salt digresses into a statement of his reasons for believing the correctness of the phonetic system, into which we shall not follow him, being convinced by the testimony of the Rosetta stone, independently of his own researches, that it may be most perfectly substantiated; and contenting ourselves with citing, from p. 17, a valuable criticism, in which he has felicitously indulged:—

"I may here premise, that it is of great consequence towards deciphering the names of the old Egyptian kings, to which subject I shall now proceed, to observe, that in almost all the examples that have come before me where the Emperors, and, in frequent instances, where the Ptolemies are designated, the name of the king is found in the second ring, the first ordinarily containing their mystic or other titles, notwithstanding that the wasp and plant are placed before the first ring, and the goose of the Nile and globe before the last. This makes it almost impossible, that the two latter signs should represent 'son of,' as so generally supposed, on Dr. Young's authority, as it would render the reading in most cases absolute nonsense; of which I may cite as instances, the rings where Alexander is named at Karnak, those containing the titles and name of Philip, those containing the titles and name of Cleopatra at Coos, and elsewhere, omitting innumerable other examples that stand in the same predicament. It struck me indeed some years ago, that the goose and globe, the former of which, on Horus Apollo's authority, ought to represent 'son,' might rather be distinct signs, and, as we have good reason to think that the circle represents 'Re,' or the Sun, that the two together might admit of the interpretation, 'Son of the Sun;' and the circumstance of this very title, 'ὁ Υἱὸς Ηλίου,' being, in fact, placed just in the corresponding position before the name of Ptolemy in the Rosetta inscription, gives almost a certainty to my conjecture. This conjecture is confirmed also by my having been able to trace the word 'son' as designated by the goose and a single numeral, or oblong square, denoting masculine, as in many instances at Dakké, at the little temple of Isis Thebes, on a fragment of a statue in my possession, and at Eleithias, where I first clearly ascertained the point, as also that 'daughter' is expressed by the goose and a half-circle (the round uppermost), and likewise at Elephantina and other places."

These remarks are corroborated by a subsequent discovery at Philæ; and no doubt of their correctness can arise in the minds of persons versed in eastern titles: that of "Son of Osiris, Re, or the Sun," was of the most common occurrence, and had its counterpart in various other countries. The Byzantine historians have preserved instances which are completely analogous. The erasures, which have been found to occur in the second ring of inscriptions, "where the name of the founder has been displaced by that of a Ptolemy, while the titles in the first ring have been preserved, as suiting equally well, no doubt, a Ptolemy or a Pharaoh," were "noticed by Mr. Banks, in the temple of Luxor, and since detected by him in many other instances of the studied and systematic erasure of some one particular character, wherever it shall have occurred as the component part of a particular name." The singularity of this fact consists in the circumstance of most examples of this erasure being found to have occurred in the

same name as that mentioned by Mr. Banks at Luxor, and this name Mr. Salt imagines to be Amenoph. We are by no means satisfied with the cause of the erasure, suggested in the notes; nor can we imagine, that if there had been some original error in the orthography, it would have been so universal. However unauthorized our conjecture may be, we should rather suspect it to have been some prefix or title, that gave umbrage to some subsequently reigning power; which, if true, would satisfactorily account for its universal erasure.

Dr. Murray, as cited by Mr. Salt, has observed, that as the names of the Ægyptian kings were derived from those of the Ægyptian deities, it is necessary to know the signs and figures by which they were represented, since we have seen that the images of the Gods are admixed with the hieroglyphics. Submitting Dr. Murray's remarks to actual proof, Mr. Salt was enabled considerably to extend our previous knowledge of the subject, and arrived at the conclusion, that the phonetic characters were in use, at least, in the time of Psammitichus. Probably they were far anterior to this epoch, and varied, if at all, but for a short period, in antiquity, from the other parts of the symbolic system. That abundantly more yet remains to be elicited, we argue from their exclusive accommodation to the Greek alphabet, whereas even the modern Coptic contains some characters unknown to it; and it is very doubtful, if the Greek letters perfectly answered to all the sounds of the ancient Ægyptian. The language of the country, before the Ptolemies, could have had little or no similarity to the Greek, as we are certified by the Coptic grammar; yet, when the Greek became the court-dialect, we may imagine the characters of the one to have been as much as possible reduced to the series of the other. But, with the exception of Greek names, we depend upon the Coptic for an explanation of the hieroglyphics; and as we shall succeed in unravelling them, the more perfect will become our acquaintance with this ancient and interesting language. In all the phonetic tables which we have seen, we are dissatisfied with the reference of the first symbol indicative of the vowels to an arbitrary sound, that may be applied to either of them, especially as particular vowels are, in the subsequent part of the table, marked by particular figures, such as the E and O in Salt's list. We imagine that they had an arrangement, which has not yet been defined: yet, where certain consonants are consecutive, without the intervention of a vowel, we can readily suppose, from existing proofs in the Sanscrit-family of languages, that a

short and obscure vowel sound, like the Indian ॅ, was inserted.

Consequently, we are disposed to attach every credit to Mr. Salt's application of this system to the "names of the Æthiopian sovereigns, who had—held the country in subjection;" more especially, as we are of opinion, that if any words be at a future time deciphered, to which the remains of the Coptic afford to us no solution, we must look for our interpretation of them to some Æthiopian dialect; and possibly, in some degree, to the Arabic.

The discovery of the name of ΣΑΒΑΚΟ or ΣΑΒΑΚΟΦΘ at Abydos, and of TIPAKA at Medinet Haboo, whom Perizonius incorrectly has identified, the one with the other, not only attests the truth of the Biblical history, as to the existence of this Æthiopian king, but proves the phonetic to have been "in use full seven hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra." And it is worthy of remark, that the names of Sabaco, Tiraka, and of others, are deciphered from right to left, which is directly contrary to the manner of reading the present Coptic, and to the order of the Persepolitan inscriptions. It is contrary, also, to the modern Æthiopic, which circumstance, although it will not militate against the analogy of words in either language, shows that the usual Eastern mode of writing was adopted by the Ægyptians. The name of Tiraka, also, induces reason to suspect, that our phonetic tables are greatly imperfect: the lion couchant, which represents the P, is entirely omitted in Salt's specimen; and occurs in Salt, Young, and Champollion, as a sign of the A, which we can scarcely conceive to be correct. And the mystic titles in the other ring evidently appear, from their analogy to the partially discovered alphabet, also to be phonetic, which we have no doubt that a little time will prove them to be. Professor Hammer some time since edited, from the Arabic, a series of mystical alphabets, many of which exhibit a striking similarity to these characters; and, in the series, we not only detect phonetic characters, but symbols of animals, plants, and other things. This work is worthy of the attention of the investigator of Ægyptian hieroglyphics; and, as it is but little known, we subjoin its title; شوق المستهام في معرفة رموز الاقلام—imagining, perhaps not without reason, that it may give a clue to many hitherto undiscovered.

The plates of the Ægyptian deities are valuable, although the illustration of them in the body of the book contains little that may not be found in Jablonski's Pantheon, and Dr. Young's works. They serve to establish the fact, on which we have insisted, that there were symbols of deities independent of alphabetical symbols, since we notice both in this catalogue. But, by their aid, Mr. Salt has been enabled to decipher the following names of the ancient kings of Ægypt:—

Names of Kings.	Phonetic characters, by which expressed.
"Rameses Thothmosis	ΡΕΜΕΣΕΣ ΘΟΘΜΟΣΙΣ.
Misartes	ΜΙΣΑΡΤΕΣΝ.
Amenummee	ΑΜΥΝΜ'ΑΝΥΜΕ.
Rameses me Amun	ΑΜΥΝ, ΜΕ, ΡΕΜΕΣΕΣ.
The same, when in first ring, before the name of Amenoth	ΡΕΜΕΣΕΣ, ΜΕΑΜΥΝ.
Amenoth	ΑΜΥΝΟΘΦ.
Ochyras	ΟΚΙΡΕ.
Amenummee	ΑΜΥΝΜ'ΝΑΜΕΕ.
Osorchon	ΑΜΥΝΜ'ΟΣΟΡΚΟΝ.
Sabacho	ΣΑΒΑΚΟΘΦ.
Tirhaka	ΤΙΡΑΚΑ.
Anumere	ΡΕΝΥΜΕΡΕ.
Necho, discovered by Mr. Anastasy.	ΝΕΧΟ.
Psammitichus	ΠΣΑΜΙΤΙΚ.
Amasis	ΡΕΜΕΣΕΣ.
Alek Amun	ΑΛΕΚ, ΑΜΥΝ."

This last he considers to be Alexander, which is a very probable conjecture; and he adds to the number the names of four other Ægyptian sovereigns, which cannot be traced in any author, viz. Amun-Athurté, Amun-Meerut, Remeneith, Rem-merun. The name likewise of Zerah, who is mentioned in scripture, was found near Mount Sinai, expressed as ΣΣΕΡΑ in the phonetic characters. To which are adjoined those of several queens:—

Queens.	Phonetic characters, by which expressed.
"Isis si Athur	ΙΣΙΣΣ' ΑΘΥΡ.
Remeses Athur, wife of Amenoth	ΡΕΜΕΣΕΣ ΑΘΥΡΡ.
Tasira Merum, (vide king's name above)	ΤΑΣΙΡΑΜΕΡΥΝ.
Tame, wife of Ramesis in Amur.	ΤΑΜΕΣΙΡΑ.
Tasaate	ΤΑΣΑΑΤΕ.
Teethothe	ΤΕΕΘΟΘΕ.
Amun Meethe	ΑΜΥΝΜΕΕΤΕ."

After carefully examining the plates, we were not perfectly satisfied with every name, and had occasion to repeat our observations on the defective state of the alphabet. Many of these are too much founded on conjecture, and will probably be differently explained when the system shall be reduced to a greater precision. Yet, immense ingenuity and indefatigable research have been displayed, and very many results of this laborious inquiry carry with them substantiations of their truth. And, notwithstanding we have animadverted upon certain deficiencies in the alphabet, we cannot but award to Mr. Salt the merit due to him for the discovery of several new symbols; and hope that, with his local opportunities, he will direct his attention to a better arrangement and an increased improvement of their phonetic powers. His work affords the hope that, at some future period, the wisdom and ἀπορρήτα of Ægypt will be removed from the veils under which they have reposed for ages, and fill up part of that mighty chasm, which the vicissitudes of the nation have caused in its historic page.

ART. VII.—*Letters to Charles Butler, Esq. on the theological Parts of his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church."* By the Rev. H. Phillpotts, D. D.

AMONG all the wonderful occurrences by which it has pleased Providence to mark the eventful times in which we live, none, perhaps, is more extraordinary than that the Protestants of England should be engaged in the nineteenth century in defending the first principles of their Reformation, and disputing with the Roman Catholics of these realms about the fundamental dogmas of their faith. Long did the war of controversy last: long did the pulpits of England resound with the terms of Protestant and Papist: while the press teemed with disquisitions on the papal supremacy, on purgatory and image-worship, and all the doctrines of the church of Rome. At length the combat ceased: the Protestants tired, satisfied, victorious, discontinued the unprofitable and unnecessary warfare; and many years have now elapsed since these dogmas furnished subjects for discourses to the preachers of the universities, or the metropolis, or the parochial ministers of England. So long, indeed, has been the interval of repose, that the vast majority of the people of this kingdom are

entirely unacquainted with the tenets and principles of the Romish church; they have heard of them as the controversies of olden times, and have wept over the histories of their forefathers; but of the doctrines themselves, except what they have gathered from history, they know nothing: the mind has turned naturally to the study of those subjects, which are of more pressing and immediate interest: peace has been productive of partial idleness; and ignorance has been the necessary result. So far, at least, is certain, that we have heard only the report of these things, and know nothing of them from our own experience.

But this state of affairs is gone: the silence of repose is broken: the Romanists have again raised the cry of war and have sounded the trumpet of defiance, and have challenged us to meet them on the old ground of doctrine and of truth: and the time is come, when every minister of the church of England must again buckle on his armour, and prepare himself to defend the very citadel of Protestantism and the palladium of his faith. We speak in the old-established metaphors of theology; but, nevertheless, we wish to be understood as speaking with very solemn seriousness; and as recommending the clergy of England not indeed to discourse on these subjects to the people, but to study, with all possible care and attention, the fundamental tenets and principles of Protestantism. For discoveries have been made, and are still in progress, of the most unexpected and extraordinary kind; discoveries which, if any thing in this age of discovery could have astounded us, would have produced astonishment and surprise. It is more than three centuries since Luther proposed his theses on the subject of indulgences; and all Europe, with one voice, cried aloud for Reformation in disgust. It has now been discovered, that the doctrine of indulgences was harmless, and that Luther's clamour was uncalled for; that there is "nothing in it contrary to common sense, or prejudicial to the interests of religion or morality."* It has been discovered, that the Romanists *never held* those doctrines of temporal supremacy and universal power, which they have since disclaimed; and we have been challenged to produce any evidence of such tenets out of the authentic documents of their church.† It has been discovered, that the church of England‡ believe

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* Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 110.
† Id. pp. 131 and 136.
‡ Report of Mr. Canning's Speech. Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 119.

in consubstantiation —that she is equal in intolerance to the church of Rome, because she joins with her in admitting the Athanasian Creed *—that the Reformation has conduced neither to the progress of liberty nor the improvement of literature†—that Cranmer was sanguinary, and Latimer a traitor‡—that the Papists had no hand in the Gunpowder Plot §—and that the second James was a liberal and tolerant prince.‖ These, it must be confessed, are discoveries of no ordinary magnitude, even in this century of lights. But this is not all. It has been discovered, that the doctrines of the church of England are, after all, nearly, if not altogether, the same as the doctrines of the church of Rome—that we have been fighting all along, not for a substance, but a shadow—that some of the greatest divines of the established church have coincided in opinion with the Papists—that our belief in the fitness of praying to the saints is "the same ¶—our practice the same—our language precisely the same as theirs"—that the doctrine of absolution in the church of England differs in no way,** that the Romish prelates can perceive, from the doctrine of the church of Rome††—that prayers for the dead and purgatory are maintained by the greatest luminaries of the Protestant faith‡‡—that auricular confession is the acknowledged doctrine of our church—and finally, that "no one who believes in the real presence of Christ can take the oath against transubstantiation."§§ These discoveries, as we have said, are strange, and have made the ears of the Protestant clergy of this empire to tingle—the news, probably, has burst upon them somewhat suddenly and unexpectedly, that they are worshippers of saints, believers in purgatory, and affianced to a faith, which requires the acknowledgment of the necessity of sacramental confession and absolution. But even this is not all—would to God it were—there are other signs of the

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* Report of Mr. Canning's Speech. Dr. Doyle's Evidence before the House of Commons. (*London*, J. Murray, 1825.)

† Book of the Roman Catholic Church, pp. 170-186.

‡ Id. pp. 209, 218. "Cranmer's sanguinary scheme." "Latimer guilty of high treason."

§ Id. p. 278.

‖ Id. p. 341. "His (James's) project for effecting a general religious toleration was entitled to praise."

¶ Letters of J. K. L. p. 279. Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 102. End of Controversy, p. 251. Dr. Doyle's Evidence before the House of Commons.

** Dr. Doyle's Evidence given in this article. End of Controversy, p. 297.

†† Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 106. End of Controversy, p. 313.

‡‡ Id. p. 107, and End of Controversy.

§§ Id. p. 119, and End of Controversy.

times, more dangerous and important than these assertions of Romish prelates and vicars apostolic: insinuations thrown out from other quarters more fearful and alarming. Are we not right, then, in saying, that it is time that the clergy should prepare themselves, should again direct their attention to the examination of those doctrines, which have been so long neglected and despised?

It is not to be denied, that they will now approach the subject under some manifest disadvantages. The long disuse of the practices of the Romish church, the small acquaintance with their tenets, that is possessed by any class of the community, except the clergy, has given a boldness to our adversaries, and a security to their assertions, against which the first champions of the Reformation had not to contend. When they charged the Roman Catholics with holding any doctrine, or professing any tenet, they were writing for a people, who could ascertain by their own experience, and knowledge, and practice, whether such charges were true. When Bishop Jewell said to Mr. Harding, "Deny no more the manifest truth, avouch no more the open falsehood; let there be some probability and likelihood in your sayings;" he spoke a language, concerning which every Englishman could determine for himself, whether it were calumnious or true. The consequence was, that Cranmer, and Latimer, and Jewell, were never, or very rarely, called upon to prove the fact, that such and such were the real doctrines of the church that they opposed: the fact was admitted, and the doctrine was defended: and the Reformers had a different and an easier task of showing, that the doctrines themselves were indefensible on any ground of scripture, of tradition, or of reason. And they did their work with a power irresistible, and ultimately unresisted; many of the obnoxious tenets were discarded; and Popery itself gained no small advantage from the labours of those venerable men. And now these tenets having been disclaimed by a large portion of Christendom, and no individual in this country having had experience of their real existence, it is boldly and unequivocally asserted that they never did exist. This difficulty, however, relates altogether to the historical part of the question; but another, not less in magnitude, arises out of the same circumstances, when we are called upon to examine the actual doctrines of Romanism, as they are now acknowledged and confessed: more particularly, when we come to consider the practical effect and operation of these doctrines upon the minds of the people. Happy was it for the Protestant controversialist, when his own eyes and ears could bear witness to the doctrine of Papal satisfactions, and meritorious works—when he could point

to the benighted wanderer, working his way to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham, or Ipswich, and hear him confess with his own mouth, that he trusted to such works for the expiation of his sins—or when every eye could behold "our churches full of images, wondrously decked and adorned; garlands and coronets set on their heads, precious pearls hanging about their necks, their fingers shining with rings, set with precious stones; their dead and still bodies, clothed with garments stiff with gold." Happy was it for the ease and character of the controversialists who lived in those days, and who could say in the strong language of the beloved disciple, "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, that declare we unto you." But those days the Almighty, in his infinite mercy, has removed from us; and willingly do we undertake the additional labour imposed on us by their removal.

There is no other way of providing against these difficulties, but by appealing continually to the doctrinal and historical documents of former times, in proof of the doctrines which were maintained before the Reformation, and have been since discarded; and, notwithstanding the advice of Lord Lansdowne, and other great personages, we must go to Bellarmine and the Councils; for the single reason, that the nature of the arguments admits of no other method of reply. With the view, again, of discovering the present state of Romanism, as it is professed and acknowledged in these realms, we must still go to the councils and the catechisms; simply, because these are the testimonies to which our adversaries themselves refer us. We wish noble lords and gentlemen would remember, that, however forbearance from such studies may be fitting to legislators and nobles, yet it cannot apply to the humble clergy; they have no such lights, no such facility of knowledge: Alcibiades was ready enough to allow, that the shoemaker required the knowledge of the use of his awl, and the carpenter of his adze; for the senator alone, he pleaded the privilege of ignorance, and an exemption from all study; and in later days, it was only of the "gens de qualité," that the illustrious Marquis de Mascarille declared "qu'ils savent tout sans avoir rien appris."

We shall take leave then, in defiance of this excellent advice, to continue our ancient studies, not omitting, however, the other part of the course recommended to us, a steady attention to the signs of the times. Yet, in these investigations, we meet with

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* Homilies. 3d Sermon against Peril of Idolatry.

new difficulties at every step; difficulties attributable (as we are compelled to say) to the extraordinary conduct of our adversaries. Is evidence adduced from councils, from the bulls and decrees of popes, from the sacred canons, from the writings of cardinals, bishops, and the most learned writers of the church of Rome, in attestation of their tenets? Their evidence is refused as not bearing on the question, and is not even admitted as proof of the opinions of the Romanists at any time. To the Council of Trent alone are we to go—a council after all, be it remembered, many of whose decrees were never admitted by several parts of Christendom—some, indeed, never beyond the precincts of the Papal territory: while, on the other hand, individual treatises of Roman Catholic writers, some of them of no great authority, are proposed to us as documents of appeal—such as the works of Bossuet, of Gother, and Dr. Milner; but of this we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. In the mean time we observe, that we accept these works as they are offered to us, and are ready to take them as containing the *present* confession of the Romish church. But, in regard to the doctrines which are renounced, the application of the postulate is impossible and absurd.

But if we have to contend with these various difficulties, some facilities, on the other part of the question, are afforded us by the circumstances of the present day. It is in vain that Dr. Doyle, and the other Romish prelates of Ireland, assure the two houses of legislature, that the doctrines of absolution and of saint-worship are the same in England as at Rome: every man's sense and experience can refute the calumny; every man, woman, and child, of the Protestant communion, of every rank and class, can declare that he knows it to be false; and the spread of Protestantism, therefore, though it renders it more difficult to establish the real nature of the Romish tenets, gives us, at least, the advantage of repelling more easily the multifarious calumnies which have been promulgated against our own religion.

With this view, then, of the importance of the inquiry, and the difficulties which surround it, we hold it our duty to contribute what we can towards the performance of the task we have recommended; and the answer of Dr. Phillpotts to Mr. Butler will furnish us with the opportunity of doing it. He has selected that chapter from the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," which contains the tenets professed, according to the opinion of Mr. Butler, by the members of his communion; and he has argued each point at great length, and with extraordinary accuracy and learning. We shall follow the same plan with Dr.

Phillpotts; and our continual reference to his arguments and proofs, will best show our opinions of his merits. One part only of his work we shall be obliged, for want of room, to leave untouched; we mean, his refutation of the charges brought against the faith of Archbishops Laud, Sheldon, Wake, Bishops Blandford, Montague, Gunning, Dr. Thorndyke, and others. In this part of his work, we have no hesitation in saying that he is perfectly triumphant, and we refer our readers to it with extreme pleasure and satisfaction.

We proceed then to lay before them our view of the Roman Catholic doctrines, and of the doctrines of the church of England, on the points in controversy; and we desire it well to be understood, that we give the Roman Catholic writers of this country, perfect credit for the sincerity of their assertions: we accept the basis which they propose: we appeal, in proof of the *actual* doctrines of their church to no other evidences, except those to which we are referred, viz. the Council of Trent, the Catechism of Trent, the Creed of Pius IV., the Exposition of Bossuet, the "Papist Represented and Misrepresented," of Gother, and "The End of Controversy," of Dr. Milner. In accepting these latter works, we give them greater advantages than we would grant to Protestants, and greater, as we think, than our adversaries are in the habit of granting to us; but as these books do not essentially differ from each other, we desire to make no objection to them. And we hope, that nothing of discourtesy will escape us in the course of this article; no insinuation of motives; nothing personal or offensive; nothing contrary to that style of controversy which Mr. Butler so warmly recommends.

On the worship or invocation of saints.—Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. So said Moses when he recapitulated the law to the children of Israel; and so said our Saviour when he rebuked the Tempter: and the Protestants have interpreted these words in agreement with the first commandment of the decalogue, as conveying a solemn prohibition of the worship or adoration of any other being except the one God. But the Romanists have put a different sense upon them. Two words, they observe, are here employed, προσκύνησις and λατρεία. Of the former, it is, indeed, commanded that it should be offered unto God, but it is not forbidden to be offered to other beings. This prohibition applies only to the latter—of λατρεία only it is ordered that it should be confined altogether to God. Out of this interpretation has arisen a division of worship into different kinds and species; and upon this division hangs the whole doctrine of the Romish church on the subject of the adoration, honour, and reverence due to saints.

The first and highest kind of worship is *Latria*, which is to be offered only to the blessed Trinity. The second is *Hyperdulia*, which is to be offered only to the Virgin Mary, who, being far above all creatures, is to be adored with a worship proportionally superior. The third is *Dulia*, which is to be offered to saints and angels. That latria is due only to the Trinity is continually asserted in the councils; but the terms of dulia and hyperdulia have not been adopted or acknowledged by them in their public documents: they are, however, employed unanimously by all the best writers of the Romish church, and their use is maintained and defended by them. "Neque obstat," says Bellarmine, "quod Patres raro meminerint nominatim duliæ; nam cum dicunt *sanctos et imagines coli debere, et non latria;* satis indicant, debere coli aliâ specie cultus; eam nos vocamus duliam." "Nam cum in re inveniatur manifesta distinctio inter cultum Dei et sanctorum; oportebat etiam ad vitandam æquivocationem invenire distincta vocabula: optima autem erant ista duo: primò, quia Scriptores sacri vocem λατρεία nunquam usurpant nisi pro cultu solius Dei, ut patet ex toto Novo Testamento; vocem autem δουλεία usurpant pro omni servitute, tam Dei, quam hominum. Deinde, antiqui patres nunquam nomen latriæ tribuunt nisi Deo, cum tamen etiam sanctos coli dicant."* It would, however, have been much more convenient, if the councils had publicly adopted and acknowledged the term δουλεία, as it would have saved all the difficulty arising out of the continual employment of the word "adoratio,"—a difficulty of such frequent occurrence that, although the term is universally applied by the councils to the worship, whether of the Trinity, of angels, or of saints, or even of images, their writers have, nevertheless, recommended that, in all controversies with heretics on this latter subject, the words "veneratio" and "honor" should be substituted in its stead. "Conserendo manus cum hereticis præstaret abstinere à nomine adorationis imaginum, satiusque esset uti nomine venerationis et honoris, ne ex locutionis modo occasionem percipiant obdurationis in suis erroribus." Bail. Summa Concil. i. 261.

It is admitted, then, on all hands, that the adoration which is to be paid to the Virgin, to angels, and to saints, is inferior both in kind and degree to that which is due to the blessed Trinity. But it is not so easy to define exactly the acts peculiar to the dif-

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* Bellam. de Beat. Sanct. lib. i. cap. xii.

ferent species of worship. Some acts there are, according to Bellarmine, which must be performed only in the highest kind, such as those of sacrifice, of the dedication of temples, of vows with some others; these acts must not be directed immediately to those beings who are the objects only of hyperdulia or dulia. This part of the inquiry, however, is more theoretical than useful; and as every thing that can be said on it must be derived not from councils, but from doctors of the Romish church whose authority would be called in question, it is not worth while to enter upon it now. And, therefore, observing only that the catechism of Trent still retains the term of "adoratio angelorum," we pass on to state the difference in the nature of the worship to be addressed to the several beings who are the objects of it, as it is now universally admitted by the Romanists, confining our statement to the only act which is now insisted on, the act of invocation or prayer.

The doctrine, then, of the Council of Trent, on this point, is as follows.* The saints reigning with Christ offer up their prayers to God for man. It is a good and useful supplication to invoke them; and to have recourse to their prayers, help, and assistance to obtain favours from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord above, who is our Redeemer and Saviour. The catechism, published in pursuance of the decrees of the council, teaches, that "God and the saints are not to be prayed to in the same manner; for we pray to God that He himself would give us good things, and deliver us from evil things; but we beg of the saints, because they are pleasing to God, that they would be our advocates, and obtain from God what we stand in need of."— "Open our prayer-books, you will find that when we address God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, or the Holy Trinity, we say to them, 'Have mercy on us;' and that when we address the blessed Virgin, the saints, or the angels, the descent is infinite, and we say to them, 'Pray for us.'"

The Articles of Henry VIII., put forth in 1536, long before this decree of the Council of Trent was passed, are precisely in harmony with the doctrine contained in these passages. "As touching praying to saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people that, albeit, grace, remission of sin, and salvation cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, who is only sufficient

* Book of the Rom. Catholic Church, p. 100.

mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God, after this manner: 'All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake we may have grace,'" &c. &c. So also in the "Institution of a Christian Man," and the "Necessary Doctrine," put forth in the subsequent periods of that reign. Nor is there any thing that we know of in any of the older councils in any way contradictory to this doctrine; it is uniformly asserted, that the prayers to saints are only petitions for intercession; and it is as uniformly maintained that this intercession does not interfere with the one mediation, redemption, intercession, and advocacy of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Nor is there any thing in the authorized Litany of the church, or in the *general spirit* of the authorized Missals, contradictory to this doctrine. The Litany contained in the Missal of Clement VIII. (which is that now before us) coincides precisely with the Litany of the "Garden of the Soul;"† and the prayers in it are addressed, in general, either to God, beseeching him to accept the intercession of his saints, or to the saints, beseeching them to intercede with God. But this is not universal: there are many prayers in the formularies of the church of Rome addressed immediately to the saints, without any mention of intercession, or any intimation that these prayers are only on their journey to a higher throne; and the defence, which is made by Bellarmine of this custom, is as follows; and it may be taken by every one as its real value. ‡"It is to be observed," he says, "that when we say we must only invoke the saints, in order that they may pray for us, that our rule is applicable, not to the words, but to the sense; for, with regard to the words, we may say, St. Peter, have mercy on us, save us, open to us the gates of heaven; again, we may say, give us health, patience, fortitude—only we must understand that St. Peter is to save us, to have mercy on us, *by praying for us;* and to give us this or that by his prayers and his merits; for such was the custom

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* See Missale Rom. ex decr. Sacrosancti Conc. Trid. restit. Paris, 1625.

† This is the prayer book in general circulation among the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom.

‡ Est tamen notandum, cum dicimus, non debere peti à sanctis nisi ut orent pro nobis, nos non agere de verbis, sed de sensu verborum: nam quantum ad verba, licet dicere; S. Petre, miserere mei, salva me, aperi mihi aditum cœli: item, da mihi sanitatem corporis, da patientiam, da fortitudinem, &c. dummodo intelligamus salva me et miserere mei orando pro me, da mihi hoc et illud tuis precibus et meritis: sic enim loquitur Gregorius Naz. Maria mater gratiæ mater misericordiæ. Tu nos ab hoste protege et hora mortis suscipe. Bell. de Beat. Sanct. lib. i. c. xviii.

of Gregory Nazianzen, and many others; and such also is the custom of the universal church, when in the hymn to the Virgin it says,—

" ' O Virgin Mary most gracious,
O mother of mercy incomparable,
From our enemies defend thou us,
And in the hour of death be favourable.' " *

Now, allowing the validity of this defence; allowing that to persons well informed of the express offices of the Virgin and the saints, of the limits of their powers, and the measure of their duties, such a continual substitution of ideas may be familiar and easy, (though, we confess, it does not appear to us to be so,) we are, nevertheless, bold to ask, whether for the multitude, who are employed incessantly in material and worldly things, whether for that very multitude, which is so rude and so little spiritual, that, according to the confession of the Romish church, they need the aid of images and relics to make for them bridges, as it were, over which they may pass from earth to heaven, such forms of prayer are fitting?—whether it is right to depend so entirely on their power of abstraction?—a power which, if they have it not, will, by its absence, lay them open, from the confession of all men, to the guilt of positive idolatry. We cannot think it right that such equivoques should be left in any form of prayer promulgated for general use. How is it possible that the rude, unpolished hind, or " the lean unwashed artificer," should understand the following address in any other sense than as a prayer directed immediately to the Virgin :—

" O pure, O spotless maid,
Whose meekness all surpass'd,
Our lusts and passions quell;
And make us mild and chaste.
Preserve our lives unstained,
And guard us in our way;
Until we come with thee
To joys that ne'er decay." *

We pass on now to consider the personal dignity of those beings who are thus addressed, with the view of ascertaining the ideas which every plain and honest suppliant must, necessarily, conceive of them, and whether the terms in which the people hear

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* See Primer of Queen Mary, Lond. 1555.
† Garden of the Soul, p. 297. Phillpotts, p. 47.

them spoken of and praised in the formularies of their faith are calculated to impress them with the conviction (which Mr. Butler, Dr. Doyle, and Dr. Milner are anxious to convey as the real sense of their church) that these beings are nothing more than mortals, who having passed through this vale of misery, in which we are still left to sojourn, and having attained to the inheritance of the saints in light, are permitted to approach their Lord by means of prayer and intercession. We begin with the Virgin Mary. The first principle then of the Romish church is, that she is "the mother of God," that she sits "trinitati sessione proxima"—above all angels and archangels and all the host of heaven. We give the following hymn in proof of our assertion.

"Rejoice, O flower of virgins all,
In thine honour and grace especiall:
Exceeding a thousand fold
The principality of angels eminent,
And the dignity of saints refulgent,
More than can be told.
Rejoice, O spouse of God, most dear,
For, as the light of day so clear
Cometh of the sun most radiant,
Even so dost thou cause, questionless,
The world to flourish in quietness,
Through thy grace abundant.
Rejoice, O vessel of virtue splendent,
At whose beck and commandment
All the heavenly consistory,
The most gentle and also happiest,
The very mother of Jesu Christ,
Do worship with much glory.
Rejoice in the bond of charity,
For by the liege of dignity,
Thou art coupled *with God so near,*
That thou mayest, at thy desire,
Obtain all that thou wilt acquire
Of Jesu, thy son, so dear. *
Rejoice, O mother of wretches all,
For the Father that is eternal,
To them that do thee reverence,
In this world gives them wages,
And a place in the heavenly stages
In the kingdom of excellence.

* This idea runs through the whole of the Primer.

Rejoice, O mother of Jesu Christ,
Which wast alone most worthiest,
O Virgin immaculate!
To be of such high dignity,
The next to the blessed Trinity,
In place thou art now collocate."

To this we subjoin the prayer which follows it immediately in the Primer.

"O most holy and humble Spouse, most beautiful maid, Mary, Mother of God, Virgin elect, *conduct* us the right way unto everlasting joy, where is perpetual peace and glory. And ever sweet Mary, give hearing to my prayer with a benevolent ear."* We suppose that "conduct" in this Collect is to be taken as equivalent with the expression "obtain by thy prayers that we may be conducted." In conclusion, let the reader take the doxology at the end of the Primer: "To the holy and indivisible Trinity, to the humanity of Jesu Christ crucified, *and to the glorious Virgin Mary*, glory infinite be given of every creature, world without end. Amen."

We give these passages from the Primer, because they are "done into English" to our hand: but they may be found in all the authorized Missals of the church of Rome.

When our readers shall have perused and considered attentively the documents here adduced, we recommend them, also, to peruse and consider attentively the following passage in the evidence before the committee of the house of commons.

"The Committee find, in a treatise called, 'A Vindication of the Roman Catholics,' the following curse: 'Cursed is every Goddess worshipper, that believes the Virgin Mary to be any more than a creature, that honours her, worships her, or puts his trust in her more than in God; that honours her above her Son, or believes that she can, in any way command him,'—is that acknowledged? *Ans.* That is acknowledged; and every Roman Catholic in the world would say with Gother, accursed be such person."† Now upon this anathema we cannot help observing, that no anathema was ever more strangely worded, if it was the object of the author to convey the idea that his church does not worship the Virgin Mary *equally* with God—that it does not

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* See the "Prosa de Virg. Maria," in the "Missæ propriæ Festorum," published by authority at Rome, and amended according to the decree of the Council of Trent. See also the last "Prosa" in that book, which concludes in these words:—"Benedicta per tua merita, te rogamus, mortuos suscita et dimittens eorum debita, ad requiem sis eis semita, O Maria. Amen."

† Dr. Doyle's evidence before the house of commons.

honour her *equally* with her Son; or does not believe that her Son will always attend to her requests. If this is the real meaning of the anathema, why is it not said expressly and explicitly? Why the words "*more* than God," "*more than her Son*," "*command him*"? We do not mean to charge the church of Rome with holding even the milder form of doctrine—though we do say positively that she approaches very nearly to it—but there is something in this form of the anathema which we are unable to explain or understand. As for the power of the Virgin to *command* her Son, we have, however, a word or two to say—Dr. Phillpotts has produced the well-known words out of the office of the blessed Virgin,

"Monstra te esse Matrem
Sumat per te preces,"

and has pointed out the deviation from the real meaning of the words, as it is given in the "Garden of the Soul." That our readers may judge for themselves, of the change which has been made in the whole hymn of late years, we give it as it is found in the Primer of Mary, and in the book of devotion just named.

PRIMER.

"Hail! star of the sea most bright,
O mother of God immaculate;
A pure virgin in God's own sight—
The gate of heaven most fortunate.
Saluted thou wast with great humility,
When Gabriel said,—Ave Maria.
Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
And *change the name of sinful Eva.*
Loose the prisoners from captivity;
Unto the blind give sight again;
Repel our great iniquity;
All that is good for us obtain.
Show thyself to be a mother,
So that he accept our petition.
Which, for our sake, before all other,
Was contented to be thy son.
O, Blessed Lady! O, singular virgin!
In perfect meekness all others exceeding,
Deliver us from bondage and sin,
And make us chaste and meek in living.
Make us ever pure life to sue,
Guide us safely upon our journey,
That we, beholding the face of Jesu,
May joy with him in heaven alway."

GARDEN OF THE SOUL.

" Hail! thou resplendent star
Which shinest o'er the main;
Blest mother of our God,
And ever virgin queen.
Hail! happy gate of bliss,
Greeted by Gabriel's tongue;
Negotiate our peace,
And cancel Eva's wrong.
Loosen the sinners bands,
All evils drive away;
Bring light unto the blind,
And for all graces *pray*.
Exert the mother's care,
And us thy children own;
To him convey our prayer,
Who chose to be thy son.
O, pure and spotless maid," &c.

The remainder has been already quoted in p. 104.

The passages in Italics will mark the difference, and will show how the idea of *negotiation*, of *prayer to the Son*, &c. has been introduced in the modern hymn; no hint or intimation of which is to be found in the old. Do we blame Dr. Challoner, or those who altered the hymn on this account? Not so—we applaud them greatly, and delight in being able to adduce this testimony in proof of the improvement that has taken place in the external formularies of the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom. But, lest it should be said, that this change has been made, not from any real necessity of the case, but to meet the prejudices and leave no handle to the misrepresentations of the Protestants, we shall take leave to show that the ancient interpretation of the words, by the best Roman Catholic divines, was that which, indeed, alone the words can bear, that the Virgin was able morally and effectually *to command her Son.* When Bishop Jewell first brought forward the passage against Mr. Harding, and insisted that this was their meaning, what was Mr. H.'s reply? Did he say that they had no such meaning—did he pretend to say that "matrem" in the hymn, meant, as "the modern version" has rendered it "mother of us," instead of "mother of Christ?" Nothing of the kind; he acknowledged the real meaning of the words, and made this pleasant apology for them: "If now," he says, "any spiritual man, such as St. Bernard was, deeply considering the great honour and dignity of Christ's mother, do, in excess of mind, spiritually sport and dally, as it were, with her; bidding her to remember that she is a mother, and that thereby she has a *certain right to command her Son*, and

require, in a most sweet manner, that she use her right, is this either impiously or impudently spoken? Is not he rather most impious and impudent that findeth fault therewith?" Bishop Jewell here exclaims, "O, when will Mr. Harding confess a fault?" * The Roman Catholics of this empire have at last confessed it, and expunged the passage from their book. But were the Roman Catholics of the day as much ashamed of it even as Mr. Harding, or did they attempt to mitigate the words by any explanation whatever? We leave the following comments from great doctors to our readers. Cardinal Damianus says thus: "Accedit ad illud aureum Divinæ Majestatis tribunal, non rogans, sed *imperans*, Domina non ancilla." Albertus Magnus, in his "Biblia Mariæ"—"Maria orat ut filia, jubet ut soror, *imperat* ut mater." Another writer has these words: "Beata Virgo, pro salute supplicantium sibi, non solum potest filio supplicare, aliorum sanctorum more, sed etiam potest filio auctoritate materna *imperare*. Ideo sic Ecclesia orat. '*Monstra te esse matrem.*' Quasi diceret Virgini imperiose et materna auctoritate supplica pro nobis." Now, then, we ask, is this, or is it not, the meaning of the words? If it is, then the proposition anathematized is admitted. If not, then we have the evidence of no unlearned or ignoble writers, of cardinals and doctors, that such was the interpretation which they put upon them, and such was the doctrine they inculcated: and, if men of their rank and acquirements so understood the words, how is it to be supposed again, that the multitude could decide otherwise, especially when such is, in fact, their plain, real, and indisputable signification? Upon whom then does the anathema of Gother fall? Let the Romish church decide.

Of the rank and dignity of the saints we have not room to speak. The principle generally laid down by Roman Catholic writers is this: that each saint is most qualified to intercede for that blessing by the possession of which he was distinguished during his abode on earth. And the hypothesis is natural enough.

We proceed now to examine into another principle belonging to this doctrine. What is it that gives the saints *a right to interest themselves* in this manner in behalf of man? Is it merely, as we are told by Mr. Butler and Dr. Milner, and all the mass of the Roman Catholic writers of this day in England, that the saints, having been admitted to their glory,

* Jewell's Works, 1565, Part ii. p. 348.

are admitted also to a greater familiarity with God, in consequence of their own security and proximity to God? This is not the doctrine of the Romish church. She holds that the right of the saints to address the Almighty, and to intercede with him, is founded on their *merits*, and on the superabundance of the good works which they performed during their abode on earth. Such is the tenour of all the prayers in the Missal and in the Primer. We give one of each. "Deus, qui beatum Nicolaum Pontificem innumeris declarasti miraculis: tribue, quæsumus, ut ejus *meritis et precibus* à gehennæ incendiis liberemur, per Dominum nostrum."* "O God, whose right-hand did lift up blessed Peter the Apostle, walking among the waves of water .... and deliveredst his fellow Apostle Paul after three days sailing, from the deep of the sea, hear us mercifully and grant that through the *merits of them* both, we may obtain the glory everlasting, &c."† And so constantly. Now the principle on which this doctrine is founded, is thus described and insisted on in the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition." "As touching the communion of the saints, ye must understand, that, like as all the parts and members, which be living in the natural body of a man, do naturally communicate and minister, each to others, the use, commodity, and benefit of all their forces, nutriments, and perfections—even so, whatever spiritual gifts or treasures is given by God unto any one member of the holy church, although the same be given particularly unto one member, and not unto another, yet *the fruits and merits thereof* shall, by reason of their abiding together in the unity of the Catholic church, redound unto the common profits, edifying, and increase of all the other members of the same Catholic church. And, hereby, is notified and declared unto us the utility and profit which all the members of the church do receive by the *merits, suffrages, and prayers* of the church." And upon this principle Bellarmine‡ and all the best writers of his church rest the right of the saints in heaven to interest themselves with God for their fellow-creatures upon earth: and therefore, says the margin of the catechism of the Council of Trent, "Sanctorum merita nos adjuvant." Now this is very different from the foundation on which Mr. Butler, Dr. Doyle, and Dr. Milner rest the right of the saints to pray for the sojourners on earth.

We wish this was all we had to produce—we wish the Roman

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* Missale Rom. 424. † Queen Mary's Primer.

‡ De Rom. Pont. lib. iii. c. xxi.

Catholics could say to us with truth, "It is confessed that we do allow the co-operations of the merits of the saints with the merits of Jesus Christ: but at least to the Redeemer only we confine the solemn office of intercession by the sacrifice of his blood." What will our readers say to the following prayer of the Primer on the festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury? "We pray thee, through St. Thomas's blood, which he for thee did spend." But here we must stop, and conclude this part of our subject by observing one very remarkable fact, that none of these writers make any distinction between the worship of the Virgin, the angels, and saints—though the rank and dignity of these beings are altogether different from each other—though the principles on which their worship is founded are different, as any one may see by an inspection of the catechism: and though the worship paid to the Virgin and the saints is essentially distinct in the ideas of every real votary of the church of Rome.—But not a word is now said by them of the particular worship of the Virgin; one might almost suppose that the queen of heaven had been forgotten by these writers—not that we forget the Litany to the Virgin in the "Garden of the Soul," but we speak only of the method employed by the conductors of the present controversy.

It is fitting, however, that we should remark, that all the objectionable doctrine of merits and sacrificial intercession, is expunged from the book of devotion, which we have so often quoted —but what conclusion are we to draw from all this? That the Roman Catholics of this empire disapprove of the conduct and tenets of all the other Roman Catholics in the world? For the missals of the church of Rome have undergone no change: all these passages remain in them—and the Gallican church has not, we believe, expunged them from her service-books, her missals, or her hours. Surely these matters are not so trivial as not to be considered as "Articles of Faith."

We pass on to the sentiments of the Protestant churches, on the subject of the invocation of saints. And, taking this doctrine as it is professed by the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland, viz. that it is right and laudable, that the members of the church militant on earth should pray to the saints in heaven, to intercede for them with Christ—we reject it on the following grounds:—First, Because we have no certainty that the saints can be acquainted with our prayers. This is the point which constitutes one essential and amazing difference, between the prayers of Christians for each other upon earth, and the prayers which the living offer to those who are removed from them. Here, we are addressing ourselves to those, who can "notas audire et reddere voces:" and when St. Paul asked for the prayers

of Philemon, and trusted they would be available to him, (which is the instance given by Dr. Doyle in his evidence before the committee,) he was, at least, assured that Philemon was acquainted with his wish. But we know nothing of this in regard to St. Thomas or St. George. In answer then to this difficulty it is said—First, That the saints are themselves able, in their state of spiritual blessedness, to hear our prayers. And this solution, though exposed to one insuperable difficulty, appears to us, after all, the most natural account of the matter. For the mind can conceive, and does perhaps, not unfrequently, figure to itself the presence of those beings, who were dear to us on earth, hovering over us with tenderness, and anxious for our interests and our actions; but shall we on this play of the imagination, this phantasy of the brain, found a religious service, and venture on the solemn act of prayer?—Secondly, It is said that the angels reveal our prayers to the saints; and this, too, is not impossible—but how do the angels themselves know our prayers, and what reason have we for saying, that if they do know them, they reveal them to the saints? Shall we act upon this double conjecture?—Thirdly, It is said that God reveals our prayers unto them. How do we know this? and what, in this case, would be the process? We are to pray to the saint—God reveals our prayer to him—he then repeats to God that very prayer, which God has just revealed to him. Is such a circle as this a good foundation for our invocations?—Fourthly, It is said, that all things are in God, and the saints see God; therefore they see our prayers in God. This reason, notwithstanding all the explications which have been given of it, we confess ourselves unable to understand —and how do we know that the saints are already admitted to the fulness of the beatific vision? On none of these grounds, then, can we conclude that the saints are acquainted with our wants; and therefore we decline praying to them on the bare possibility of that knowledge.

Secondly, What assurance have we that the saints, to whom we are desired to pray, are really in heaven? The illustrious patron of England was, perhaps, a doughty champion, and the conqueror of a mighty dragon; but is it so sure that his mightiness is either in heaven or in purgatory? and might he not, by chance, find his place in the third canto of the great poet of Italy? This is an important question. It were sad to mistake in this point and to pray to one to intercede for us with God, who may himself be driven from the face of the Almighty, and be suffering for his sins. Oh! but the Pope has canonized him, and by his authority fixed his abode in the regions of the blessed. Cedimus argumentum.

Thirdly, We consider prayer an act due only to God. We conceive the commandments of scripture to be plain, explicit, and decisive. We find many injunctions given to us that we should pray for each other—but none that we should pray to the saints to pray for us.

Lastly, We conceive prayer of any sort or kind, and intercession or mediation of any sort or kind, to interfere with the one intercession and mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Romanists assure us, that the intercession of saints has no such interference, and anathematize all who say it has. We give them credit for the sincerity of their assertions, but are unable to understand their reasonings. Upon these grounds, then, we reject altogether, and without qualification, as unwarranted and unscriptural, the invocation of saints as it is professed, explained, and practised, by the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland.

Will it now be believed, that Dr. Doyle in his Letters J. K. L.* has the following sentence? "It may be curious to show that the belief of the Catholic on this subject, which the Protestant swears to be idolatrous, is, like that on many other subjects, equally reviled, substantially the same as his own!!!" Admirably imagined!—but we can give no other answer than this:—if there be any Protestant in the whole realm of England, who professes to believe in the lawfulness of the invocation of saints, who has ever from his cradle worshipped angel, or archangel, the Virgin, or any saint whatever, let him, in the name of God, come forth.

On the question whether the invocation of saints, professed and practised by the church of Rome, is idolatrous or not, our opinion is this: that in the public formularies of their church, and even in the belief and practice of the best informed among them, there is nothing of idolatry, although, as we have said, we deem that practice altogether unscriptural and unwarranted; but we do consider the principles relating to the worship *of the Virgin* calculated to lead, in the end, to positive idolatry; and we are well convinced, and we have strong grounds for our conviction, that a large portion of the lower classes are in this point guilty of it. Whether the invocation of angels or of saints has produced the same effect, we are not able to decide.

On Image-worship.—The committee find, in a treatise called "A Vindication of the Roman Catholics," the following curse, in a statement of curses: first, "Cursed is he that commits

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* P. 272.

idolatry, that prays to images or relics, or worships them for God;" is that a doctrine which is acknowledged by Roman Catholics? *Answer.* That is our proper doctrine, and I and every Roman Catholic in the world would say with Gother accursed be such person.

Such was the question, on the subject of images, proposed by the committee of the house of commons to Dr. Doyle, and such was his answer to it. And we believe Dr. Doyle spoke truly, and that such is the belief of every well-informed Roman Catholic in the world. It is and always has been the unquestionable doctrine of the Romish church, that images are not to be worshipped as God. The great principle upon which all the devotion, honour, respect, and veneration paid to images were founded, was this: that the worship offered to them belonged, not to the image, but the being represented by it.—"Honos enim (says the Council of Trent,) qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ representant." And so say the old verses:—

> "Effigiem Christi, dum transis, pronus adora,
> Non tamen effigiem, sed quod designat, adora."

This principle, however, of reference to the prototype, is not so easily understood; and it has been interpreted, as Bail observes, in his Notes on the Second Nicene Council,* in two ways—one set of divines asserting that no honour or worship is to be paid *immediately* to the image, but that the whole is to be given to the prototype—the only use of the image being to excite holy affections in the mind, and to fill it with the remembrance of the excellencies which belong to the being it represents: but in this decision, he says, there are difficulties; for, as the council declares that images are to be worshipped, though not with Latria, it is clear that worship of some kind or other must be paid to them—and this worship must be, in some sense, *direct and immediate*; for, if the whole worship paid to the image were referred to the exemplar, then the image of Christ must be worshipped with Latria—and hence he concludes that there is an inferior kind of veneration due to the image itself. The worshipper, therefore, before an image of

* As the Council of Trent adopts the decrees of the second Nicene Council on this subject, Bail has given all his observations on the subject of image-worship after the decrees of the latter. There is, in truth, no difference between the decrees of the two councils, except that the older council retained the word "adoratio," meaning, of course, adoration in its lower sense; while the Council of Trent has discarded this term, and adopted the words, "honor," "veneratio," and "cultus." We desire to be understood as attributing the same idea to the words of both councils,—the idea expressed by Dr. Milner under the names of "relative or secondary veneration."

Christ, will pay to the prototype the honour due to him—to the Trinity, the worship of Latria—to the Virgin, Hyperdulia—to the Saints, Dulia—but to the image itself he will offer nothing but an inferior worship, veneration, or respect.

The definition given by Harding,* in his answer to Jewell, agrees substantially with this decision of Bail. "And now," he says, "we are come to declare how images may be worshipped and honoured without any offence. That godly worship, which consisteth in spirit and truth inwardly, and is declared by signs outwardly in recognising the supreme dominion, which, properly, of the divines, is called Latria, is deferred only to the blessed Trinity. As for the holy images, to them we do not attribute that worship at all, but an inferior reverence or adoration, for so it is named: which is nothing else but a recognising some virtue or excellence protested by outward sign, as reverent kissing, bowing down, kneeling, and such like honour. Which kind of adoration or worship we find in the scriptures oftentimes given to creatures. The whole act whereof is, notwithstanding, referred not to the images principally, but to the things by them represented, as being the true and proper objects of such worship. For although the honour of an image passeth over to the original or first sampler, which the learned call archetypum, as St. Basil teacheth: yet that high worship called Latria belongeth only to the blessed Trinity, and not to the reverent images, lest we should seem to be worshippers of creatures, and of matters, as of gold, silver, stones, wood, and the other like things." And in the "Necessary Doctrine,"† put forth in the reign of Henry VIII., the same principle is asserted: "Whereas we use to cense the said images, and to kneel before them, and to creep to the cross, with such other things; yet we must know and understand, that such things be not nor ought to be done to the image itself, but to God and in his honour, although it be done afore the image, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, or of our Lady, or of any other Saint." The acts of adoration which the Council of Trent particularly specifies as fitting, are those of kissing the images, and uncovering the head before them.

Such, then, is the unquestionable doctrine of the Romish church, viz.: that images are not to be worshipped as God—but only with an inferior and secondary veneration, and that even this honour must be referred to the Being represented by the image.

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* Harding's Answer to M. Juelle's Challenge.
† P. 300.

But, although the Romish writers assert that this kind and degree of veneration is to be paid to images, yet the best expositors of their church assert that it was not primarily for the purpose of this worship that they were placed in churches—but merely, as Harding says, (and there is, after all, no better and more honest expositor of the Romish doctrines than Mr. Harding,) from other motives of a more secondary nature. And, 1st, for the benefit of knowledge. For the simple and unlearned people, which be utterly ignorant of letters, in pictures do, as it were, read and see no less than others do in books, the mysteries of Christian religion, the acts and worthy deeds of Christ and his saints: 2. for the stirring of our minds to all godliness; for whereas the affect and desire of man is heavy and dull in divine and spiritual things, because the body that is corruptible weigheth down the mind: when it is set forth before our eyes by images, what Christ has done for us and what the saints have done for Christ; then it is quickened and moved to the like will of doing and suffering, and to all endeavour of holy and virtuous life: 3. for the keeping of things in memory necessary to our salvation.*

We have thus given what we believe in our consciences to be the real doctrine of the church of Rome on the subject of image-worship, and we have not hitherto said a word which any honest Roman Catholic will, as far as we know, be anxious to controvert or deny. Only we cannot agree with Mr. Butler, Dr. Milner,† or Petavius, that the honour and veneration of images is accounted by the church of Rome among things essential and ἀδιάφορα: for if this were so, it were strange, indeed, that "every non-Catholic who goes over to that church, should be compelled to assert most firmly, that the images of Christ, and of the mother of God ever-virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be given them."‡ It were extraordinary, surely, to make that compulsory on the faith of every convert, which is acknowledged by the whole church to be indifferent in itself.

Such, then, were the theoretical principles laid down by the councils; but did the *practice* of the people correspond with these principles? As for the lawfulness of the *worship of images* in any sense of the word, this can only be decided by positive appeal to scripture; but, as to the propriety of *retaining images in churches*, which is a very different question, the experience of

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* Harding's Answer to Jewell. † End of Controversy, p. 259.
‡ Book of the Roman Catholic Church. p. 5. See also Phillpotts, p. 23.

ages, as to the effect resulting from such a custom, may go far in deciding it. And here it is that Dr. Milner complains of the gross misrepresentation and calumny of the Protestant divines. "This has been misrepresented," he says, "from almost the first eruption of Protestanism, as rank idolatry, and as justifying the necessity of a reformation. The book of homilies repeatedly affirms, that our images of Christ and his saints are idols; that we pray and ask of them what it belongs to God alone to give; and that images have been and be worshipped, and so, idolatry committed to them by infinite multitudes, to the great offence of God's majesty, and danger of infinite souls; that idolatry cannot possibly be separated from images set up in churches, and that God's horrible wrath, and our most dreadful danger, cannot be avoided without the destruction and utter abolition of all such images and idols out of the church and temple of God." Now, our readers will observe, that in these words there is not the smallest imputation of idolatrous *intention;* they assert, indeed, that idolatry had taken place, and maintain the principle that such will, in the long run, be the invariable consequence of the practice of setting up images. Now, if this statement is false, it must be confessed by every Protestant, with shame and sorrow, to be a most impudent and shameless calumny. But let us see. What were these homilies? Was the publication of them a thing done in a corner? When they were composed, were they given to the clergy for their own instruction, to furnish them with the topics against the Romanists, or in order that they might disseminate them among some chosen few? They were ordered, Dr. Milner, to be read publicly in the churches, to be delivered every Sunday in the ears of a people who were just emerged from this idolatry,—they were appeals to the practice of this very people,—appeals which every individual of every congregation could verify,—which, if they were true, would answer the purpose that was intended by them,—if they were false, were the most absurd and dangerous instruments which the friends of the Reformation could employ. But the very idea of their falsehood is pregnant with absurdity; if it were so, the danger and the mischief would not end here; if it were possible that any set of men could make appeals of this kind to the people of any nation, and call on them to bear witness to facts which they had not seen, as if they had seen them, the very evidences of Christianity would be shaken. We hold the evidence of the homilies to be the strongest testimony of the effect of the Romish practice on the principles of the people that can possibly be given; stronger even than that which we are now about to adduce, the evidence of Roman Catholic councils.

At the beginning of the Reformation, the ecclesiastical Electors of the Empire were the persons, of all others, who, if their advice had been followed, might have gone far to prevent the schism, and preserve the unity of the church. Resident in Germany, witnessing with their own eyes the diffusion of the new opinions, and the growing anxiety and irritation in the minds of men, they saw that nothing could avert the danger but a speedy and immediate reformation of the Romish church. This reformation they pressed on the Pope, as eagerly and as anxiously as they could—but in vain, and they were obliged, therefore, to take it into their own hands. Herman, the Elector of Cologne, went so far into the Reformation, that he was degraded from his archbishopric, and excommunicated. Sebastian, Elector of Mentz, adhered to the church of Rome, but called a provincial council for the purpose of reformation during the sitting of the Council of Trent. All the decrees of that council which had hitherto been promulgated he adopted; but the decree concerning images was not yet made; his council, therefore, made one for itself. In this decree,* remarkable for many reasons, there occurs the following passage:—"Wishing to prevent all evil superstition, we enjoin all ordinaries, *in case they should observe within their territories that the people are in the habit of collecting before any particular image, out of respect to the figure of the image itself, and that they attribute to the said image any idea of divinity,* to remove the said image, or to change it, and to place one notoriously different from the former in its room, lest the rude multitude, naturally low in intellect, which it was intended to raise by sensible means to heavenly things, should, contrary to the intention of the church, *place their hopes in the material image,* and, perhaps, even in some particular image out of some fancy and affection to it; as if *there were some necessity in it, which would induce God and the saints to do what they desired.*" Now, is it possible for any honest man to read this decree, and not to confess that the common people of the electorate of Mayence had limited

* This decree, besides the passage given in the text, contained also a declaration, forbidding all worship of images, and was, as Paolo Sarpi observes, very remarkable on that account:—"Fraquesti, i capi quarantuno è quaranta due sono notabili; dove insegna e replica, che le imagini non sono proposte per adorarle o prestargli colto alcuno; ma solo, per ridurre à memoria quello, che si debbe adorare." Nor did the 45th chapter of the Council of Mayence excite less surprise, by declaring that the saints were to have no honour except that of fellowship and affection,—like saints in this life, only in a higher degree, in consequence of their actual possession of that blessedness to which the living can only aspire:—"Le quali esplicationi, ben considerate, mostrano quante fossero in que' tempi differenti le opinioni de' Prelati di Germania Catholici, da quelle della Corte Romana, e della prattica, che s'è introdotta dopo il Concilio di Trento."—Conc. Mogunt. c. 42.

their worship to the image itself—had attributed to it some divinity—had conceived that it contained in itself some active and effectual power? Can any man believe, that the elector and his council were providing against a possible and imaginary evil, and that they took the chance of specifying one particular evil, which was *not prevalent* and generally known? The idea is evidently ridiculous. The evil which is animadverted on, was an evil practically felt, and to which all Europe could bear witness. A decree, precisely the same in substance, had been put forth in England in the year 1543.* "They do err," it is said, "who put difference between image and image, trusting more in one than in another, as though one could help or do more than another, when both do but represent one thing, and, saving by way of representation, neither of them is able to work or do any thing. And they also offend, that so dote in this behalf, that they make vows, and go on pilgrimages, even to the images; and there do call upon the same images for aid and help, phantasying that either the image will work the same, or else some other thing in the image, or God for the image sake, as though God, supernaturally wrought by images, carved, engraven, or painted, brought once into churches, as he doth naturally work by other his creatures. In which things, if any person, heretofore, hath or yet doth offend, all good and learned men have great cause to lament such error and rudeness, and to put their studies and diligences for the reformation of the same." On these words, we observe, in the first place, that they are contained in the very same chapter, which we have already quoted, as justifying the censing of images, the kneeling before them, and such other things; and, therefore, we suppose it will hardly be considered as unfair testimony. Are the evils, then, here also, imaginary and unreal? Were the bishops, then, of England and Germany mad, when with one voice they defended the honour of images, and proclaimed the most fearful evils of positive idolatry as likely to arise from them, although, according to Dr. Milner's hypothesis, they never had arisen? Last of all, we quote the decree of the Council of Trent; and our readers must excuse us, if we do not take the trouble of translating it. "In has autem sanctas et salutares observationes, *si qui abusus irrepserint*, eos prorsus aboleri sancta Synodus vehementer cupit; ita ut nullæ falsi dogmatis imagines, et rudibus periculosi erroris occasionem præbentes statuantur. Quod si aliquando historias et narrationes Sacræ Scripturæ, cum id indoctæ plebi expediet, exprimi

* Necessary Doctrine, p. 301.

et figurari contigerit, doceatur populus, *non propterea Divinitatem figurari*, quasi corporeis oculis conspici, vel coloribus aut figuris exprimi possit. Omnis porro superstitio in sanctorum invocatione, reliquiarum veneratione, et imaginum sacro usu tollatur, omnis quæstus eliminetur, omnis denique lascivia vitetur." Are all the evils, too, which are here enumerated visionary and condemned in prospect? Ohe! jam satis est.

These are the testimonies on which we rely with confidence, in proof that the charges adduced in our homilies against the practices of the times, were founded on the most positive reality, and exactly and literally true. But at the time of the Reformation, nothing more was necessary than to appeal to facts which were before the eyes of all men—nor is any thing more requisite even now in any country in which the Roman Catholic religion is predominant and established. Bail, who compiled his Summa in the latter part of the seventeenth century, admits the prevalence of these abuses in his days. "It ought not," he says, "to be any prejudice to the cause of truth, that abuses should sometimes arise among the unlearned people in consequence of images: for laws are intended to provide for the good of the many, not the few. Those who are ignorant, must be taught by their pastors; but a custom, which has at all times existed in the church, which has been, I do not say instituted, but confirmed by the authority of councils, is not to be abrogated in consequence of the abuses of individuals." Now, what event was there in France between the time in which Bail lived and the Revolution, which could prevent the abuses which existed in the time of Bail and Bossuet, from existing still? This last event, indeed, which overturned every altar, and laid all religion prostrate, did, for a time, necessarily carry away with it these tremendous evils. It remains to see whether the genius of the Roman Catholic religion, now again predominant in that country, will not bring them back.

Of the doctrine of the *church of England* on this head, there is little to observe. She interprets the second commandment literally and strictly: she refuses to make to herself any graven image for the purpose of paying to it any religious worship, adoration, honour, reverence, or respect. She considers every act of this kind to be expressly and deliberately forbidden by the most solemn words of a jealous God. In the fearful declaration of the Almighty, she discerns no hidden marks of the divine wisdom, who knoweth the inward hearts of men, and is thoroughly acquainted with the constitution of the creatures whom he has made: who saw that the smallest beginnings would end at last in positive idolatry, and spiritual death: that man,

own hand, in the midst of carnal, and sensible, ngs, would, naturally, without these temptations s, incline too much to them, and be unable, with- continual exertion, to raise his mind to the con- of a spiritual being. And, on these principles, she nat he showed his people "no similitude" in Horeb, oade them to make any similitude hereafter. She is un- g to fix upon the *principles* of the Romish church, the rge of positive idolatry; and contents herself with declaring nat "the Romish doctrine concerning the adoration, as well of images as of relics, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God."* But in regard to the universal *practice* of the Romish church, she adheres to the declaration of her homilies; and professes her conviction that this fond, and unwarranted, and unscriptural doctrine, has at all times produced, and will hereafter, as long as it is suffered to prevail, produce the sin of practical idolatry. These, if we know them truly, are the sentiments of the church of England; and from these sentiments we trust in God that she will never suffer herself to be diverted by the misrepresentations of her adversaries, or the weakness of her friends.

We have been so long on the subject of images, that we must refer our readers to Dr. Phillpotts for the equally, and, in some cases, even more important article of relics: observing only, that the doctrine of the Council of Trent on this head is, that they are to be venerated by the faithful, and that the catechism asserts, that the garments and handkerchiefs, the sacred ashes, and bones, and other relics of saints, are the instruments of the divine miracles. "Quid multa? si vestes, si sudaria, si umbra sanctorum, priusquàm è vitâ migrarent, depulit morbos, viresque restituit: quis tandem negare audeat, Deum per sacros cineres, ossa, cæterasque sanctorum reliquias eadem mirabiliter efficere." The doctrine of the council is, that relics have no divinity belonging to them—how far the practice of the Roman Catholics of any country has been in unison with this principle, let the breviaries of the church of Rome, let the history of former days, let the eyes of every person, who has travelled on the continent for the last ten years, declare.

We cannot refrain from affixing to this article, a charge brought by Dr. Milner† against the ancient English translation of the Bible: "In support of this impious fraud, (*strong lan-*

* Art. xxii.
† End of Controversy, p. 254.

guage for a man, who is held up by Mr. Butler, as a model of the polite style of controversy!) the Holy Scriptures were corrupted in their different versions and editions.—See in the present English Bible, Coloss. iii. 5. Covetousness which is idolatry. This in the Bibles of 1562, 1577, and 1579, stood thus: *Covetousness which is the worshipping of images.* In like manner, where we read: *A covetous man who is an idolater;* in the former editions we read: *A covetous man which is a worshipper of images.* Instead of "*What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?* 2 Cor. vi. 16. it used to stand: *How agreeth the temple of God with images?* Instead of *Little children, keep yourselves from idols,* 1 John v. 21. it stood during the reign of Edward and Elizabeth: *Babes, keep yourselves from images.*" We shall give him the answer to this ludicrous and extraordinary charge, in the following learned exposition of our homilies; and leave him to derive from it all the advantage that he may. "The scriptures use the two words 'idols' and 'images,' indifferently for one thing alway. They be words of divers tongues and sounds, but one in sense and signification in the scriptures. The one is taken of the Greek word εἴδωλον, an idol, and the other of the Latin word 'imago,' an image, and so both used as English terms in the translating of scriptures indifferently, according as the Septuaginta have in their translation in Greek εἴδωλα; and St. Jerome, in his translation of the same places in Latin, hath 'simulacra,' in English 'images.' And, in the New Testament, that which St. John calleth εἴδωλον, St. Jerome likewise translateth 'simulachrum,' as in all other like places of scripture, he doth usually translate. And Tertullian, a most ancient doctor, and well learned in both the tongues, Greek and Latin, interpreting this place of St. John, 'Beware of idols,' that is to say, saith Tertullian, of the 'images' themselves, the Latin words, which he useth, be 'effigies' and 'imago,' to say an image."* What will Dr. Milner now say to the *impious fraud?* But we will ask him one question. Will he not admit that 'image,' is a sufficient rendering of the word εἴδωλον, in the compound εἰδωλολατρία? If he answers affirmatively, what ground has he for his objection? If negatively, does he allow the λατρία of images? Let him choose.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—The doctrince of transubstantiation cannot be more clearly explained than in the words of the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition:"—"The sacrament of the altar is

* First Part of Homily against Idolatry.

among all the sacraments, of incomparable dignity and virtue; forasmuch as in other sacraments, the outward kind of the thing which is used in them, remaineth still in its own nature and substance unchanged: but in this most high sacrament of the altar, the creatures, which be taken to the use thereof, as bread and wine, *do not remain still in their own substance*, but by the virtue of Christ's word in the consecration be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that, although there appear the form of bread and wine, after the consecration, as did before, and to the outward senses nothing seemeth to be changed, yet must we, forsaking and renouncing the persuasion of our senses in this behalf, give our assent only to faith, and to the plain word of Christ, which affirmeth that substance there offered, exhibited, and received, to be the very precious body and blood of our Lord." In perfect agreement with this exposition are the two canons of the Council of Trent,* the first asserting the change of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood—the second anathematizing all who should deny this total conversion, and who assert that the substance of the bread and wine remains, after consecration, in conjunction with the body and blood of Christ.

Consubstantiation consists, not in the conversion of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but, as the name denotes, in the union of the two. It is thus described in the Wirtemberg confession of 1552.† "Of the substance of the eucharist we believe and teach, that the true body and blood of Christ is distributed in the eucharist, and do reject those that say that the bread and wine in the eucharist are but signs of the body and blood of Christ being absent—*but it is not necessary that the substance of the bread should be changed into the substance of the body of Christ*:

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* Conc. Trid. Sess. iii. cap. iv.—Quoniam Christus Redemptor noster corpus suum id quod sub specie panis offerebat, vere esse dicit, ideò persuasum semper in Ecclesiâ Dei fuit, idque tunc denuo Sancta hæc Synodus declarat per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus quæ conversio convenienter et propriè à sancta Catholica Ecclesiâ Transsubstantiatio est appellata.

Can. 1.—Si quis dixerit, in sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini, una cum corpore et sanguine Domini Jesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, manentibus duntaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiationem appellat, anathema sit.

† We quote from a very old translation of the confession. The confession itself may be found in the "Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum fidei."

but it sufficeth for the verity of the sacrament that the body of Christ be truly present with the bread: yea rather, the verity of the sacrament requireth that the true bread remain with *the* true presence of God." This is the doctrine of the whole Lutheran church.

Impanation, which is very rarely mentioned by theological writers, but of which Mr. Butler unfortunately takes notice, for the sole purpose, as it should seem, of committing a double blunder, consists in the hypostatical union of the bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ. Dr. Milner, in his "End of Controversy," p. 266, says that "Osiander, whose sister Cranmer married, taught this doctrine." We were not aware of the fact: but it may possibly be true; for it is known that Osiander held some peculiar tenets, and excited by them much dissension among the Lutheran party.—There is, however, one circumstance, which renders it improbable that impanation should have been one of these tenets; for it was proposed at the Council of Trent to anathematize this doctrine, and the proposition was rejected on the ground of the heresy being obsolete.* It was an opinion, they said, invented 400 years before by Robert, Abbot of Duitz, and no longer maintained by any body; and the council was not called for the purpose of condemning ancient, but only modern heresies. Now this was at the end of the year 1551, and Osiander died in 1552. It is, therefore, highly improbable that the council should have declared a heresy *to have become obsolete which he professed and taught openly*, and should have asserted that it had not been maintained by anybody for above 400 years.

Having thus explained the doctrines of those from whom we differ, we proceed to explain the doctrine of the church of England on the subject of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. We believe, then, that the bread and wine are outward and visible signs ordained by Christ himself as the means by which he makes us partakers of his most holy body and blood—we believe that the bread and wine are the same, both before and after the consecration; the same in their substance and accidents, in their power of nourishing the body, and in all the adjuncts and qualities of matter. But we believe that after the act of consecration they receive a sacramental use and application—and by the express ordinance and promise of the Redeemer become to us the *communion* of his body and blood. Now, this being the confessed and unquestionable doctrines of the church of England, will it be believed that Mr. Butler has declared

* Paolo Sarpi, lib. iv. xi.

that "either *consubstantiation or impanation* is maintained in every Protestant creed."* We confess ourselves unable to believe the reports which we have read of similar declarations issuing from the lips of Earl Grey and Mr. Canning —two gentlemen, not only great statesmen in their several lines of policy, but who have had all the advantages of the best English education, and who have profited by those advantages. What book of annals, what history is there of the sixteenth century, in which the differences of Luther and Calvin, of Cranmer and Melancthon, on the subject of the eucharist, are not pointed out, and shown to be connected with many of the most important occurrences of the day? It is not necessary that any man, for the purpose of acquainting himself with this single fact, should study any voluminous treatise of theology, or go, for a single moment, out of the proper line of political and legislative study—he need not even read the admirable works of Thuanus, or of Sleidan, or any of the larger and better histories of the times. Let him read only the popular history of Robertson, and he cannot be ignorant of the fact that the Lutheran and the Zuinglian churches differed on the subject of consubstantiation. We do not in our consciences believe that Mr. Canning ever uttered such a sentence. But be this as it may, Mr. Butler's assertion is in black and white; he cannot shelter himself under the mistake of a reporter, or the intemperance of a debate. There is no other apology to be made for him than that with which Dr. Phillpotts supplies him: "I leave you," he says, "in the hands of your own master, Dr. Milner. He was wont, in olden times, to call you a *smatterer in theology*." Let Mr. Butler have the benefit of his friend's defence. But *smatterer* is a hard word —we would soften it down, and say that Mr. Butler is an *amateur* in theology—and that he amuses himself in this department as he does in history, in biography and bibliography.† In every thing that he has written he has shown himself to be of an active and inquisitive disposition, fond of gathering knowledge on a vast variety of subjects, to a certain limit and degree: but the boundaries of his knowledge are not far removed from the starting-post of his inquiry—he is not fond of seeking

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* Phillpotts, 245, 246, and his letters to Earl Grey in the Appendix.

† We think it right here to correct a mistake into which Dr. Phillpotts has fallen. He ascribes to Mr. Butler the words, "I do from my heart love a strong argument," and wonders, naturally enough, that he had not given evidence of his love, in pursuing the object of his affection. But Mr. Butler has not said this of himself; he is speaking of the late Dean of Carlisle; Mr. Butler had no wish to make us laugh at him.

truth at the bottom of a well. It had been well for him, *if*, on this occasion, he had found her when she lay upon *the* surface—but let it pass. We hope with Dr. Phillpotts, that we shall hear no more of the church of England believing in consubstantiation.

Having stated, then, what the church of England does not believe, viz.—that there is any change whatever in the substances of the bread and wine, a proposition which requires no sort of explanation, we pass to a matter of greater difficulty, and which has furnished more abundant matter of controversy, viz. to the explanation of the sense in which the assertion of our catechism, that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper," is to be understood; or, which is the same thing, of the sense in which the church of England maintains the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist. And we shall give this explanation, in the first place, in the words of Dr. Phillpotts, who has treated this difficult subject with admirable accuracy and clearness—only observing previously that he is here arguing against Dr. Milner, who, in his "End of Controversy," had used words amounting to this, that "the language of the church of England is chosen for the purpose of disguising her real sentiments, and making it be believed that she holds the doctrine of the real presence, while, in fact, it is *certain and confessed that she does not.*"

"The course which I shall adopt," says Dr. P., "is first to disentangle the question from the sophisms on which Dr. Milner's arguments rest; and then to state the doctrine of the church of England respecting the real presence of our Lord in the eucharist. I shall afterwards notice certain collateral points introduced by you and Dr. Milner, and more especially some of your and his citations of authorities.

"First, then, Dr. Milner's argument rests on two sophisms, which it will be found worth while to expose, as they are commonly adopted by the modern advocates of your church.

"The first is a petitio principii; he begs, or rather, he boldly runs away with, the very matter in dispute. He assumes that *the real presence* is, and can only be, the corporeal and material presence of the crucified Saviour; such a presence as can only be effected by changing the sacramental elements into the body and blood of Christ, or by making both substances to be united in one: whereas, as shall be shown presently, and as Dr. Milner perfectly well knows, the church of England holds *a real presence* of a very different kind.

"The other sophism rests on an ambiguous meaning of the word *sacrament;* a word sometimes, and more strictly, applied to the sign or matter, sometimes to the whole sacred rite. Now, it is in the former

sense that the church of Rome holds *the real presence* of the body and blood of Christ *in the sacrament;* it is in the latter that the real presence in the sacrament, maintained by the church of England, must be sought. The church of Rome holds that the body and blood of Christ are present under the accidents of bread and wine; the church of England holds that their real presence is in the *soul of the communicant* at the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

"Having thus cleared our way, I proceed to sat e more fully what is indeed the doctrine of our church on this subject. She holds, then, that after the consecration of the bread and wine they are changed not in their nature but in their *use;* that instead of nourishing our bodies only, they now are instruments by which, when worthily received, God gives to our souls the body and blood of Christ to nourish and sustain them: that this is not a fictitious or imaginary exhibition of our crucified Redeemer to us, but a real though spiritual one, more real, indeed, because more effectual than the carnal exhibition and manducation of him could be, (for the flesh profiteth nothing.) In the same manner, then, as our Lord himself said, 'I am the *true* bread that came down from 'heaven,' (not meaning thereby that he was a lump of baked dough, or manna, but the true means of sustaining the true life of man, which is spiritual, not corporeal,) so, in the sacrament to the worthy receiver of the consecrated elements, though in their nature mere bread and wine, are yet given truly, really, and effectively, the crucified body and blood of Christ; that body and blood which were the instruments of man's redemption, and upon which our spiritual life and strength solely depend. It is in this sense that the crucified Jesus is present in the sacrament of his supper, not in nor with the bread and wine, nor under their accidents, but in the souls of communicants; not carnally, but effectually and faithfully, and therefore most really." *

This account of Dr. Phillpotts contains the unquestionable doctrine of the church of England, and his explanation, as far as it extends, is masterly and clear, and is in perfect agreement with the words of Cranmer,† who says that "although we do affirm (according to God's word) that Christ is in all persons that truly believe in him, in such sort that with his flesh and blood he doth spiritually nourish them and feed them, and giveth them everlasting life, and doth assure them thereof, as well by the promise of his word as by the sacramental bread and wine in his holy supper, which he did institute for the same purpose, yet we do not a little vary from the heinous errors of the Papists; for they teach that Christ is *in the bread and wine:*

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* Phillpotts, p. 234.

† Cranmer's "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine," Todd's Ed. pp. 103, 105.

but we say, according to the truth, that he is in *them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine.* They say, that the body of Christ that is in the sacrament hath his own proper form and quantity: we say, that Christ is there sacramentally and spiritually, without form or quantity." But that nothing may be wanting for the full elucidation of the doctrine we maintain, we add the following passages from the same work of the same illustrious martyr, in explanation of the sense in which we are said to receive the body and blood of Christ:—

"Wherefore as here before in the first note is declared the hunger and drought of the soul, so is it now secondly to be noted what is the meat, drink, and food of the soul. The meat, drink, food, and refreshing of the soul, is our Saviour Christ, as he said himself—'Come unto me all you that travail and be laden, and I will refresh you.'—'And if any man be dry,' saith he, 'let him come to me and drink. He that believeth in me, floods of water of life shall flow out of his belly.'—'And I am the bread of life,' saith Christ, 'he that cometh to me shall not be hungry; and he that believeth in me shall never be dry.' For as meat and drink do comfort the hungry body, so doth the death of Christ's body, and the shedding of his blood, comfort the soul, when she is after her sort hungry. What thing is it that comforteth and nourisheth the body? Forsooth, meat and drink. By what names then, shall we call the body and blood of our Saviour Christ (which do comfort and nourish the hungry soul) but by the names of meat and drink? And this similitude caused our Saviour to say, 'My flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink.' For there is no kind of meat that is comfortable to the soul, but only the death of Christ's blessed body; nor no kind of drink that can quench her thirst, but only the blood-shedding of our Saviour Christ, which was shed for her offences. For as there is a carnal generation, and a carnal feeding and nourishment, so is there also a spiritual generation, and a spiritual feeding. And as every man, by carnal generation of father and mother, is carnally begotten and born unto this mortal life, so is every good christian spiritually born by Christ unto eternal life. And as every man is carnally fed and nourished in his body by meat and drink, even so is every good christian man spiritually fed and nourished in his soul by the flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ. And as the body liveth by meat and drink, and thereby increaseth and groweth from a young babe unto a perfect man, (which thing experience teacheth us,) so the soul liveth by Christ himself, by pure faith eating his flesh and drinking his blood."*

And again:—

"Christ ordained the sacrament of his body and blood in bread and

* Cranmer, p. 23.

wine, to preach unto us, that as our bodies be fed, nourished, and preserved with meat and drink, so (as touching our spiritual life towards God) we be fed, nourished, and preserved by the body and blood of our Saviour Christ; and also that he is such a preservation unto us, that neither the devils of hell, nor eternal death, nor sin, can be able to prevail against us, so long as by true and constant faith we be fed and nourished with that meat and drink. And for this cause Christ ordained this sacrament in bread and wine, (which we eat and drink, and be chief nutriments of our body,) to the intent that as surely as we see the bread and wine with our eyes, smell them with our noses, touch them with our hands, and taste them with our mouths; so assuredly ought we to believe, that Christ is our spiritual life and sustenance of our souls, like as the said bread and wine is the food and sustenance of our bodies. And no less ought we to doubt that our souls be fed and live by Christ, than that our bodies be fed and live by meat and drink. Thus our Saviour Christ knowing us to be in this world, as it were, but babes and weaklings in faith, hath ordained sensible signs and tokens, whereby to allure and draw us to more strength and more constant faith in him." *

These passages, we hope, will serve abundantly to explain the doctrine of the church of England, which may be said to consist in the four following particulars:—

1. The substances of bread and wine undergo no change.
2. After the consecration they have a mystical and sacramental application.
3. There is no real presence in the bread and wine.
4. There is a real presence in the soul of the faithful believer.

Those who wish for more may consult the confessions of the other martyrs of the Reformation, at the end of Mr. Todd's excellent edition of Cranmer's work. We take leave of this part of our subject in the admirable words of Cranmer:—

"God grant that all contention set aside, both the parties may come to this holy communion with such a lively faith in Christ, and such an unfeigned love to all Christ's members, that as they carnally eat with their mouth this sacramental bread and drink the wine, so spiritually they may eat and drink the very flesh and blood of Christ, which is in heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father. And that finally by his means they may enjoy with him the glory and kingdom of heaven. Amen." †

But there is another point connected with the eucharist, on which a few words, and only a few, shall be said. It relates to the adoration of the host. The Romanist, as we have stated, immediately after consecration, conceives the whole substance of the bread and wine to be converted into the body and

* Cranmer, p. 27. † Ibid. p. 18.

blood of Christ—nothing but the figure and form of the bread and wine, the accidents, as they are termed, remain. The question is, whether he is guilty of idolatry in worshipping the Redeemer, thus present to his sight? Now, in answer to this, we begin by observing, that we attach no importance to the argument derived from the circumstance that the accidents of the bread and wine are admitted to remain. The host, according to the principles of the Roman Catholic, is altogether God—he believes Jesus Christ to be supernaturally present, and he falls down and worships him. What then is idolatry? Is it the act of him, who *knowingly* worships the creature, instead of the Creator? or of him, who worships the creature instead of the Creator, whether knowingly or not? If the latter, the act of the Roman Catholic is an act of idolatry—if the former, not. Now, we agree with Dr. Phillpotts in thinking that hypocrisy and false opinion have nothing to do with the essence of idolatry—the *act* is idolatrous whether the worshipper do it knowingly or not. But though it has nothing to do with the *act* itself, yet it has much to do with the *guilt* of it—here the *animus* of the worshipper comes in: and as we are little prepared to say that the heathen who worshipped sincerely in those times of ignorance, which God winked at, was amenable for the full sin of idolatry; so neither will we venture to decide this of the sincere believer in transubstantiation.

Now, this distinction is all that is necessary for the declaration of the house of lords; for the object of that declaration is not to anathematize the Romanists, but to ascertain the faith of the Protestant, and, unless he who takes the oath is a believer in transubstantiation, he must, necessarily, believe the *act* to be an *act* of idolatry, though he need not conclude that the believer in that doctrine is guilty of it. This is the explanation given of the subject by Jeremy Taylor, whom Dr. Phillpotts, by rather a strong figure, has brought into court,* and subjected to a severe cross-examination, which, however, he has carried through with great wit, and neatness, and success. We cannot help thinking that Lord Grenville's explanation of the declaration, of which Dr. Phillpotts speaks with some severity,† comes to the same thing. When Lord Grenville says that "the sacrifice of the mass would be idolatrous, if he were to join in it," he appears to us to include the animus of the worshipper in his definition.

Absolution, Penance, Confession, &c.—The doctrine of pardon upon repentance is, as we believe, the peculiar and

* Phillpotts, p. 252.

† Ibid. p. 360.

tinguishing tenet of revealed religion: it is that doctrine which no arguments of philosophy could prove; to which the highest exertions of human reason were necessarily unable to attain: it could only be established by the positive revelation of that gracious Being who had been offended, and to whom man was amenable for sin. In conformity with this opinion, the church of England has opened her admirable Liturgy with the declaration of these good tidings of salvation; and considering that it would be useless and superfluous to humble ourselves before heaven in prayer, unless we were well assured, that by virtue of the divine promises, our prayers would be accepted and our sins forgiven, she begins by addressing the congregation in the words of scripture, and proclaiming to them the solemn pledge of heavenly mercy. She believes, that when the wicked man, repenting truly of his former sins, and steadfastly purposing to lead a new life, shall humble himself before God, in a firm reliance on his promises, such repentance shall, through the mediation of his Saviour and the efficacy of his blood, be available to his salvation. She believes no other act, no other feeling requisite; as repentance and faith were sufficient preparations for baptism and the Lord's supper, so after baptism, she considers them sufficient, without any other sacrament, to restore the sinner to the favour of his God. Whatever more of sacramental grace is necessary to his restoration, she considers to be supplied continually by the second sacrament; and to this she exhorts all her members to have recourse, with the view of receiving a continual and abundant communication of the divine grace. But the Romish church thinks differently; and admitting equally with ourselves the necessity of repentance, she does not admit equally, or at least not in the same sense, the sufficiency of repentance, though conjoined with faith, for the restoration of the sinner who has fallen after baptism. She asserts, that God, in his mercy, has ordained another sacrament,—the sacrament of penance;* which is to be, like the other sacrament, the instrument of grace and the seal of peace and pardon to the contrite soul. Now there is nothing in this, at first sight, either contrary to the principles of reason or to the analogy of faith; and if it had pleased the Almighty to institute this sacrament, we should have received it with every feeling of piety and gratitude. But as we do not conceive it to be so ordained, we reject it as unwarranted in *principle;* and as there is nothing on which the human mind is so willing to rely,—nothing which it is so prone to mis-

* Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. cap. i.

apprehend, even as the real and undoubted sacraments of Christianity, we reject it also, if any additional reason be required, as very dangerous in effect.

Before we proceed to explain more particularly the Romish sacrament of penance, it may be necessary to say a few words concerning the parts which in that church are necessary to constitute a sacrament. The Romish definition of a sacrament, then, is the same as our own,—a visible sign of an invisible grace;* but the visible sign is not, as with us, something single and undivided, material, tangible, and substantive, but is divided into two parts,—the form and the matter, according, they say, to the aphorism of Augustine:—"Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum." In baptism, then, the water is the *matter;* the words, "I baptize thee," the form; in the eucharist, the bread and wine, the matter; the words, "This is my body," the form; in confirmation, the holy chrism, the matter; the words, "I anoint thee," the form. In the other three sacraments of penance, matrimony, and orders, this distinction is not so easy; and in that which we are now considering, it was particularly difficult to assign any thing like matter belonging to this sacrament. The Council of Trent therefore decided, that the acts of the penitent should be called the matter, or rather something like the matter—quasi materia†—and the words, "I absolve thee," are, as in the other sacraments, the form. The absurdity of this decision is evident at once: the acts of the penitent cannot, by any possibility, be any part of a sacrament; and the council was, in fact, so involved in difficulty, by the admission of this absurdity, that it became necessary to state expressly what might otherwise have been mistaken, that the *form*‡ of the sacrament in this case was the essential and principal part of it; and that the sacrament of penance, as to its outward and visible sign, did in truth consist in the absolution of the priest.

The questions, then, and the answers, which might be proposed and given, according to the model of our catechism, would be these: What is the outward or visible sign or form in penance? *Ans.* The words with which the person is absolved, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. What is the inward and spiritual grace?§ A reconciliation with God, and restoration to his

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* See the Catechism of Trent, p. 120.

† Sunt quasi materia hujus Sacramenti ipsius Pœnitentis actus, nempe Contritio, Confessio, Satisfactio. Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. cap. 3.

‡ Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ forma, in *qua præcipuè ipsius vis sita est*, in illis ministri verbis posita est; "Ego absolvo te." Conc. Trid. ib.

§ Si quis dixerit Pœnitentiam non esse vere et proprie Sacramentum pro fidelibus reconciliandis, quoties post Baptismum in peccata labuntur, Anathema sit. Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. Canon i.

favour. What is required of them who come to the sacrament of penance? To examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sins;* to confess their sins, whether of thought, word, or deed, particularly and individually to the priest; and to be ready to do such acts of penance as shall be imposed on them by him.

We shall consider these several acts in the order in which they take place on occasion of the administration of this sacrament. First, Contrition.† By this is understood a sincere and hearty sorrow for sins done—a steadfast purpose of reformation, arising, not out of any worldly motive, nor out of dread of future punishment, or hope of future reward, but out of the simple and unmixed love of God. This is contrition in its most perfect state; but even if the sinner has this, it will not suffice for his reconciliation with God, without the sacrament, except in cases where the penitent has no opportunity of receiving it, and then he is restored to the divine favour, not from his penitence, but from the *wish*,‡ which is charitably supposed, that he would have received absolution, if he could. But, again, as this perfect contrition is very rare, an imperfect degree of it is admitted, which is called *attrition*, and the attrite penitent, on receiving the sacrament, is restored by it (always supposing satisfaction promised and done) to the favour of God, the sacrament, in this case, supplying the deficiency. Thus, the royal controversialist, in his book against Luther, "Quid dicit Lutherus aliud quam sentiunt illi quos insectatur, qui dicunt, *ex attritione, per sacramentum superveniens, fieri contritionem; sacramentum enim supplere, quod deest homini.*"§ So also the Council of Trent. Now, as we are here only giving a statement of doctrine, we shall not insist upon the doubtful and dangerous nature of this attrition; we will assume, without reluctance, that the council meant to speak of that degree of repentance to which human nature, in its ordinary state of infirmity, is able to attain; but we must not forbear from laying

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* Milner's End of Controversy, p. 294.

† Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. cap. iv.

‡ Docet præterea, etsi contritionem hanc aliquando charitate perfectam esse contingat, hominemque Deo reconciliare, prius quam hoc sacramentum actu suscipiatur, ipsam nihilominus reconciliationem ipsi contritioni *sine Sacramenti voto* quod in illa includitur, non esse ascribendam. Illam verò contritionem imperfectam, quæ *attritio* dicitur, quoniam vel ex turpitudinis peccati consideratione vel ex Gehennæ et pœnarum metu communiter concipitur si voluntatem peccandi excludat——quamvis sine Sacramento Pœnitentiæ per se ad justificationem perducere peccatorem nequeat, tamen eum ad Dei gratiam in Sacramento Pœnitentiæ impetrandam disponit. Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. cap. iv.

§ Henric. VIII. adv. Lutherum Cap. de Contritione.

before our readers an instance of the use which is made of this distinction by a Romanist of no mean ability, whose object, in the passage we are about to quote, is to show that Popery is a safer way than Protestanism to salvation. "'Tis well known," he says, "that Protestants, to obtain salvation, believe in Christ, trust in his merits, and repent of their sins; yet they do it not purely out of a perfect love of God. Now, according to our doctrine, such kind of repentance as this, is no sufficient remedy to blot out sins, unless it be *joined with the sacrament of penance*, viz. confession, and priestly absolution, &c. which Protestants reject. I say, without the sacrament of penance, actually and duly received, all Catholics hold, that neither faith, nor hope, nor any repentance or sorrow for sin can save us, but only that which is joined with a perfect love of God, whereby we are disposed to lose all and suffer all that can be imagined, rather than to offend God; yea, though there were, indeed, neither heaven to reward us, nor hell to punish us; which being a thing so hard to be found, especially among such as believe a man is justified by faith only, it follows evidently, that in our doctrine, very few or no Protestants are saved. The conclusion, therefore, is undeniable, that our church is a safer way to salvation than that of Protestants."* We take no notice of the insinuation which is here thrown out against the doctrine imputed to the Protestants, or of the claim of super-excellent principle put in for the Romanists; but we take the opportunity of making a remark or two on the Romish tenet that "sacraments confer grace, ex opere operato." † Is it, or is it not true, that, according to the doctrine openly laid down by the council on this sacrament of penance, and maintained by its expositors, some deficiency or other (be that deficiency ever so small) is supplied by the sacrament, ex opere operato, according to the common acceptation of the term? Is it not true that the dispositions of the penitent are before imperfect, and that they are perfected by the sacrament? We do not wish to go any farther—we do not wish to charge "the Papists" (as Dr. Milner says the Bishop of Lincoln has charged them in his Elements of Theology) with contending, "that the mere receiving of the Lord's supper merits the remission of sin, ex opere operato, as it were, mechanically, *whatever may be the character or disposition of the communicants.*" This is a different assertion—different almost infinitely in degree from what we desire to express. Dr. Milner adds

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* Laud's Labyrinth, p. 303.

† Sacramenta conferunt gratiam ex opere operato. Conc. Trid. Sess. vii. Canon 8.

that Dr. Hey, in his Lectures, repeats nearly the same words as the bishop; but we must take leave to say that we very much doubt the assertion. Dr. Hey was a man of extraordinary candour and the most unparalleled fairness; of very great learning and extreme simplicity of mind—independent of other men's opinions beyond any author with whom we are acquainted —we have not his works before us—but we will almost pledge ourselves to our readers, that the assertion of Dr. Milner is not correct. Dr. Hey may have said, that such had been the doctrine that had been imputed to some of the schoolmen—for this is the open declaration of the divines of Germany, and delivered by them to their adversaries without any concealment, subterfuge, or qualification. The confession of Augsburg condemns that opinion "qua fingit homines justos esse propter usum sacramentorum ex opere operato, et quidem sine bono motu utentium." So also the confession of Wirtemberg and others. And what did the Council of Trent do? Did it, in bold and explicit terms, deny the charge? On the contrary, without saying one word of the interpretation put by the Protestants on the opus operatum, it again affirmed that doctrine, and anathematized all who did not allow that the sacraments conferred grace ex opere operato. It was necessary, at least, for Dr. Hey to notice these opinions in his Lectures; and this is what, in all probability, he has done.

The *second* act of the penitent is Confession; by which is understood a secret confession into the ear of the priest,* of every sin, whether conceived only in thought or matured into action. This confession is necessary to salvation, and, by the decree of the Council of Lateran, must be made by every member of the church once a year. The Council of Trent decided this sacramental confession to be of divine institution—we say, *decided* it to be so; for that this was already the received doctrine of the church is sufficiently clear from the treatise of Henry VIII.† That illustrious monarch, however, at the time of his controversy, seems to have had some doubt about the matter, as he forsakes the precedents of scripture and councils, and has recourse to arguments of another kind—some of them not without salt. It is impossible, he says, that auricular confession should be of human institution, as no mortal or set of mortals could have persuaded the whole of Christendom to make their brother mortals the depositaries of their secret

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* Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. Can n 7 and 8.
† Henric. VIII. adv. Luth. Confessione.

sins.—Secondly, unless it were of divine origin, the secrecy of the priesthood could never be accounted for: Neque fieri potuit ut presbyteri audita continerent, *etiam hi qui nihil alias continent,* nisi Deus ipse, qui sacramentum instituit, rem tam salubrem speciali gratia defenderet. The pugnacious monarch, even while he was defending the church and the priesthood, could not refrain from enjoying his sarcasm at the priest's expense.

But we turn to graver matter.—In the book of devotion from which extracts have already been made, and which is particularly recommended by Mr. Butler, the "Garden of the Soul," there are certain heads of examination for the purpose of those who are preparing themselves for confession. At one part of these questions Dr. Phillpotts has expressed his disgust and detestation in strong, unmeasured terms,* but there is no language that he has used, or can use, in which we do not most cordially unite with him. What can be the ideas of female purity entertained by the individuals who compiled these heads, for the purpose of putting them into the hands of man, woman, and child, we are utterly unable to determine. The coarseness of the male mind may bear a great deal: but even those, who have been brought up in our public schools and universities, in the army or navy, may have something to learn from this preparation for the confessional. We beseech the heads of the Romish church in this empire, by every thing that is pure and holy, to withdraw these questions from their book. Let them not make God's house of prayer a house of debauchery and profligacy. We are not afraid to prophesy, that if the present controversy should last another century, the Romanists, who are alive at that time, will cast from them with indignation the charge of ever having promulgated this work—will treat it as a Protestant calumny, or, at least, declare it to be the unauthorized work of an individual for which they can, in no way, be made responsible. Little will posterity believe that this book was put forth in the 19th century, and the Protestants referred to it as "the most popular prayer-book of the English Catholics."†

But there is another very remarkable circumstance in this confessional examination. In Queen Mary's Primer there is also what is entitled "A form of confession:" and the head, corresponding with that of which we have been speaking, occupied only *five lines.* In the "Garden of the Soul" it occupies 53—something more than ten times as much. To what is this increase of confessional severity to be attributed? The reason is evident.

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* Philpotts, p. 202. † Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 10.

External and public circumstances having contributed to diminish the power and influence of the Romish priesthood, the internal and private instruments have been proportionally increased. To confession and confession only (we say it boldly) is to be attributed that overbearing and tremendous influence of the Romish clergy in Ireland over their flocks, which Dr. Doyle so unblushingly and, in a manner, triumphantly avowed—an influence sufficient to make every member of either house, who heard him without prejudice, tremble with astonishment.

The third act in order, is the Absolution of the Priest, of which having already said a good deal, we shall only observe, in addition, that it is a judicial act, inquiring into the sins and crimes of the penitent, inflicting punishment, &c.—Nor shall we waste any paper in refuting the charges brought by Dr. Milner, Dr. Doyle, and Mr. Butler against the Lutheran churches,* as if they maintained the Romish tenet of absolution—assertions, as every one may see in the works of Bellarmine and all the confessions of the German churches, only to be smiled at for their absurdity. There was no tenet more decried by Luther and all his coadjutors than the doctrine of absolution, as it was held and enforced by the church of Rome.

But here, by some strange fatality, the renowned and immortal Chillingworth (as he is called by these gentlemen, sneeringly, as if the circumstance of his not having been canonized by the Pope would prevent the immortality of his renown) is brought in aid of the doctrines of Popery. In a sermon, which is the seventh affixed to his great work, he had called on his congregation, in case they found themselves charged and oppressed, to come to their spiritual physician, and to come to him, not only as to a learned man, but "as to one that hath authority delegated from God to him, to absolve and acquit them of their sins." Chillingworth's sermon was preached evidently about the year 1643; and the passage in question was inserted, merely for the purpose of opposing those self-appointed ministers, who were then so active throughout the kingdom. In opposition to them, he asserts the superior authority of the episcopal minister, and refers to his commission as the warrant of that superiority. But if Mr. Butler and his master (for this quotation, like all the other doctrinal quotations of Mr. B., belongs to the vicar apost.) wish to know Chillingworth's sentiments on the absolution of the church of Rome, we refer him, with pleasure, to the following passage. Speaking of the intention of the minister being

* Book of the Roman Catholic Church. p. 108.

necessary to the sacrament, and demonstrating, at very great length, the absurdities consequent on such a principle, and enumerating the agonies, which might arise in the mind of the dying penitent, from his doubt whether the priest really intended to absolve him or not, he advises the priest to quiet the fears of the afflicted person, by telling him that his doubts are unnecessary, for that all these defects will be supplied by the mercy of God. "But this," he says, "I fear, you will never say: for this were to reverse many doctrines established by your church, and, besides, *to degrade your priesthood from a great part of their honour, by lessening the strict necessity of their laity's dependence upon them. For it were to say, that the priest's* intention is not necessary to the obtaining of absolution, which is to say, *that it is not in the parson's power to damn all he would in his parish.*"* So much for Chillingworth, and we beseech the good gentlemen, who have drawn this quotation from us, to make the most of him.

The last point to be spoken of, is Satisfaction, of which we will only observe, that it is imposed after the absolution, the absolution being in this respect conditional; and that it consists of acts of penance imposed by the priest—acts which, assuredly, at the time of the Reformation, and long after it, were, beyond description, ludicrous, futile, and unholy; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the present practice of the Roman Catholics of this empire on this particular, to think ourselves justified in saying more.

These, then, are the leading principles of the Romanists on the sacrament of penance; and if we have been able to make ourselves understood, our readers will have no difficulty in estimating, at its proper value, the following portion of Dr. Doyle's examination.†

"What is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church respecting absolution? *Ans.* The doctrine of the Roman Catholic church respecting absolution, *is precisely the same as that of the established church* in this kingdom; so much so, that the words of absolution which we use, are precisely those put down in the Visitation of the Sick in the Common Prayer Book, to be used by a clergyman of the established church, when he visits *a person who wishes to cōnfess his sins.*

"Is there any difference between the doctrine of the Catholic church and that of the Protestant church, with respect to absolution? *Ans. I really know of none:* I am sure the established church requires,

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* Chillingworth, Rel of Prot. Part i. c. ii. Sect. 68.

† Evidence on the State of Ireland, p. 352.

as we do, that the person making a confession of his sin be sorry and contrite for it; the words of the absolution are precisely those which we use—*so I see no difference between the one and the other.*"

Now we desire to ask Dr. Doyle the following questions:—

Did he know that there were *seven sacraments* in his church?

Did he know that *penance was one of these?*

Did he know that the absolution in his church was *sacramental* absolution, and reconciled the penitent to the favour of his God?

Did he know that there were only *two sacraments* in our church, and that *penance was not one of these?*

Now we do not put these questions to Dr. Doyle as a learned man, for it is clear that he is not so; but we put them to him as the veriest catechumen in the church: and we ask him, whether it is possible that he could be ignorant of these things; and if not ignorant of them, whether he could really declare upon his oath, that the absolution of the church of England was precisely the same as that of the church of Rome?

Having put these plain questions to him, we now beg to submit a few more, which require a greater degree of knowledge certainly; but only such as every one must have, who is tolerably acquainted with the decrees of the Council of Trent.

Did he know then that all persons were anathematized by the canons of that council, who said,

"1. That penance is not a sacrament instituted by Christ for the reconciliation of sinners after baptism.—Canon 1.

"2. That sacramental confession is not necessary, and that auricular confession is of human origin.—Canon 6.

"3. That it is not necessary to confess all mortal sins, or secret sins, or their circumstances.—Canon 7.

"4. That such confession is not possible; and the annual confession enjoined by the Council of Lateran, is not obligatory on the faithful.—Canon 8.

"5. That sacramental absolution is not a judicial act, but simply a declaration made by the priest to the penitent.—Canon 9.

"6. That there are no cases of absolution in private penance reserved to bishops.—Canon 11.

"7. That all the punishment is remitted at the same time as the sin.—Canon 12.

"8. That satisfactions do not honour God, but are merely human traditions."

If Dr. Doyle did *not* know these things, which are written plainly in the canons of the Council of Trent, we desire to ask, whether he was a fit person to give his evidence before the two

houses of legislature, either concerning the doctrines of the church of England or the church of Rome? *If he did know them*,—but we leave the conclusion to our readers.

Be it known, then, to all Romish prelates, English and Irish legislators, and others,

"1. That the church of England does not admit *sacramental* absolution in any sense whatever.

"2. That she rejects auricular confession altogether.

"3. That she does not think any absolution of any sort or kind *necessary* to the penitent.

"4. That when she administers it, she does it only at the desire of the penitent.

"5. That she does not conceive absolution capable of reconciling the penitent to the favour of God.

"6. That she does think that her absolution may, in some cases, give quiet and consolation to the troubled conscience; but that if the penitent is calm and free from trouble, she thinks it needless—her doctrine being in common with the rest of the reformed churches, 'Crede te absolutum, et absolutus es.'

"7. That the meaning of the words used in her form of absolution is simply this:—'You have declared to me your sincere penitence; you have expressed your belief in all the doctrines of Christianity in which I have examined you; you have humbled yourself before God by the confession of your sins; and now I pray to our Lord Jesus Christ, who has left power to his church to absolve all sinners, *who truly repent and believe in him*, to forgive thee thine offences; and as *you have humbly and heartily desired it*, I exercise the authority committed to me in absolving you from your sins. Do not misunderstand me by supposing that by this act I can reconcile you to God: I do it only for the purpose of exciting your faith, and of conveying comfort to your soul by the faithful ministry of God's word.'"

We should have been anxious to explain the reasons why this form of absolution, which is now become obsolete, was originally retained by the church of England;—but the length to which this article has already run prevents us from doing this. We may, perhaps, have an opportunity, hereafter, of returning to Dr. Doyle.

Having so long agreed in opinion with Dr. Phillpotts, we are sorry now to differ from him on the only point on which he agrees with his opponents. Dr. Milner, in his "End of Controversy,"* had observed in a note, that the church of England, *to encourage the secret confession* of sins,

* P. 297. See also Book of Roman Catholic Church, p. 108.

has *made a canon*, requiring her ministers not to reveal the same." Mr. Butler, according to his custom, has copied this note verbatim—and Dr. Phillpotts, to our astonishment, has observed "it is most true," and has not said one word in refutation of the charge of Dr. Milner. On the contrary, he agrees with him altogether. We conceive it our duty, therefore, to say a few words for the purpose of rectifying what appears to us a very great mistake. The church of England, then, has, assuredly, made no canon "*for the purpose of encouraging secret confession.*" She has only *assumed* that some confidential intercourse would take place between a minister and his parishioners, and has forbidden, *except under particular circumstances*, that such intercourse should be revealed. But even this prohibition is not found in any canon made for that purpose, but in the body of a canon with an entirely different, and almost contrary, object: The title of the 113th canon is this,—"Ministers may present;" and its object is as follows:—It had been enjoined in the 109th canon on churchwardens and questmen, that they should present in the ecclesiastical courts all persons in their parish, who should offend their brethren by notorious crimes and scandals; but as it was found by experience, that churchwardens, either through fear of their superiors, or negligence, abstained from performing the duty thus imposed on them; it was farther ordered by the 113th canon, that all parsons, vicars, and curates might present to their ordinaries, whenever they thought fit, "all such crimes as they have in charge, *or otherwise, as by them (being the persons that should have the chief care for the suppressing of sin and impiety in their parishes) shall be thought to require due reformation.*" Now a canon of this kind, enjoining every minister to present to his ordinary all moral and social irregularities might, not unnaturally, create a doubt in some minds, whether confidential communications of sin ought not also to be presented. And the framers of the canon, foreseeing this difficulty, have added a "provided always," stating that the canon does not include such cases, and forbidding the minister to disclose any such confidential communications. Now, let it be considered that the former canon alluded, not only to crimes against society, but to sins, such as fornication, &c. which were all presentable in the ecclesiastical courts—and, when the minister became acquainted with these sins, &c. in the course of his ministry, if the canon extended to these cases, what would have been the consequence? It is true, however, that the "proviso" forbids him, not only to present or to make known to any person the *sins* of his parishioners, but charges him also, and admonishes him, "not to reveal

or make known to any person any crime or offence committed to his trust and secrecy (*except they be such crimes, as by the laws of this realm his own life may be called into question for concealing the same*) under pain of irregularity." Now we cannot but think it extraordinary that this exception should altogether have escaped the notice of our author: for it involves in it a very important principle, and would have prevented him from writing the sentence,* "that he trusts there are few ministers who *under any circumstances or by the threat of any earthly punishment* could be induced to publish what was confided to them under that sacred seal." The church of England does not expose her ministers to any such trial—if he is acquainted with any act, either before or after its commission, which brings his life into danger, he is at perfect liberty to reveal it; and if not, he is amenable to the whole penalty of the law. The only case which strikes us as possible to arise in the ordinary course of ministerial duty, is this: a person has committed a murder, perhaps some years before—on his death-bed, or from a change of habits and of feelings, or from the common action of natural remorse, he is anxious to unburden his conscience, and applies to the minister for spiritual consolation. What is the minister to do under these circumstances? We conceive, then, in the first place—that it is the duty of every minister of the church of England to be very careful how he receives any such confession. Secondly, we hold him especially bound to adhere to the best practice of the Romish church, and not to admit the mention of any name whatever, besides that of the criminal himself. Thirdly, if the clergyman should receive such confession, we think the canon imposes on him the duty of secrecy—always supposing the communication made to him for the purposes recited in the canon. Fourthly, if he should unfortunately be called in evidence, which though possible is very improbable, we think that the courts of law should extend that protection to a clergyman which it extends to the confidential intercourse that takes place in other professions; but, if they will not do this, we do not wish any law to be made for the purpose of protecting him. We do not hold it to be the doctrine of the church of England to encourage confessions and disclosures of this nature: we are to awaken the consciences of those who are placed under our care: to declare to them the word of God, and to leave to them, without casuistry, to settle these matters, as much as may be, for themselves—to prevent them from suffering under that troubled conscience, which alone warrants a minister of our church in

* Phillpotts, p. 217.

receiving any confession of the kind. Let the minister only teach his parishioners the necessity of sincere and hearty repentance—let him assure them that God will not despise the broken and contrite spirit—and he will have little need of hearing any special confession of sins that have been committed.

We have taken no notice of sins confessed *before* they are committed—for we hold it a solecism in religion, that any person making such a confession should go on to do the deed which he confessed to his minister, only "for the purpose of disburdening his conscience and receiving spiritual consolation." But should such a circumstance ever occur in the church of England, we hold it the imperative duty of every clergyman, if he cannot prevent the crime, to make it known instantly to the proper authorities. There is, evidently, no repentance in this case—the canon has nothing to do with it—and any other interpretation would again lay us open to all the horrible evils of auricular confession.

PURGATORY.—INDULGENCES.—On these doctrines we shall say very little—we reject the former because we conceive that no hint or intimation of it is to be found in any of the books of scripture which we esteem canonical, and farther we consider it to have given rise to all the evils of private masses and the corruptions which resulted from them. We reject the second, not only because they are altogether unwarranted by any word of holy writ, and contrary to every principle of reason, but because we conceive the foundations on which they rest to be, in the highest degree, blasphemous and absurd. These principles are: 1. That the power of the Pope, great as it is, does not properly extend beyond the limits of this present world.* 2. That the power which he possesses of releasing souls from purgatory arises out of the treasure committed to his care—a treasure consisting of the supererogatory merits of our blessed Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints.† One drop, they say, of the Redeemer's blood, would have sufficed for the redemption of the world—if he shed so much more than was required, what is to be done with the excess? The saints did much more than was required of them—what advantage is derived also from this superfluity of merits and good works? The whole

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* Idcirco dicuntur indulgentiæ concedi defunctis per modum suffragii, non per modum absolutionis; non enim potest Pontifex absolvere defunctos à pœnis, *quomodò absolvit viventes, quia illi non sunt ei subjecti, isti sunt:* potest tamen, tanquàm summus dispensator Thesauri Ecclesiæ communicare illis bona operæ pœnalia, quæ in thesauro sunt. Bellarm. de Purgatorio, lib. ii. cap. xvi.

† See the Bull of Clem. VI. quoted by Dr. Phillpotts.

is to be applied by the Pope to the deliverance of souls out of purgatory, and from those temporal punishments of this life, which remain according to the doctrine of the Romish church, after the forgiveness of the sin. This is the treasure of which Pope Leo, in his Bull *of the present year*, 1825, speaks in the following terms:—"We have resolved, in virtue of the authority given to us by heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure, *composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord and of his virgin Mother, and of all the saints*, which the author of human salvation has intrusted to our dispensation." We refer our readers for farther particulars on so extraordinary a topic to Dr. Phillpotts,* and the evidence of the Romish prelates before the two houses; only adding, that the fullest information on the whole subject of indulgences is to be derived from the Corpus Juris Canonici, vol. iii. Extravag. Commun. p. 349. We dare not trust ourselves to say more upon a subject on which Mr. Butler† flatters himself that "when we see the doctrine of the Roman Catholics divested of the *misrepresentations, which have too often been made of them, and are yet too often repeated*, we shall find nothing in it *contrary to common sense*, or prejudicial to the interests of religion and morality."

Faith with Heretics.—It is so far from our intention to write any thing which may tend to irritate, that we would willingly have avoided the present topic, and have admitted without reluctance that the French and English Romanists of the present day do not hold the principle that "faith is not to be kept with heretics." But when we are challenged to produce any authentic documents of the church of Rome, in proof of this opinion *ever having been* maintained; when Dr. Doyle, with unparalleled boldness, rejects the idea with indignation, and declares that it is a tenet "too blasphemous to be contemplated," it becomes necessary to say something, lest we should seem to submit too humbly, and too consciously, to this twofold imputation of ignorance and calumny.

Of the light, then, in which heretics are to be regarded, we may form a sufficient judgment from the following passage, which Dr. Phillpotts has quoted from the Catechism of Trent, translated (as he observes in a note) into English, *by permission*, Dublin, 1816. "Heretics and schismatics do not belong to the church, any more than vagabonds or renegadoes belong to an army from which they ran away. Yet it is not to be denied, but

* P. 158. See also Evidence on the State of Ireland, pp. 354, 418, 439.
† Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 110.

that they are in the power of the church, as those who may be judged by her, and condemned with an anathema." There can be no question, then, that the ancient principle of the Romish church, "Omnis hereticus est excommunicatus,"* is still retained by the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Let us look, then, to the decrees of the church concerning persons *excommunicated;* and if it shall appear from these decrees, that faith is not to be kept with the *excommunicated*, it will follow, *à fortiori*, that it is not to be kept with the heretic—*à fortiori*, we say; for the difference between a heretic and an excommunicate, is enormously in disfavour of the former—so much so,† that although an excommunicated person may not be admitted in a court of justice, as evidence against any member of the church, though neither his word or his oath are to be believed in such cases,‡ yet against a heretic he may make common cause with the church, and his evidence is admissible and valid. We assert then, boldly, and without qualification, that it was the avowed doctrine of the church of Rome, that *faith is not to be kept with those who have been excommunicated*, that it was maintained and expounded by their canonists, and acted on in their courts of law. In proof of this assertion, we adduce the following canon: "Nos, sanctorum prædecessorum nostrorum statuta tenentes, eos, qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate à sacramento absolvimus: et ne eis fidelitatem observent, omnibus modis prohibemus."§ In English, "*We, maintaining the statutes of our holy predecessors, do, by our apostolic authority, absolve from their oath all who are bound either by oath or promise to persons excommunicated; and prohibit them, in every way, from keeping faith with such persons.*" Now, mark the note of the commentator on this canon. "A question," he says, "may here arise as to the payment of debts —whether, if I have promised to pay a sum of money to a person on a certain day, and he, in the mean time, is excommunicated, I am bound to pay him or not?" It should seem, he says, that I am not bound.—First, Because it is our duty to vex the wicked in every way we can:—Secondly, Because my oath must be

* See Council of Lateran 4, cap. iii. De Hæreticis, cap. Excommunicamus.

† Nullus anathematizatorum suscipiatur, *nec à quoquam credantur quæ ab iis dicuntur vel conscribuntur.* Eos dico anathematizatos esse, quos episcopi suis scriptis anathematizaverunt, aut eorum statuta anathematizant. 3. q. 5. nullus. And in the next chapter, "Omnes, quos sanctorum Patrum statuta tam præteritis quàm futuris temporibus anathematizant, submovemus, et ab omni accusatione fidelium alienamus."

‡ In fidei favorem concedimus, ut in negotio Inquisitionis hæreticæ pravitatis excommunicati ad testimonium admittantur. De hæret. in 6. cap. in fidei.

§ Corp. Jur. Can. 15. q. 6.

understood to have been taken on the supposition of all things remaining in the same state. Thirdly, Because we are to hold no communication of any kind with the excommunicate—with various other reasons. On the whole, however, he is inclined to think that money contracts are obligatory, although the excommunicated person has no right to sue for his debt; and he concludes his note with these words, that "although excommunication releases all obligations of promise, yet other contracts may, possibly, be binding." Will it be said that this canon is obsolete? No such claim can be put in by those, who refer us to the decrees and catechism of the Council of Trent: for the Corpus Juris Canonici, from which the canon is extracted, was compiled subsequently to both those documents, having been emended and restored, by order of Gregory XIII., in conformity with the decisions of the Council of Trent. This Pope, the successor of Pius V. in the year 1583, ratified the catechism, and so highly approved of the doctrines contained in it, that he gave the order just mentioned, *for the new edition of the canon law, and particularly enjoined, that every thing should be left out which had been abrogated, either by the Popes, the Council of Trent, or the Roman catechism.* This canon law he put forth himself, and for the use (as he says in his preface) of the Catholics *on both sides of the mountains.** "Gregorius XIII., Pij. V., successor; Francisco Gratiano de Gazatoribus Jurisconsulto, et Canonico Vicentino suasit, ut juris Canonici epitomen ederent, in quâ, quicquid vel à summis Pontificibus, vel à Concilio Tridentino, vel à Catechismo Romano fuerat abrogatum, resecarent." It is difficult, surely, to reject the authority of a work of this kind, in proof of the tenets maintained at the time of its publication by the courts of Rome, and if its authority be admitted, it does not seem possible to deny, that a heretic was in a very ticklish situation, who was once within the precincts of that court.

We will say only a few words of the case of John Huss. The Emperor Sigismund, in the year 1414, gave John Huss, accused of heresy, a safe-conduct to Constance, in virtue of which he presented himself before the council; the council refused to acknowledge the safe-conduct as applicable to the case,—they tried, excommunicated, and degraded him, and then handed him over to the secular power. Sigismund ordered him to be burnt. The question is, was the council or Sigismund guilty of a breach of faith, and, if so, on what principle? It has, of late, been

* Præfatio ad Catechism Rom.

maintained that the council was not guilty; because, according to the principles of those times, the ecclesiastical being, confessedly, superior to the secular power, the emperor had no right to grant a safe-conduct to the council. Be it so: then the council was not guilty, but Sigismund was; for, after the council had degraded him, it had done its office; and the violation of promise must be ascribed altogether to the emperor, who, in defiance of that kind appeal to mercy, which was always made by the church,* when it had handed over a criminal to the secular arm, ordered Huss to be burnt. But be this as it may, it was not on this principle that the act of the council was defended by the Romanists about the time of the Reformation. The defence that was then made, went on the ground that the passport was only a common passport, which is always understood to be granted *salvâ justitiâ;* that is, if a person obtains a passport for travelling through France, this passport does not prevent his being tried, condemned, and executed for any murder he may commit. So said the Council to Huss: "Yours is only a general passport; there is no exception or saving clause which can prevent you from being tried for heresy." The argument in this case is evidently a gross quibble, for the act of heresy had been committed before the safe-conduct was granted; and it was granted with especial reference to this act and no other. Supposing, however, the council to have violated faith on any principle, we, as Protestants, not holding the infallibility of councils in action at least, should not be inclined to argue, that, because one set of men acted in this way, this was the established principle and practice of the church of Rome. Let her own children look to that. We consider it of much greater consequence to determine whether the council of Constance did not, by a positive decree, enact, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics." The Romanists deny this, because it is not to be found in the published acts of that council. But there seems very little doubt of the fact. Mr. Van der Hardt found this decree in the MS. of the council at Vienna, and published it in his Collection of the Acts of the Council of Constance. The fact has never been denied, nor can the only conclusion to be drawn from it ever be overthrown; and the words of Simancha,† so frequently alleged, no doubt rested on this decree.

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* See the Pontificale Romanum in the ceremony of degradation.

† Ad hæreticorum istorum, (speaking of the Lutherans,) pœnam et odium etiam pertinet, quod *fides illis data servanda non sit, non obstante juramento:* Nam si non est servanda tyrannis, piratis, et aliis latronibus, qui occidunt corpus, multò minùs hæreticis, qui occidunt animas. Cum hæreticis nullum commercium, nec pax ulla esse potest—ideoque fides illis data, etiam juramento firmata, contrà bonum publicum, con-

In conclusion, we observe once more, that, in what we have said on this part of our subject, we have not the most remote intention of bringing any insinuation against the Roman Catholics of France, England, or Ireland.—We acquit them of all such principles—we repeat that every word that we have written, has been written in our own defence—and for the purpose of showing, that charges of this kind are not to be whistled away as horrible imputations, as Protestant calumnies, or to be treated as doctrines which never prevailed in the court of Rome. We do not assert that they were even *Articles of Faith*; nor, to say the truth, do we care whether they were or not: it appears to us to signify very little, if a person be committed to the flames, whether he is burned on an article of faith or a principle of law.

But we must now bring this article to a close. There are many other topics on which we should have wished to speak; but, for the present, we must be silent; and we hope that we have kept the pledge which we gave at the beginning of this article, of refraining from all discourteous expressions, and from every thing that might tend to excite any feeling of irritation. We have explained with what clearness we could, some of the leading tenets of the Roman Catholics, and have assigned our reasons for rejecting them.—But we have brought no charge against those individuals of this empire, who adhere to their ancient faith; we have not willingly imputed to them any tenets they disclaim, or accused them, in any way, of insincerity, dishonesty, or disguise. Our full belief is, that the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom, from their long residence among Protestants, their disuse of processions and other Romish ceremonies, have been brought gradually, and almost unknowingly, to a more spiritual religion and a purer faith—that they themselves see with sorrow the disgraceful tenets and principles that were professed and carried into practice by their forefathers—and are too fond of removing this disgrace from them by denying the former existence of these tenets, and ascribing the imputation of them to the calumnies of the Protestants. This we cannot allow; and while we cherish the hope that they are now gone for ever, we still assert boldly and fearlessly that they did once exist.

But, while we allow a great degree of improvement to have taken place both in the principles and practices of the Romanists, there is still enough, and more than enough, left in the doctrines

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trà salutem animarum, contrà jus divinum et humanum nullo modo servanda est. Sæpè id à nobis dictum; necesse est, tamen, incessabiliter iterari, et tamdiu non tacere, quamdi pacis illud obtenditur. Simancha de Cathol. Instit. cap. 462, n. 52.

of that religion as they are acknowledged and professed to confirm every declaration against them which is contained in the Articles of the Church of England—and to those declarations we adhere firmly and invariably, without restriction, qualification, or disguise.

ART. VIII.—SCOTCH NOVELS.—1. *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life, a Selection from the Papers of the late* Arthur Austin, 1822.

2.—*The Trials of Margaret Lyndsay.* By the Author of "Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life," 1823.

3.—*The Foresters.* By the Author of "The Trials of Margaret Lyndsay," and the "Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life," 1825.

THE brilliant example of the Great Unknown has raised such a host of Scottish romancers, that the critics have been fairly thrown out in the chase. Nevertheless, the popularity and importance of these writers is such, that, though we cannot pretend to keep them always in view, it is our duty as the chroniclers and censors of literature, every now and then to select a victim; and here we have overtaken a gentleman who stands accountable for three closely printed octavos. His pretensions are considerable, his merits and success not inconsiderable, and he dedicates to Sir Walter Scott; yet we are bound to declare that, if indeed of the Waverley blood, he is but a cousin very many times removed. His tales are mere poetical visions, and ought to have been in rhyme, for there is nothing of prose about them either in the thoughts or diction. The restraints of metre would have retrenched many unpleasing superfluities of ornament which now encumber his style, and he might have successfully rivalled the pathetic stories of Barry Cornwall.—He seems, however, to have a higher aim than merely to please as a poet; for, though he does not explain his design by preface or advertisement, yet the title of his first work and the subject-matter of them all profess to exhibit traits of national character, a very difficult task to execute well at any time, but undertaken under peculiar disadvantage when the authors of "Waverley" and the "Annals of the Parish" have both exhausted their varied powers upon Scottish subjects.

However, we should be sorry to condemn any one for following such high examples—and all who have read Dr. Currie's elegant dissertation, prefixed to his "Life of Burns," must be grateful to

every Scottish writer who introduces us to a more familiar acquaintance with "his country's high-soul'd peasantry." But we are afraid that our present author is not one of those from whom we may look for any addition to our knowledge of living manners. He paints the romance of life, and not the reality. He seems to be a man of warm feelings, and some eloquence, but either he has never studied living men, or he has not the heart to represent them as they are. In the warmth of his imagination he wings his way back to the golden age, shuts his eyes upon sad reality, and transforms the Land of Cakes into an Arcadian Vale. It has always been the privilege of poets to deck out their imaginary creations in imaginary colours, and every student of epic song knows that when he opens his books he retires from the world. But the philosophic novelist, who professes to portray human and national manners, should awaken from the dreams of poetry. We are aware that nothing is more difficult for an ordinary writer, than to impart novelty and interest to the real affairs of men,—and if our author had merely published his sketches as imaginary studies, without pretending to have drawn them from nature, we should have dismissed him without censure as an elegant trifler. But since half the unhappiness of human life arises from disappointed hope, it is the duty of sober critics, to warn young ladies and gentlemen against those seductive romancers, who represent this world as the abode of good and happy beings.

In the hands of our author Scotland is a land flowing with milk and honey, a very garden of Eden before the fall; and Scottish life is charmingly bright and virtuous, with a very slight sprinkling of sin and sorrow. The women are all "beautiful as the houries, and as wise as Zobeide,"—uniformly remarkable for golden tresses, beaming eyes, ivory teeth, and irresistible smiles. Even the shepherdesses have snowy arms, and rose and lily complexions; and what is more important still, their love affairs are in general both judicious and happy. The climate is that of Paradise before Milton's angel pushed aside the axis of the earth. The summer sun warms without scorching by day, and the moon

"Pours all the Arabian heaven upon their nights."

The winters are exceedingly mild and genial, save occasionally a picturesque storm, to afford amorous and heroic shepherds an opportunity of rescuing lovely shepherdesses from the snow. Such is the world beyond the Tweed; and if Rasselas had only found his way thither, he would never have returned to Abyssinia.

The "Lights and Shadows" consist of twenty-four pastoral stories or sketches, after the manner of Geoffry Crayon, but far below him in every quality of merit. There is no variety, no humour, no nice discrimination of character. The author draws entirely upon his fancy. He borrows no aid from history or tradition, or even from the legendary lore of a land of poetical superstitions. He never refers to books, or real men, dead or living; but he dreams a dream, and straightway commits it to paper in language flowery as the meadows of May, and sweet as murmuring zephyrs.

"The country all around rang with the beauty of Amy Gordon; and although it was not known who first bestowed upon her the appellation, yet now she bore no other than the Lily of Liddesdale. She was the only child of a shepherd, and herself a shepherdess. Never had she been out of the valley in which she was born; but many had come from the neighbouring districts just to look upon her as she rested with her flock on the hill-side, as she issued smiling from her father's door, or sat in her serener loveliness in the kirk on sabbath-day. Sometimes there are living beings in nature as beautiful as in romance; reality surpasses imagination; and we see breathing, brightening, and moving before our eye-sights dearer to our hearts than any we ever beheld in the land of sleep.

"It was thus that all felt who looked on the Lily of Liddesdale. She had grown up under the dews, and breath, and light of heaven, among the sclitary hills; and now that she had attained to perfect womanhood, nature rejoiced in the beauty that gladdened the stillness of these undisturbed glens. Why should this one maiden have been created lovelier than all others? In what did her surpassing loveliness consist? None could tell; for had the most imaginative poet described the maiden, something that floated around her, an air of felt but unspeakable grace and lustre, would have been wanting in his picture. Her face was pale, yet tinged with such a faint and leaf-like crimson, that though she well deserved the name of the Lily, yet she was at times like unto the rose. When asleep, or in silent thought, she was the fairest of the lilied brood; but when gliding along the braes, or singing her songs by the river side, she might well remind one of that other brighter and more dazzling flower. Amy Gordon knew that she was beautiful. She knew it from the eyes that in delight met hers, from the tones of so many gentle voices, from words of affection from the old, and love from the young, from the sudden smile that met her when in the morning she tied up at the little mirror her long raven hair, and from the face and figure that looked up to her when she stooped to dip her pitcher in the clear mountain well. True that she was of lowly birth, and that her manners were formed in a shepherd's hut and among shepherdesses on the hill. But one week passed in the halls of the highly-born would have sufficed to hide the little graceful

symptoms of her humble lineage, and to equal her in elegance with those whom in beauty she far excelled. The sun and the rain had indeed touched her hands, but nature had shaped them delicate and small. Light was her footstep on the verdant turf, as through the birch-wood glades and down the rocky dells she glided or bounded along, with a beauty that seemed at once native and alien there; like some creature of another clime that still had kindred with this: an oriental antelope among the roes of a Scottish forest."

Now this (which we have taken from the first two pages of the book) is a specimen of the author's most chastised style of description, for, florid and redundant as it is, it really comes as near to the level of sober prose as ever he condescends to stoop.

From such an introduction the discerning reader will readily surmise that a love-tale is in preparation, and doubtless it would be out of nature if so exquisite a shepherdess did not speedily make conquests. She gets, indeed, as far as nineteen herself without even a scratch from a random arrow of Cupid, but she has unconsciously captivated the heart of a rustic cousin, who, after bearing the flames as long as it was possible, rather abruptly pops the question one sunny afternoon while the Lily is sitting in a delightful glen among her lambs. The Lily is somewhat chill upon the occasion, talks to her swain as her brother, can never think of being his wife, yet to save him from desperation, very magnanimously vows never to marry at all. It is not long, however, before she feels the consequences of rash vows; for she meets among the hills Mr. George Elliott of the Priory, a high-born, rich, and romantic young 'squire, with a great many beautiful sisters, and a very proud mother. He makes honourable, but violent, love to her on the spot, and after another interview she is so completely over head and ears, that she goes home, falls into a deadly fever, and, in her delirious ravings, unconsciously reveals the secret in the ears of her father and her enamoured cousin. But, after some time, she grows calmer, awakes from the dream of that high alliance, and seeing her cousin hanging over her, vows, if she recovers, to be his after all. She does recover both her health and beauty, and resumes her pastoral occupations; but another trial waits her constancy: she meets again with George Elliott, who, during her illness, had been in France, attending the death-bed of his father. He now urges her to instant wedlock, and whisks her off on horseback, in a swoon, to a cottage on his estate, where one of his beautiful sisters appears to back her brother's suit. The Lily is very near giving way, but recollects herself in time, and in a long speech of most extravagant humility, urges her inferiority of birth, her

previous engagement, and her horror of perjury. The lover in despair rushes into the woods; his sister pursues to protect him from himself, and the Lily, wrapped in the lady's silk shawl, flies to her home, and at the end of the month, is the wife of Walter Harden, the handsomest shepherd in the country. How the rejected suitor supports existence does not appear, but he neither hangs nor drowns himself, for after a few years, when several young lilies have grown up in the shepherd's cottage, he suddenly arrives one fine evening at the gate, and introduces to his former flame a most angelic bride; and we are cruelly left in doubt whether the 'squire himself, or his sisters, or his lady, or the Lily of Liddesdale, be most deserving of the prize of beauty.

This is the naked outline of the tale, and a fair sample of all the author's plots. He selects a few romantic incidents, generally simple, but seldom very natural, interlards them with much trite and trashy sentiment, and pours over the whole a flood of smooth and glittering, but inflated and fantastic, diction. We do not intend to make many extracts, but one or two will be necessary to render our remarks intelligible to those who have not seen the book. There is so great a sameness from beginning to end, that we need not be anxious about the selection. Love is the author's peculiar element, insomuch that Mrs. Opie and Anacreon are nothing to him. We shall, therefore, give one love-scene, and as moderate a one as we can find, for most of them are far too sublime for us to meddle with.

Helen Eyre is the orphan child of an English officer, and a young lady, "who was—not his wife:" and the author's object in the romantic tale seems to be, to reprove the heartless injustice with which, in these cases, the world visits the sin of the parents upon the children. A very amiable widow lady has, in spite of obloquy, educated and protected the orphan through infancy, childhood, and early youth. She turns out a perfect paragon, like all the ladies we meet with in these volumes; but the difficulty is to get her properly married on account of her birth and poverty. A warm friendship subsists between her and Constance Beaumont, whose brother is the 'squire of the district, an officer in the Guards, and in other respects the counterpart of our friend George Elliot above mentioned. Here, again, we have a desperately proud mother, and the gallant cornet himself (who is six feet three or four) is proud too; but "omnia vincit amor." He meets Helen, dances with her, and is caught.

"Helen was walking one evening by the river-side, and had descended into a small green glade on a wooded bank, from which there was a cheerful and splendid prospect of the town, and the rich country

around, when Henry Beaumont was at her side, and taking her hand into his, pressed it to his heart, and then led her to a stone seat beside a little spring that bubbled up through the roots of the trees, and danced its short silvery course down into the Tweed. Poor Helen's breath came quickly when he pressed her to his bosom, and, with a few burning kisses and breathing words, declared his love and passion, and that she must be his wife. A pang of joy went through her heart, and she could just faintly utter, 'Your wife!' 'Yes, my wife—say that it will be so, and may God forget me if I am not kind to you, my best and most beautiful Helen, all the days of my life!'

"'Oh, Sir! you could be unkind to no one; but think—oh, think who I am—unworthy and unfit to be the wife of Henry Beaumont.' He had an eloquent tongue, an eloquent eye; and there was eloquence in the throbbing and beating of the heart that swelled his manly breast. He held Helen in his arms, as if she had been a frightened and palpitating dove: and she wished not to be released from that dear embrace. She, the poor despised and slighted orphan, heard herself blessed by him who was the pride and flower of Scotland's youth; his gentle, and tender, and respectful kisses stirred up all the holy thoughts that she had hidden in her heart, that they might lie there unseen for ever; and in that trance of bliss they all overflowed, and a few words of confessed affection escaped her lips. 'Yes, I love you beyond life and my own soul; but never, never, Sir, may I be your wife. Think who you are, and then who I am, and a voice will tell you that we never can be united.' With these words she broke from his arms, and knelt down, nor was it in his power, so confounded was he, for a few minutes to lift her up. 'But though I know you never can marry me, remember, oh! never, never cease to remember that I fell down on my knees before you, and vowed before that God who has hitherto preserved me in innocence and peace, to devote my soul henceforth to your love. Enough will it be for me to cherish your image for ever in my heart; to weep with joy when I hear you are happy—never to repine, nor envy her happiness who may one day lie in your bosom; but since God sent me into the world an orphan, unhappily born, let me strive to subdue my soul to an orphan's fate, and submit quietly and piously to the solitary years that may be awaiting me, when my mother's grey hairs are covered with darkness. Now, Sir, now my beloved Henry Beaumont, let us either part, or walk away in silence from this spot, which to me will be for ever a hallowed place, for of love and marriage never more must our speech be—they are not for us.'"

Such resistance, however laudable, was not likely to damp the flames in either of their breasts; however, the lady's resolution is not put to the proof, for the proud son carries his point against the proud mother, and Helen Eyre becomes in due time Mrs. H. Beaumont.

Of the remaining "Lights and Shadows," twenty-two in number, perhaps we should select the "Snow Storm," and the "Family

Tryst" as the best. They are all of the same cast—tales of love or sorrow—of elegant joys and sentimental distress. The author's range is very limited, but his pathos would often be exceedingly effective, if his inordinate love of fine writing did not betray him perpetually to the very verge of burlesque. His sentimentality, though very tiresome, is in general inoffensive enough; yet now and then we do meet with a notion both singular and false. For example, a mother bereaved of her children by death, thus pours forth her sorrow:—

"Oh! death is a shocking thought when it is linked in love with creatures so young as these! More insupportable is gushing tenderness than even dry despair; and methinks I could bear to live without them, and never to see them more, if I could only cease to pity them! But that can never be. It is for them I weep, not for myself. If they were restored to life, would I not lie down with thankfulness in the grave?"

How gushing tenderness, or how any thing can be worse than despair, we can by no means comprehend. The loss of friends is, indeed, at all times one of the heaviest afflictions to which we are exposed; but our mourning is for ourselves, not for those who are at rest. To affect to *pity* the dead is above all things weak and impertinent. It is to pity a traveller who has just arrived in safety at the end of a toilsome and hazardous journey. Human life is a thing to be got through, rather than enjoyed,—not a recreation, but a task; and those are the happiest who are the soonest released; so it be by no act of their own, but according to the good pleasure of Him in whose hands are the issues of life and death.

As false sentiment, however, is not the author's most besetting sin, we shall conclude our notice of the "Lights and Shadows," with a better specimen of his melancholy musings. Standing by the grave of an elder, he thus soliloquizes upon funeral rites:—

"What a simple burial has it been! Dust was consigned to dust—no more. Bare, naked, simple, and austere, is in Scotland the service of the grave. It is left to the soul itself to consecrate, by its passion, the mould over which tears, but no words are poured. Surely there is a beauty in this; for the heart is left unto its own sorrow, according as it is a friend, a brother, a parent, or a child, that is covered up from our eyes. Yet call not other rites, however different from this, less beautiful or pathetic. For willingly does the soul connect its grief with any consecrated ritual of the dead. Sound or silence, music, hymns, psalms, sable garments, or raiment white as snow, all become holy symbols of the soul's affection; nor is it for any man to say which is the most natural, which is the best of the thousand shows and expres-

sions, and testimonies of sorrow, resignation, and love, by which mortal beings would seek to express their souls when one of their brethren has returned to his parent dust."

We come now to the "Trials of Margaret Lindsay," as doleful a ditty as ever was chanted by tragic bard; nevertheless, it does not falsify the remark we made in the beginning, that Scottish life, in the hands of this author, is upon the whole very bright and happy; for the reader will find, as we proceed, that, though "heaviness may endure for a night, joy cometh in the morning."

We have, indeed, lamentation and mourning in abundance, but the distressed heroines are ever and anon smiling through their tears; and the immediate pressure of calamity is no sooner withdrawn, than the spirit of happiness returns to their hearts, as to its "assigned and native dwelling-place." How different this from the course of the real world!

The story is very inartificial in its construction, being little more than a rambling collection of melo-dramatic incidents, devised for stage effect, and the introduction of rivers of sentiment. Violent excitements of passion, exaggerated distresses, sudden alternations of grief and joy, angelic resignation, and heroic constancy, are the vulgar materials of romance which the author works up in every scene. But even the most slight and trivial incidents of the story are sufficient to set his lack-a-daisical muse a-going; and page after page of rapid sensibility and puling pastoral affectation so utterly exhausts our patience, that after closing the volume we can hardly criticize with due politeness.

The first scene is laid in the house of mourning. Adam Lindsay, a respectable surgeon in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, dies in narrow circumstances in the prime of life. Attended on his death-bed by his wife and only son, he desires the son to read the 19th chapter of St. John, and to repeat the 26th and 27th verses. "When Jesus, therefore, saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, woman, behold thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! and from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home." The father then immediately expires; and we notice this as one instance among many of the author's peculiar love of effect, no matter how produced. There is always bad taste in these familiar applications of sacred incidents; but here there is no analogy between the cases. The verses quoted are not an exhortation to filial piety, for the disciple was no relation to our Saviour's mother; Jesus on the cross commends his mother to the care of his friend: a moving instance of filial regard in him;

but, in the other case, it is a dying husband consigning his widow to the care of her own son.

The story then proceeds to the funeral of the deceased, and the marriage of Walter Lindsay the son, who, by the earnings of his trade as a printer, supports his wife and mother for several years in great credit and comfort, till, corrupted by evil communications, he turns freethinker and jacobin, and brings into his house "The Age of Reason"—'fons et origo malorum.' From that moment his fate is sealed, and the trials of his daughter Margaret commence. On suspicion of treason he is cast into jail, and his family, which had long been suffering from his neglect, is left entirely to its fate. That family consists of his aged bed-ridden mother, a stern devotee, who worships the memory of the Covenanters; his wife, a weak and delicate matron, and three daughters, Margaret, the eldest, our heroine, Esther, who had been left blind by the small-pox, and Marion, the youngest, an idiot. An only son is absent at sea.

The care of this helpless household is now thrown almost entirely upon Margaret, who has just attained her sixteenth year. She is a being "adorned with all that earth and heaven can bestow to make her amiable." She visits her father in prison, and narrowly escapes from the wiles of a ruffian who had been one of his political associates. This is her first trial. Walter Lindsay is soon afterwards set at liberty; but having entangled himself in a guilty connection with the wife of an acquaintance, he resolves to abscond with her, and visits his family only to announce his final departure. His mother, rising from her bed, with convulsive energy, curses him as he retires. His daughter distractedly follows to reclaim him, and almost prevails, when his paramour appears, and answers the maiden's pathetic appeal by insults and a blow. The guilty pair then quickly disappear; but the interview has revealed to Margaret the full extent of her father's criminality and shame. On her return home she finds her grandmother dead, after having, at the entreaty of the wife, recalled, with her last breath, the curse upon her son. Margaret then recounts to her mother all she had seen and heard. Hope seems to die within them. Poverty and want stare them in the face. They are constrained to quit the pleasant dwelling where they had so long been happy, and to hire a lodging in a narrow lane in the city. The neighbours raise them four pounds to pay their rent; and, on a miserable day in November, they transport themselves, and the scanty remnant of their worldly goods, to their new abode. This reverse of fortune, however, which is painted in such gloomy colours, turns out to be nothing so very bad after all; for on their arrival they find a friendly reception, a good

fire, good cheer, and good beds: they eat well and sleep well, and have plenty of comforts about them; which justifies the observation above made, that our author, with all his pathos, deals only in poetical distresses. He plunges this helpless family in poverty so great, that for four pounds they narrowly escape a jail; yet he carefully protects them from all the consequences of poverty, hunger, cold, and nakedness.

Soon after they are settled, Margaret and her mother open a day-school, which flourishes beyond their hopes. The sailor boy, whom they had given up for lost, unexpectedly pays them a visit, and brings with him a jolly messmate, who takes a great fancy to Margaret, escorts her all about, entices her to commit the heinous sin of going to the play; and, being too late for church one Sunday, prevails upon her to take a sail out with him to his frigate in the roads, to see her brother. Such high crimes and misdemeanours are quickly overtaken by more than poetical justice, for the boat is upset in a squall, all hands go down, and Margaret is recovered, and, after a long time, restored to life; her lover opens his bright eyes no more. These offences, so severely punished, are the first and the last that betoken our heroine akin to frail humanity.

The school continues to prosper, and all goes well again, till one day a letter is received from Walter Lindsay, announcing himself on his death-bed at Glasgow. Margaret and her mother repair to him with all speed, and find him attended by the partner of his guilt, in a wretched garret, and very near his end. The death scene is painted in the author's best manner. There is not much power, but it is free from debasing conceits and extravagant horror.

The widow never recovers from this shock, and soon afterwards her two youngest children, the blind and the insane, are removed into a better world. She herself follows in a few months, and Margaret is received as governess into the family of Miss Wedderburne, an affluent and charitable young lady, who had long been her valuable friend and patroness. Here she conducts herself with exemplary propriety, and enjoys as much happiness as the most favoured of mortals may hope for; but her trials are not yet over. A little love is now requisite to relieve the dark scenery of the past, and the author, in the fertility of his invention, has again recourse to a handsome young laird and a proud mamma. Richard Wedderburne is dreadfully smitten, and knowing the difficulties, rather ungenerously tries to bind our heroine by an oath to be his at some distant period, and in the mean time to keep close counsel. She, however, with a better sense of propriety, resolves to reveal the matter to his sister,

but, before her purpose can be executed, mamma, suspecting something wrong, has extorted a full confession from her son, and packed him off into the country, till Margaret is disposed of. Our heroine soon succeeds in establishing her innocence, and the parting is all in kindness. She betakes herself to the house of an old rich uncle, who, though a miser, opens his heart to her, entertains her with affection, and finally leaves her his estate and whole fortune. She now again teaches a school, is admired by all, courted by several, and finally marries a military ragamuffin, Ludovic Oswald, the minister's only son. Then comes the last and severest of her trials. After living with her husband for some time in perfect love and happiness, she one day receives a dreadful visit from a stranger; Hannah Blantyre by name, who proclaims herself, with vehemence, the only lawful wife of Ludovic Oswald. Her claim is but too well established. The guilty husband confesses and disappears, and all is tragedy for many pages, till Hannah Blantyre is removed out of the way by death. A little calm then succeeds; but by and by Ludovic Oswald is again heard of in an hospital at Edinburgh. Thither Margaret and the old minister instantly repair, and find the object of their solicitude apparently at the point of death. He recovers, however, repents, is reunited to Margaret, and they live as happily together for several years as if nothing had ever been amiss. Some other marriages take place, with a due proportion of deaths; and the tale closes, leaving our heroine a venerable widow and a happy mother; content with this world and prepared for the next.

In this slight epitome, we have omitted numberless details, and all embellishments; but the mere plan of the fable leads us to remark, that the author has fallen into the common error of sentimental writers in taking his subject from low life. And it is an error which they of all writers ought to avoid; for nothing can be more unsentimental than the simple annals of the poor. Humble life, particularly in Scotland, is rich in many valuable qualities, but happily it is exempt from the curse of sentiment,—a weed that grows only in the hot-beds of luxury and indolence. The unsophisticated manners of shepherds and mechanics may furnish an important field of study to the philosopher, and some interesting subjects to the skilful dramatist; but when the sentimentalist comes upon the same ground, he produces immediately such unnatural combinations of rusticity and refinement as we every where meet with in the volumes before us. Prodigies, it is true, may be found in nature; but the painter is not to select them as examples of life, and to substitute the exception for the rule.

There is another error of design yet more important, which we have observed in the tale now under review. The moral which the author seems labouring from beginning to end to inculcate, is that piety and prudence, however beset by the snares of the world, will yet always be triumphant, and sure of happiness even on this side the grave. A pious fraud perchance is here intended. But all frauds are dangerous; although in this the delusion is very palpable; yet once attach a man to the pleasing theory of impartial justice upon earth, and every instance occurring to the contrary will be as likely to shake his trust in Providence, as to correct the error of his philosophy.

Of the various characters introduced into this tale, the greater part are very insipid in themselves, and depend for their effect almost entirely upon the exciting situations in which they are placed. There are some sweet touches in the picture of the idiot girl: but the only approach to spirit and force is in Hannah Blantyre. We give her first address to Margaret, into whose presence she abruptly introduces herself, leading in her hand a little boy, who bears in his countenance the image of Ludovic Oswald:—

"'My name is Hannah Blantyre—perhaps you may have heard it—if not, then Ludovic has deceived you even more basely than he deceived me. If you married him with the consequences before your eyes, then the guilt, the shame, and the ruin be upon your own head.' Margaret heard the words—each one of them, and all of them together, in a hideous and horrible huddle; and she almost repeated them aloud in the quaking fear of some unimaginable evil. 'Yes, yes, I have heard your name; I was told that you were dead—dead of a broken heart. But how is this? Does my husband know that you are alive?'

"'Ludovic Oswald is not your husband, he is my husband, the father of that little boy there, whom you hold by the hand—and my ain wee Ludovic was born in lawful wedlock. Aye, sinner as I was when first he took me to his bosom, I was the wife of Ludovic Oswald when that helpless creature saw the light of this unhappy world.' Margaret heard her words; her eyes were fixed with a ghastly stare on the sky, but they saw nothing; she did not faint—but a strong convulsion shook her, and she gave one shrill shrieking cry. 'Poor woman,' said the stranger, 'I pity you; but my poor little Ludovic shall not be a bastard when I am dead. Had I had no bairn, I might have lived on in my desertion—for I know its father hates me—but shame shall not be on his bonny head. Therefore I come to claim my husband, and let the curse fall at last on the guiltiest head.'"

The scene of passionate grief which follows frightens the child into a crying fit:

"'Hush, brat,' said his mother fiercely, and shook him with a strong arm till he shrieked. 'Oh, my God! are you the wife of Ludovic Oswald, and is it thus you use his child?' 'Yes, it is thus I use his child; and ask him when he first comes again to your bed how he used me. Ask him if he ever cursed me—if he ever left me behind him when the bayonets of the French were at hand—if he ever basely suspected me of infidelity to him, my seducer first, and my husband afterwards—ask him if now he has married another, you yourself—and if he dares to deny Hannah Blantyre to be his wife—if he will face God in judgment, after swearing that this child is a bastard? Stand up, you wailing imp, and let her see a child that may show its face with the best bairns in all Scotland through—the son of Ludovic Oswald and me Hannah Blantyre.'"

There runs throughout these volumes a very warm vein of piety—but, like the author's morality, it is far too sentimental and obtrusive. The following passage is a favourable specimen, though we fear the picture of a Scottish sabbath is a little too highly touched:—

"Tried as she had been by so many afflictions, throughout those years that, in our imagination of human life, we vainly think belong to happiness alone, Margaret had not had recourse to religion occasionally to console, but at all times to keep her alive, like the very air she breathed; and to her the sabbath day was so entirely set apart to God, that upon it she could, with small effort, banish all disturbing earthly emotions, and keep it sanctified, without intrusion, to the great purpose for which it was designed. Nor is such solemn and serene observance of the sabbath, rare in the cottages of Scotland. In many thousand families it is a day scarcely belonging to this life, on which the poor man's soul, wearied and worn out by labour, poverty, or other ills, renews its hold on heaven. The turmoil of the week-days is no more remembered in the calm that then reigns within the religious house, than the sound of the waves that have beat against the vessel's side at sea, by the crew who have moored her securely within the circle of some land-locked bay, beautiful in its perpetual calm. Each sabbath comes upon the earth with the unbroken holiness of all that have preceded it, and thus the simple dwellers in huts are born to its observance, just as a son is born to venerate his father's grey hairs. The sabbath day, therefore, is a day of refuge; and the clamours, sighs, groans, cares, anxieties, griefs, and guilts of life do not enter its dawn, but they lie in wait for the soul when it shall again come out into the regions of this earth, once more to be harassed, turmoiled, and pursued."

Instances of affected phraseology abound so much every where, that, even in the extracts we have made, which are all of the favourable kind, they cannot have escaped the reader's obser-

vation. If we chose, we could exhibit a choice collection of exotic, vulgar, fantastic, and nonsensical phrases, but the task of verbal criticism is always ungrateful, and we shall content ourselves with observing that the author's diction stands in need of the pruning-hook almost as much as his fancy.

The foregoing remarks and extracts having run to some length, we shall dismiss the "Foresters" with a briefer notice: and the rather as it exhibits the very same merits and defects which we have found in the two preceding works; the same harmony, feeling, and pathos, impaired by the same sickly sensibility and quaint affectation. The action includes considerably more than

> "Twice told the period spent on stubborn Troy:"

for, as in the "Trials of Margaret Lyndsay," three generations of postdiluvian mortals appear upon the stage. The first indeed is introduced in good old age, but the second is conducted from infancy to grey hairs, and the third as far as wedlock on the journey of life. The dramatis personæ are very numerous: but we shall not enter into any detailed examination of their merits, for the reader will by this time have observed that in the conception of his characters, our author generally departs from nature, without displaying much originality or force of invention. He is neither an accurate delineator of manners, like Fielding; nor a profound master of the passions, like Shakspeare, nor yet, like the same great bard, a sublime magician. We could willingly forgive him for soaring into the clouds, if he would now and then introduce us to a Prospero, or an Ariel, an awful Ghost, or a Fairy Queen. But unfortunately he is just poetical enough to substitute fancy for observation, without venturing once within the enchanted circle. His men and women are neither quite what they are, nor quite what they should be; but a kind of imaginary beings taken from that insipid midway region between the visible and the invisible world in which we lose the warm reality of the one, but meet not yet with the mystic shadows and aërial music of the other.

Michael Forester, the hero of the tale, is a most exemplary person, who never does any thing that is wrong, and, though afflicted with many grievous misfortunes, is always happy. He is an excellent farmer, an excellent theologian, and a very fair astronomer. He has a charming wife and daughter, and a loquacious aunt. Though two or three times ruined, he is never in want; and though struck blind by lightning in the flower of his age, he not only bears the visitation with fortitude, but, from that moment, becomes actually a great deal happier than ever he was before.

We have then, by way of contrast, a most unamiable portrait of one of the most unamiable beings in nature, a gloomy and cold-hearted Calvinist. We have a picture of fashionable vices in the lord of the manor, a young gentleman, who had learned Latin at Eton, and immorality in France. He visits his hereditary estate, with a train of profligate companions and insolent menials; spreads dismay through the country by his pranks; lays a wicked snare for Lucy Forester; and the next day is killed in a duel, to the infinite satisfaction of his tenantry. As a set-off, however, against him, we are presented with a pattern of female, or rather of angelic perfection, in his sister, Emma Cranstoune, the Lady of the Hirst. Mr. Kennedy, the parish minister, is a very good specimen of the clerical character, and there are many other excellent persons of both sexes, who act their several parts with good emphasis and good discretion. The author indulges in his favourite love scenes beyond all moderation; for his young ladies, (who are all so beautiful that there is no settling the order of precedence,) generally begin to be in love about fourteen, and are happily married before twenty. All this must be very delightful to the parties interested, but some mercy should be shown to the reader. Nevertheless, with all our objections to the romantic delusions which abound in these tales, we must confess that if some of them could be realized, the world would be a much pleasanter place than it is. We meet every now and then, in turning over the pages, with visions of purity and happiness which are very charming, though altogether imaginary. A poetic mantle is thrown, as if in mockery, over the prosaic realities and sordid details of human life. Hope deceives not. The spirit of man aspires not in vain after peace; and virtue never descends in darkness and sorrow to the grave.

We shall make but a single extract from the "Foresters;" and it shall be one which seems intended by the author as an apology for that peculiar description of character which he is so fond of introducing. We have said what we think of such characters. It is fair that the reader should see what can be said by one who thinks differently.

"Flora Frazer was one of those perfectly simple and harmless—nay, at once, innocent creatures—of whom it is thought we may read in old songs and ballads, the fictions of imaginative minds in lowly life, but no where existing even in the hut farthest remote from the haunts of men. But in those little traditionary strains of feeling and of genius, the human spirit speaks of itself no more than the truth; and although to those who live not among the dwellers in the wild, and know them most imperfectly from the mere appearances of their outward condition, such pictures may seem false and visionary, yet the

colours are true as those of twilight or the sunset heavens, and touched by an unerring hand obeying the genuine impulses of nature."

We now take leave of our author in the spirit of charity, assuring him that what we have said, we have not said in petulance or envy, but from a sincere persuasion that he is misusing his own genius, and ministering to a false and sickly taste but too prevalent among readers of fiction. That he means well we cannot doubt. He is every where pious, moral, and humane; but sentiment is the ruin of him. He aspires to the dignity of a moral teacher, without having soberly studied the passions of the human heart. The consequence is that he gives the reins to a warm imagination, and instead of communicating solid instruction for the conduct of life, he exhibits pleasing, but delusive pictures of the world, drawn from fancy, and tending to make men indolent and romantic, and unfit for the vulgar affairs of mortality.

ART. IX.—*Lectures on the Philosophy of Modern History. Delivered in the University of Dublin.* By George Miller, D.D. M. R. I. A. Rector of Dorryvoylan, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Lecturer on Modern History. 6 vols. 8vo.

THOUGH this work has not yet been completed, so large a part of it has been executed, and so much time has unavoidably elapsed since its commencement, that we think it right to bring it before the public, even in its present unfinished state; conceiving that a sufficiently correct opinion may now be formed, both of the soundness of its principles, and of the probability of its entire accomplishment; while the merits of the portion already published are fairly submitted to our judgment.

The design of the author embraces a range of very wide extent; for it comprehends the whole of modern history, from the suppression of the western empire, in the year 476, to the French revolution, or through thirteen centuries. Its peculiar object is no less than to open a new department of science; which he has, in a second preface prefixed to the third volume, described as the physiology of history. The author proposes to prove, that all the events of general history, various and apparently unconnected as they may be, do yet, in their combinations and mutual relations, constitute a whole, illustrative of the providen-

tial government of God in the progressive improvement of his reasonable creatures.

The view of general history here proposed is providential; but it would be an error to conceive that it is necessarian, or that individuals are supposed to be guided in their actions by divine interpositions. How far such interpositions may be actually exercised by the Deity, the author does not inquire; because no means of forming an opinion on the subject have been afforded. He considers all men as acting freely, and regards the providential government of God as administered only by sending into the world, according to the divine foreknowledge, agents so peculiarly qualified, by ability or by weakness,—by virtuous or by depraved dispositions,—as of themselves to lead the events of history to the desired consummation. Good and evil are, in the view of the writer, alike conducive to the accomplishment of the divine purposes: the pious zeal of Luther being not more an instrument than the persecuting bigotry of a duke of Alva. The end which he conceives he can collect from the combinations of history, is not so much the happiness of man as his improvement; the world being considered as a scene of various action, in which man is to be gradually advanced to a higher station of reasonable and moral nature. The author has remarked, in the preface to which we have already alluded, that he is not a fatalist, for he considers the actions of men as naturally free; that he is not an enthusiast, for he has in no instance argued from the supposition of a divine impulse communicated to an agent, and regulating his conduct; and that he does not pretend to any other knowledge of the divine purposes, than such as may be fairly collected from observing what has been actually accomplished.

The author has, in the same preface, thus described the theory which he has endeavoured to apply to the facts of history:—

"His doctrine is, that the great Creator, in arranging this earth for the reception of its inhabitants, has originally so distributed its continents, its seas, its islands, its mountains, its rivers, its various soils, and its climates, as they might best dispose the characters and the political circumstances of its various nations, to constitute one collective system of human society, fitted to work out its own gradual melioration; and that, in his subsequent superintendence, foreseeing all the future actions even of his free creatures, he sends into the world agents variously qualified, so that all their actions, though not restrained by any control, may notwithstanding be combined with the most perfect harmony in the production of such a result, as should be agreeable to the wisdom and the beneficence of his own nature. This doctrine is not

limited to the public fortunes of nations, for the actions of all men, even of those of the meanest order, are supposed to have been foreseen, and to be actually combined in the general plan of Providence. Neither, on the other hand, does it suppose the Almighty to interfere frequently, for the purpose of rectifying his own work, by influencing the wills of his creatures; for it considers all the actions of men, without exception, as free, and represents the government of God as exercised by his foreknowledge, introducing agents suitable to the several occasions of society."

In stating the view in which this work claims to be considered as a philosophy of history, the author remarks:—

"It states and illustrates the various causes which have been observed to act in political changes; it applies the consideration of these causes to the examination of a large and vastly diversified portion of the history of the world; and it professes to prove, that all these changes harmonize in one common system of moral order, in the same manner in which the phenomena of the material world constitute a whole. It proposes, however, he adds, something more than this, for it undertakes to establish, on this basis, the doctrine of the moral government of the world. The doctrine of a divine ruler through the legitimate influence of philosophy, and as such represented by Newton in the conclusion of his ever-memorable treatise of the material system, is considered as belonging rather to theology, and may perhaps still more require to be so classed, when founded upon arguments relating to the agencies of moral beings. The present work in this other view corresponds then to these treatises on natural theology, the latest and most complete of which has been published by Paley. In such treatises the uses of the several parts of physical nature, and especially the functions of the curious organization of the animal and vegetable tribes, are detailed as illustrative of the existence, the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of the great Being by whom they have been devised: in the present, the moral agencies of man are considered in a similar view, and those vast and various aggregates of human action, which are denominated nations, are exhibited as exercising functions analogous to those of physical organization; and like the latter, manifesting the existence and the attributes of a supreme contriver."

This doctrine, he suggests, may perhaps be considered as the physiology of history.

"The whole political world," he says, "being considered as a combined system, it is proposed to prove, that every part has exercised one or more functions, correspondent to its circumstances, and instrumental to the well-being of the whole. In examining the structure of the body of an animal or vegetable, we observe, with admiration, the various uses to which its numerous and dissimilar parts are subservient,

and the harmony with which they are combined. Why may we not seek for such adaptations in the functions or the mutual relations of the several parts of the great aggregate of nations? That these are very variously circumstanced is certain; so variously indeed, that the lowest of the human race are scarcely more distant from brute animals than the favoured sons of civilization are exalted above the savage outcasts of humanity; and even among those nations which enjoy the refinements of civilized life, we perceive diversity and inequality in all the particulars which constitute their social interests."

In illustrating his providential view of history, the author compares more particularly his work with that of Paley.

"When Paley," says he, "examined the curious structure of the eye, and compared it with the artificial combination of a telescope, he perceived plain marks of contrivance, and inferred the existence of a contriver. May we not draw similar conclusions from the combinations of policy, when they are distinct and peculiar, and at the same time manifestly instrumental to an important interest? If we discover the existence of a God in the vertebræ of the human spine, why may we not also see it in the formation of a Norman principality, which at once determined the character of the English government, just when the principles of the Saxon constitution were exhausted, and gave a beginning to those international relations of the two neighbouring countries, which terminated in constituting them the directive powers of the general system of Europe, and of the world? May we not draw the same conclusion from the combination so curiously formed between the German monarchy and Rome, which decided the interests of these two countries, and all their various and important results of commerce, art, learning, federative policy, and the reformation? Each of these arrangements was very peculiar in its formation, and was directly instrumental to very considerable effects."

The author appears to have regarded as the most formidable objection, which he had to encounter, the supposed inadequateness of the human mind to the analysis of the measures of the divine providence. In replying to it he demands,

"Must that Being who can measure the vast spaces of the heavens, detect all the intricacies of the planetary movements, and weigh, as in a balance, the great bodies of the solar system, be naturally incapable of examining and comparing the tendencies of the actions of beings like himself, inhabiting the same globe, and brought by the records of history under his observation? The counsels of the Almighty are indeed unsearchable before they have been executed, for that which is finite must be incapable of fathoming infinity; when, however, these counsels have been executed, they are no longer the designs of the Almighty, but the actions of his creatures, and are fit subjects of human examination, because they exhibit to the observer the conduct of human agents. The past and the remote are brought to our knowledge by

the telescope of history; and if there are parts of the transactions of our species of which we are but indistinctly informed, they are but the *nebulæ* which cluster on the borders of the system, and leave the peculiar objects of our research conspicuous and distinguishable."

It is indeed admitted by the author, that in cases of very limited duration and extent we may be unable to discover that subordination of parts, and that unity of combination, which alone can indicate the will of the supreme Disposer of events. Cases thus limited may not comprehend whole combinations of events, and may therefore be insufficient to exhibit the relations of parts On this account it is necessary that such a view of history, as is here proposed, should comprehend some large portion of time, and also that it should be separated from those which preceded and followed. Such a portion has been marked out for a separate consideration by the suppression of the western empire and the revolution of France; and the general history of the world, as comprehended between these two important changes, furnishes accordingly the subject of this work.

In reviewing this grand portion of history, Europe claims the principal attention, as the region in which human activity of every kind has been most strenuously exerted, and all the grand processes of improvement have been almost exclusively performed. The other regions of the world are not indeed excluded from consideration, but they are regarded as subordinate and auxiliary to this, which all the influences of local causes have united to render the scene of the most intense and various energies.

Among the improvements which the author proposes to analyze, his attention is chiefly directed to the formation of a system of balanced policy, as the peculiar characteristic of modern Europe, and itself the animating principle of every beneficial effort, as it is the security of that national independence, without which the human mind must lose its elasticity. Such a system was, however, very slowly formed, as it required a long series of preparatory combinations.

A view of the gradual formation of the arrangements of European policy is thus given by the author:—

"The primordial combination is conceived to have been the connection established between the government of the Franks and the papacy, begun by Pepin, and completed by Charlemagne; the empire formed by the latter prince then threw off, on the one side, Germany, which connected itself with Italy, and acquired from France the imperial dignity; and, on the other, a great Norman principality, which conquered England, and began the international relations of that country

and France. In this manner two distinct combinations were constituted—that of Germany and Italy, and that of France and England; the former, while it developed many important advantages of commerce and literature, had for its especial object the formation of the federative policy of Europe devised among the independent governments of Italy, and matured among the ill-united members of the empire. The latter had for its peculiar object the formation of two governments, sufficiently enlightened and powerful to preside over the federative system of Europe, when its principles should have been sufficiently formed in the confederation of the Germanic empire, and then established throughout Europe by the treaty of Westphalia. The reformation supplying a powerful and pervading principle of religious dissension, distributed the governments of Europe into two classes, prepared to act in mutual opposition for the support of a system of equilibrium; and lastly, while this system of political equilibrium was thus formed and maintained, the great discoveries of modern commerce extended the enterprise, and excited the industry of nations; and the general struggle of mind has diffused over the whole an unexampled degree of intellectual improvement."

In regard to the formation of a system of federative policy, the whole period of history reviewed in this work, is distinguishable into four parts. The first, which was much the longest, preceded the year 1480, in which a treaty for establishing a balance of power in Italy, was concluded by Lorenzo de Medici. This period, comprehending a thousand and four years, as it began in the year 476, was merely preparatory. The remaining three hundred and nine years, which include the proper history of this policy, comprehended three distinct periods of time, as divided by the treaty of Westphalia, and by the British revolution. In the first of these three intervals, comprehending a hundred and sixty-eight years, the knowledge and influence of a federative policy, were confined to Italy, where it had been devised, and to Germany, to which it had been transmitted from Italy. By the treaty of Westphalia, this policy was established generally among the governments of Europe, but not in a form in which it could adapt itself to their relative importance. Such a policy could have been received from the Italian states only by a government so slightly combined, that it was little different from a confederacy, and the German empire was accordingly the government to which it was immediately communicated. To fit it for this function, the family of Austria was, by contingent events, exalted to an importance alarming to the other governments. France, in these circumstances, became the guardian of the independence of Europe, and entered into combination with the German principalities, which were opposed to the emperor in

the domestic struggle of the empire. This, was, however, not a natural combination of the European powers, for France was possessed of the chief resources of intrinsic strength, and the British government, with the interests of commerce, was but indirectly included. It subsisted, accordingly, but during the short period of forty-one years, and then yielded to the more perfect arrangement, in which, during a whole century, France maintained a predominance, corresponding to the strength of such a government, and Great Britain was the balancing or protecting power. By the French revolution this combination was dissolved, and with its dissolution, this review of history is terminated.

The concluding period of the federative policy, is represented as exhibiting, not one general combination of the European governments, but two distinct systems; a southern and principal system being formed of all, except the four governments of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, which constituted the northern system, and Poland, which was a sort of *debatable ground* between the two. Of these, the southern alone maintained the combinations of a federative policy, the northern having for its object, not so much a balance of power, as the aggrandizement of Russia, probably in preparation for the part which that empire should take in the combinations succeeding the system recently dissolved, when perhaps all the governments of Europe may be connected in one general arrangement of political interests.

The execution of this very extensive plan, appears already to have occupied the fourth part of a century. The course of lectures was begun in the year 1800, and was concluded in the year 1811, a few lectures being delivered in each year, as they could be prepared. Of eighty-four lectures, which composed the entire course, sixty have been published at three several times in six volumes, of which two were published in the year 1816, two in the year 1820, and two in the year 1824. These have brought the general review of modern history to the time of the British revolution, and the remaining lectures, which are still unpublished, have for their subject, the history of the period which intervened between that event and the revolution of France.

From these particulars it will appear, that the whole period of modern history has been surveyed in the lectures already published, except only the concluding century, during which its arrangements subsisted in their most perfect form. If, then, all the antecedent events have been shown to conduce, directly or indirectly, to this result, the theory of the author may be considered as established, even though this last period has not yet

been reviewed. It is acknowledged that the eighteenth century was a period distinguished by general improvement, and especially by the maintenance of a system of balanced policy. If, therefore, the whole of the ages which preceded, has been shown to have been properly preparatory to the arrangements of the eighteenth century, that unity of the combinations of history in connection with improvement, has been established, from which the author concludes, that the affairs of the world are under the direction of a superintending Providence, guiding them to the attainment of the purposes of the divine beneficence. The conclusion must, indeed, be rendered yet more satisfactory, by tracing through the improvement of the eighteenth century, the influences of the causes which had previously operated, and thus pointing out the connections, through which that improvement had been produced.

To the lectures directly relating to the history, four of a preparatory nature have been prefixed. The first of these contains a review of the history of political philosophy, and explains the new theory of a providential government, proposed by the author, distinguishing it from the two modern doctrines of optimism and perfectibility. In the second, the various causes of political changes are reduced to six classes:—1. general causes; 2. local; 3. personal; 4. adventitious; 5. existing institutions; 6. external compression. The second of these is subjected to a fourfold subdivision, being distinguished into the influences of climate, soil, extent, and geographical situation and circumstances. The fourth and fifth classes appear to have been on this occasion distinctly noticed for the first time. The last, which relates to the action of one state upon another by hostility, had been noticed by Ferguson, in his "Essay on the History of Civil Society," that writer having observed, "That without the rivalship of nations, and the practice of war, civil society itself could scarcely have found an object or a form, and that we should expect in vain to give to the multitude of a people a sense of union among themselves, if we were not assisted by the operation of foreign hostility."

The class of adventitious influences comprehends those which have been communicated from one country to another, whether the communication is made by the emigration of men, or of opinions.

"Of the influence of the migrations of men," the author remarks, "an example may be taken from the communication of the arts of civilized life to the rude inhabitants of early Greece, by the colonists who removed thither from Egypt and Phœnicia; and, for modern

times, from the various and important effects produced by the irruptions of the northern barbarians into the corrupted empire of the west. Of that of the migration of opinions, a very remarkable one may be derived from the fortune of the Mahometan religion, originating from the extraordinary qualities of the impostor, assisted by the peculiar circumstances of Arabia,—its ignorance, its divisions, and its independence, it was diffused by conquest into countries in which it could not primarily have arisen, was then adopted voluntarily by the Tartar conquerors of these countries, and has continued to this day the support of a political despotism among the Turks, while the hordes of Arabia wander over their deserts in their primitive liberty."

The class of existing institutions comprehends the influences of those institutions which have outlasted their principles, and then act upon a society merely because they are established.

"To the influence of the laws of Crete and Laconia," says the author, "it has been ascribed, thatthe latter was the last Grecian state which fell a prey to the Macedonians, and the former the last which submitted to the Romans. The violent convulsion which overthrew the monarchy of France, was, on the other hand, the result of the continuance of the exclusive privileges of the nobility, in a period of the government in which the commons had become qualified to aspire to the possession of a large share of political importance."

On the last class, denominated external compression, the author has particularly insisted throughout the work, conceiving that, in every case, some external agency is necessary for exciting into action the disposition to improvement existing within a state, or a combination of states. One only people, he remarks, has been exempted from its operation, and this was the Jewish people, while they wandered in the wilderness; the exception, however, as in other cases, proves the rule, for the Jews were separated during this period from the agency of other nations, that they might be trained in submission to the immediate government of God, a constitution peculiar to themselves.

To this lecture is subjoined, as connected with the formation of political society, a dissertation on the singleness of that wonderful event, the general deluge, of which it has been solemnly declared, that it should never be repeated. This the author explains from the great change in the duration of human life, by which, he maintains, man became fitted for the formation of distinct societies, which, by their mutual action, might restrain and punish excesses. Man, he conceives, cannot be considered as fitted for the formation and maintenance of political society, unless when the length of human life had been reduced within such limits, that the near prospect of succeeding to the various

advantages which it offers, might stimulate those exertions, by which its functions are discharged. Since, therefore, in the earliest period of the world, the necessity of transmitting securely by tradition, whatever information had been received by our first parents, required that human life should be of very great duration, men must have been in that period unfit for the formation of distinct societies, which by their mutual action might exercise a mutual control; and on this account, an extraordinary visitation of the divine vengeance, became for that period a necessary corrective of human enormity, not, however, to be repeated, because the subsequent abridgment of the length of human life, should qualify men for forming and maintaining combinations mutually corrective by the agency of war.

In the third lecture, the author proposes to show that the earth, by its geographical distribution into continents, seas, and islands, with their several peculiarities, is disposed in general correspondence to the events of the history of our species, so as to have been a theatre accommodated to its revolutions. This lecture is, accordingly, a general application of the principles relating to the influence of local causes, which had been stated in the preceding. One observation has been made in it, which peculiarly claims attention, as it is intended to explain the influence of the very unequal distribution of dry land between the northern and the southern hemisphere. "On the one side of the equator, therefore," says the author, "is placed almost the entire scene of human activity, while the other is almost wholly abandoned to a waste of waters." The observation suggested by this consideration is, that such an arrangement is well accommodated to that singleness of plan in the history of the world, which it is the study of the author to investigate. So far as local causes may be supposed to exercise influences on the characters and fortunes of nations, in that same proportion would two sets of countries, corresponding in climate, and other circumstances of local situation, have tended to disturb the unity of the general combinations of the world.

These general topics do not form the whole of the preliminary apparatus of the work, for the author, before he enters upon the review of modern history, considers also, in the fourth lecture, what were the predisposing causes and circumstances, by which Europe was particularly fitted for the important part which it has sustained in the great drama of the world. Of these it can only here be noticed, that the author undertakes to mark the local peculiarities which adapted Europe to be the scene of two distinct systems of policy, such as have been described; a southern and principal one, composed of many nations, and a

more simple one in the north, formed of the few not included in the other; and that the qualities of the several barbarian tribes, which broke into the western empire, are particularly examined, in reference to the results which they were fitted to produce in commixture with the corrupted sons of civilization.

In the actual review of history, for which all this preparation had been made, the author begins with the consideration of the Arabs, because that people acted upon Europe as an external power, and it is with him a favourite principle, that external agency is necessary to all political improvement. For the improvement of Europe a remarkable succession of agencies of this kind appears to have been provided. The Arabs acted upon its southern nations; in the north the tribes of Tartary discharged the same necessary function; and for the middle region the Turkish empire, in a more modern period, was a most useful agent of compression, as it excited the enterprises of the crusaders, propelled into the west the precious remains of Grecian learning, and protected against the house of Austria the efforts of the German Protestants.

When the outward agency of the Arabs had been considered, Italy became naturally the first object of attention, not only as in that peninsula the principles of Roman improvement were chiefly to be found, but also because there an ecclesiastical dominion was erected, which, by its extended hierarchy, became the great bond of union to the nations of Europe in the middle ages. The formation of a system of balanced policy was, indeed, the grand improvement of its latest period, but many ages must have elapsed before such a system could even have been begun. It was necessary to the policy of Europe, that some pervading principle of union should be introduced among its states, before they should be distributed into contending combinations; and even these combinations, though mutually opposed, required that the component states should previously have contracted the habits of political cooperation. The papacy, therefore, with its attendants, the celibacy of the clergy and the institution of the monastic orders, are regarded by the author as auxiliary to the early improvement of Europe.

"The divine Providence," he remarks, "has permitted that the Roman prelates should acquire a great political importance, especially in the earlier ages of the modern history of Europe; and however the doctrines which they promulgated may have differed from the simple truths of the gospel, and the violence which they practised may have been at variance with its pacific forbearance, their political importance may have proved beneficial to society, as a wise Providence renders other human abuses instrumental to its gracious purposes."

In the remainder of the first and second volumes the histories of Italy, France, England, Germany, and Spain are traced to the commencement of the fourteenth century, as the time at which Europe began to recover from the barbarism and ignorance by which its powers had been long paralysed. The third and fourth are begun with a review of chivalry, the crusades, commerce, and learning during the same period; they then proceed to trace to the commencement of the reformation the histories of the same countries, together with those of Swisserland, the northern countries, and the new empires of Turkey and Persia; and they conclude, with prosecuting to the same time, the review of commerce and learning, noticing also various occurrences of a miscellaneous nature, and particularly considering the predispositions to the reformation. In the fifth and sixth volumes the review is continued to the time of the British revolution, the sixth being wholly occupied with the histories of Great Britain and Ireland.

In these latter volumes the reformation is represented as supplying the principle of opposition, which chiefly distributed the states of Europe into two distinct combinations of political interests, and on this account the distinctions of ecclesiastical parties are examined with some minuteness. The consideration of Calvinism is, indeed, as the author remarks, connected with his theory of history; for, as he considers the providential government of God to be exercised by his foreknowledge of the conduct of free-agents, this theory is, in political philosophy, that which Arminianism is in theology.

In concluding his sixth volume, the author remarks, that,

"The general arrangement of the policy of the continent, and the special modifications of the British government, were brought severally to a crisis at the same precise moment of time, and in the person of the same individual prince (the Prince of Orange;) so that it may be pronounced to have been a natural result that the two systems of movements should have been then blended into one: and the British government so regenerated, have been immediately constituted a principal agent in a new order of political relations. An ancient infidel," he afterwards observes, "is said to have been converted from atheism to a persuasion of the existence and providence of God, by contemplating the wonderful contrivance of the human skeleton. Here is before you the skeleton of a most interesting period of the history of your species. The living men, who were its muscles and its tendons, have long perished; nothing remains except the dry and naked skeleton preserved in the records of a by-gone age; but in this you must behold an arrangement and an adaptation which bespeak a wisdom and a foresight far exceeding the speculations of the human intellect."

We conclude our analysis of this ingenious and interesting

work, by recommending it most warmly to the student of history. The style is always perspicuous, and often elegant. And if at times the observations are rather too fanciful, they are still the fancies of a man of talent and learning; whose mind is ever at work, and whose very dreams are instructive and entertaining.

ART. X.—*Travels in Western Africa, in the Years* 1818, 19, 20, *and* 21, *from the River Gambia through Woolli, Bondoo, Galam, Kasson, Kaarta, and Foolidoo, to the River Niger.* By Major William Gray and the late Staff-Surgeon Dochard; with a Map and Plates. London, 1825. Murray. 8vo. 18s.

"IT was known at Senegal," says M. Mollien, (I. 37.) "that the failure of the attempts lately made by the English to penetrate into the interior of Africa, was owing to the extravagant notions entertained by the negroes of the treasures conveyed by those travellers:" and in order to obviate any difficulties of the same kind, he equipped himself with nothing but a scanty provision of the merest necessaries for fifteen months, the period which he supposed his journey would occupy. The result of his own expedition showed that even his meagre pittance was sufficient to rouse the cupidity of the negroes; and the work now lying before us, proves that the French at Senegal knew as little respecting the obstacles which really retarded the English travellers, as M. Mollien himself did, with regard to the difficulties and hazards which he had to encounter, or the resources which lay within his reach.

A sketch of the original plan of the Mission, to which M. Mollien alludes, was given in the Life of Mungo Park, prefixed to the Narrative of his Second Journey in Africa, (II. 143.) It was derived from Park's own suggestions, upon which the Ministry had acted, when they despatched him on his last, and, as it turned out, fatal expedition. He had witnessed the journies of large "cáfilahs, or caravans, passing through the territories of the negro chiefs on paying a small duty;" and therefore "inferred that the march of a small party would excite no serious apprehension." (Ib. 149.) His subsequent experience seemed to confirm the correctness of his inferences, and sanguine hopes were entertained that "an expedition formed and conducted upon such principles (with a due attention to the proper season for travelling) would be attended with ultimate success."

How lamentably those expectations have been frustrated is well known to all who take any interest in the progress of African discovery; and the melancholy conclusion of Major Gray's disastrous tale had long been a matter of notoriety before the publication of his narrative. Still, however, there was some anxiety to hear the details of his journey, and the very protraction of his residence among tribes imperfectly known, had greatly increased his opportunities of studying their habits and manners, as well as the country which they occupy. How far those opportunities were turned to good account will best appear from an abstract of his book.

It presents the result of the observations made not only by himself, but also by the other officers employed in this service; and may be considered as containing all the information collected during the course of the expedition commenced under the command of Major Peddie, in 1815, and terminated in 1821.

That enterprising officer, who reached the mouth of the Senegal in November 1815, accompanied by Captain Campbell and Staff-Surgeon Cowdrey, (already distinguished as the explorer of some unknown tracts in Africa,) was not destined to advance beyond the shores of the continent, the inmost recesses of which he hoped to visit: unforeseen obstacles checked his progress at the outset, and Sir Charles M'Carthy, Governor of Sierra Leone, concurred with him in thinking it necessary to put off his departure till the following season. A short time after his return from that colony, Mr. Cowdrey, to use the words of Major Gray, "took ill, and in a few days fell a victim to the climate." This loss was the more irreparable, as that gentleman was not only of great importance to the Mission, on account of his medical skill; but was peculiarly adapted to promote its scientific objects by "his invaluable services as a naturalist and astronomer."

To supply the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Cowdrey's death, at least in the capacity of a medical officer, Major Gray (who was not, as he informs us in his preface, (vii,) "born in the camp, nor altogether educated in the field,") was induced to listen to an application from Major Peddie, though he felt, as he modestly remarks, that he "possessed few of the qualifications requisite to the discharge of so important a situation."

According to the original plan, the expedition was to have proceeded along the Senegal, Ba Lee, and Ba Woolima, and then crossed over to the Joliba at its junction with the Ba Beely; and with that view, Lamina, a native of Ségó, was despatched by Major Peddie, soon after his arrival on the coast, to apprize the King of Bambarra of his intended visit, and to request him

to send some of his chiefs to Senegal, in order to accompany the British Mission to his capital. This messenger promised to return with the king's answer in three months. It may be inferred from the context, though not distinctly affirmed, that Lamina set off in February, 1816; some surprise therefore must be felt on our learning in the next page, that in the following month, long before the result of his journey could be known, Major Peddie had resolved to change his route and take "the path through Foota Jallon." It is true that the middle of the ensuing November was the period fixed for the departure of the Mission from the Senegal, which left an interval of six months after the time, at which Lamina was expected back again; but still they were exposed to the unfavourable impression which so sudden a change of their plans might produce on the minds of the negro chiefs.

They did not, in fact, quit the Senegal till the 17th of November, 1816, when the whole party, under the command of Major Peddie, consisting of Captain Campbell, Major Gray, Mr. Adolphus Kummer, the naturalist, a German, and M. Partarieau,* "a native of Senegal, possessing considerable knowledge of the Arabic and Moorish languages, with some of the native African tongues," together with a hundred men, military and civil, (*civilians* as Major Gray conveniently terms them,) and a train of two hundred beasts of burden, set sail, and, after a short stay at Gorée, where they were joined by a vessel having on board some horses and mules, and a tedious passage from thence of sixteen days, reached Kakundy, a slave-factory on the eastern bank of the Rio Nuniez. On the 14th of December all were landed and encamped "on an elevated piece of ground cleared for the purpose and overlooking the factory;" but the woods and mud on the banks of a tide-river are always pestiferous in a tropical climate; it was therefore found necessary to move higher up on the 24th; and on that day poor Peddie was assailed by a violent attack of fever, which preyed upon him with little intermission till he expired on the 1st of January, 1817.

Thus, within the short space of fourteen months, was the expedition deprived of both the officers to whom the direction of it had been originally intrusted, and all the flattering anticipations derived from their known talents and qualifications were stifled almost in their birth.

On the very day before this melancholy event took place, Lieutenant Stokoe, R.N. and Hospital-Assistant Nelson, arrived from Sierra Leone to join the mission, accompanied by two gen-

* Or Partarrieu.

tlemen from the colony; one of whom, Lieutenant M'Rae, of the Royal African Corps, immediately volunteered to join the expedition, and was allowed by Sir Charles M'Carthy to proceed, notwithstanding the garrison could ill dispense with his services.

On the 1st of February, 1817, the convalescents (*i. e.* nearly all the Europeans) were considered as capable of moving forwards; the march was therefore commenced, and though continued for only four hours, proved to be "most fatiguing." Lieutenant Stokoe was added to the sick-list on the 2d, and on that day the whole corps received a sad discomfiture from an enemy for whom they were quite unprepared.

"We left Harrimakona," says Major Gray, (9,) "at two p. m. and got on tolerably well, until we arrived at a difficult pass in a wood, where those in front disturbed a swarm of bees, which made so violent an attack both on men and animals, that all were thrown into confusion. On my being made acquainted with the cause, I considered it a very frivolous excuse for allowing the horses and asses to run about in all directions, throwing off their loads; and was reprimanding the men for their carelessness, when I was attacked by so dense a swarm of those insects, that I was obliged to retreat, and suffer the mortification of exhibiting myself in the same predicament with those I had just been reproving. It was sunset before the bees dispersed, or we could collect the animals, many of whom suffered severely from the bees getting into their eyes, ears, and nostrils; one of our best horses died on the spot, and some of the asses were unable to rise from the ground."

Had not the Major, who "reached the shores of Africa, in his tour of service, well remembering, on his passage the labours and researches of the informed and the brave," (Pref. viii,) unhappily forgotten, on that occasion, what he had read with so much attention, he would probably have remembered Mungo Park's (II. 48,) distress from a similar cause, and would have escaped the ludicrous predicament in which he was placed, as he justly observes, by his unlucky reproofs.

On the 7th, they were joined by a messenger, who had been despatched in the preceding August to inform the Imám (Alimamí, in the language of the negroes) of Timbó of their approach.

This man was accompanied by Abdu 'l Hamid, one of the Imám's brothers, who informed Captain Campbell, who had succeeded to the command, that it was "Alimamy's orders that a white man should be sent in advance to Teembo, to explain to him the object they had in view in entering his dominions;" and "that he forbad their nearer approach until he should be perfectly satisfied on that head." Instead of sending a white man, or allowing Major Gray to accompany Abú Bakari, the chief sent

by Abdu 'l Hamid, Captain Campbell contented himself with despatching one of his *native* sergeants; thus, in *his* first communication with the native powers, disregarding a requisition which was far from unreasonable, and neglecting to avail himself of the assistance which his officers would gladly have afforded.

The party had now reached the Tingalinta River, at that place 110 feet wide; and where they had an opportunity of examining a specimen of native ingenuity, which would alone be sufficient to prove (if proof were wanting) that the negroes are not quite such incorrigible blockheads as some writers would fain make us believe. It was "a swinging bridge composed of cane and bark ropes, by which it was attached, at about twenty-four feet above the water, to the branches of the trees which grew on the banks, and afforded, during the rainy season and periodical floods, a safe, though, apparently, slight and tottering passage for people on foot." Of this bridge a plate is given. It bears some resemblance to the J'húlas or suspension bridges of the Hindús, over the torrents which sweep through the ravines of Himálaya, (As. Res. XI. 475,) but is far less ingenious and artificial in its structure; while, on the other hand, it appears superior to that which was thrown over the Bà Wulima by the Mandingoes for Park (II. 147-9.)

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Imám, to advance without his further orders, Captain Campbell proceeded as fast as bad roads and tardy followers would suffer him, and when a division of the paths occurred, he determined to follow that which led to Lábé, in direct opposition to the wishes of Abdu 'l Hamid. The country through which they had passed was hilly and rugged; sometimes presenting stony, unproductive plains: more frequently rocky ascents divided by rich vallies. Their cattle, unshod and unused to any soil but a level sand, soon sunk under the difficulty of the road, and on the 20th of February, barely three weeks after they set out, they "decided on abandoning their two small field guns, with their shot and grape, and having buried them about three feet beneath the surface, made a fire to conceal where the ground had been broken." (18.) An idle precaution, since Abdu 'l Hámid, who was with them, could scarcely fail to know the place, and the treasures deposited there.

"Captain Campbell," says Major Gray, (ib.) "thought it better to dispose of them in that way than to make a present of them to Almamy; for although it was not likely that he could make any use of them, yet the very circumstance alone of possessing such destructive engines, and of having received them from us, might induce these nations with whom he occasionally wages war (and through which we were likely to travel) to entertain unfavourable opinions of us."

On the same principle they ought not to have given away a gun or a pistol, and however imprudent it might have been to make such splendid and unexpected presents in an early stage of their journey, what was more likely to secure the goodwill of the Imám of Fúta Jallon at once, than a gift which showed so much confidence in his friendly intentions? Is it not probable that by thus making a virtue of necessity, the objects of the Mission would have been effectually promoted, and that jealousy removed which, not long afterwards, drove them out of the country.

In the beginning of March, a dearth of provisions began to be felt; fresh delays were occasioned by the Imám's signifying that he must consult his chiefs, before he could consent to their passage through his territories; and Captain Campbell again sent one of his black sergeants, instead of an European officer, to treat with his sable majesty. A scarcity of provisions, and illnesses from eating unripe fruit, were added to the misery which their present suspense occasioned. The Imám was either dissatisfied with the quality of the agent, or the presents sent to him, and nearly three weeks after the commencement of these negotiations, Sergeant Tuft, the person despatched to the royal camp, sent to advise Captain Campbell, either to come himself, or send some of his officers as soon as possible, to convince the Imám and his ministers of his real intentions. Captain Campbell therefore repaired to the royal residence, and the result of his visit was, that as the Imám could not be responsible for their safety, while he was absent on a foreign campaign, they must remain in the neighbourhood of Lábé till his return; soon afterwards some of their followers were dismissed, others ran away, and as eighty-five of their beasts had died, they could not move till provided with carriers, by order of the chief of the district where they were. A scarcity of provisions and its consequence, sickness, quickly ensued, and on the 28th April, Lieutenant Stokoe and Mr. Kummer set out for the coast, conveyed in cradles made of cane, being already too ill to have any immediate hope of recovery.

"On the 2d May, Lamina, accompanied by Abou Hararata, one of the chiefs, and a long train of attendants, came to the camp, and informed Captain Campbell that Almamy had given permission to Lamina, in consequence of his being the messenger of the King of Segó, to conduct them through the country by whatever path he chose, and had also given directions to Abou Hararata to collect carriers for the conveyance of their baggage. "Nothing, however," says Major Gray, "could be obtained from them but promises which they never intended performing." (32.)

Captain Campbell, therefore, who was now very ill, determined to retrace his steps, and regain the coast before the rains set in.

The Imám, in answer to a messenger informing him of this determination, replied, "that it was not his desire to do so, as his country was open to them in any way they wished."

On the 18th May, with much difficulty, they mustered a sufficiency of carriers to enable them to set out; "their retreat was far more painful and difficult than their advance," and on the second day of their march, Major Gray was himself reduced by illness to a state of insensibility to the objects around him, in which he continued till the 1st of June. They had then reached Robugga, a factory on the Rio Nuniez, and he was informed when he had recovered his powers of perception, that Mr. Kummer had fallen a victim to the climate, and that Lieutenant Stokoe had returned to Sierra Leone; Captain Campbell, though somewhat better, was still in an alarming state of debility; on the 12th Major Gray found that he had lost the use of his speech, and on the 13th he expired, almost on the very spot where he had so lately committed to the ground the remains of his friend and associate Major Peddie, beside which his own were deposited on the following day!

As soon as the sick were sufficiently recovered to join the rest of the party, the whole were removed to Sierra Leone, which they did not reach till almost all their cattle were dead, and their provisions nearly exhausted.

Lieutenant Stokoe, on whom the command now devolved, made a further attempt to secure the assistance of the Imám of Fúta Jallon. He travelled "in the depth of the rainy season to Timbó," but had the mortification of being obliged to return without having effected his purpose, and not long afterwards was seized with an illness which carried him off in a few days.

Thus terminated the first period of this ill-fated enterprise, in which, however we must admire the resolution and perseverance of the principal actors, we cannot but lament a want of judgment and discretion, which seems sometimes to have created the impediments by which they were opposed, by augmenting the jealousy which the approach of so numerous a body under the direction of Europeans, could hardly fail to occasion; so that Sir Walter Scott's judicious objections to the scheme when first mentioned by Park, were completely established,—"the number of men employed, though inadequate for conquest, or even for serious defence, was yet large enough to excite suspicion." (Life of Park, II. clviii.) And it is to be regretted that the survivors, instead of persevering in the original plan, the inexpedience of which had by that time been sufficiently manifested, did not reduce the number of their attendants, so as to form a body which could neither give umbrage nor excite cupidity.

of the four journeys to which this expedition gave
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e middle of December 1817. Evil fortune
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e of a representation made by Lamina, the guide
ajor Gray had resolved to follow the road through
Fúla-dù, as the only secure route, and that in which
meet with persons subject to the king of Bambarra.
rious illness nor other disaster had occurred when, on
ing from the depopulated district between Sansanding and
abí, the frontier towns of Wullí and Bondú, they entered the
latter kingdom.

They were told, indeed, on passing the frontier, that they would not be allowed to advance, without an especial permission from the Imám, or (sovereign of the country;) this information, however, was disregarded as groundless: and ten days afterwards Mr. Dochard was despatched with one of the Segó agents, to make arrangements for their protection and support while travelling through Bondú. He returned in a few days with a very civil message from the Imám, whom he had not seen, and a request that they would halt a few days, till he could come to see them.

"The prospect of being thus delayed, even for a few days, as I then thought," says Major Gray, (111,) "was irksome in the extreme, as the rains were fast approaching, and, in the space of another month, travelling would become, if not wholly impossible, at least very difficult and dangerous."

This was on the 21st of May; and ten weeks had been already taken up by their journey from Bathurst, through an interval of only 4° of longitude; while the distance between their station at that time, and Segó, amounted to at least 10°: could Major Gray, then, suppose that he should be able to advance much further before the rains would set in? And where could he pass the rainy season to more advantage than in the neighbourhood

of the Senegal, and under the protection of a chief at peace both with the Europeans on the coast, and the sóvereign of the country to which he was travelling? His mind appears to have been at this time in a continual ferment; his progress had not been so rapid as he expected; his cattle had suffered greatly from want of rest; some of his party had been attacked by fever, and he was beginning perhaps to apprehend a repetition of the miseries he had experienced in another of the Fùla kingdoms.

"Since our arrival here," he says, (111,) "we were beset by a multitude of beggars of all descriptions. Princes and their wives without number came to make us trifling presents, with the hope of receiving in return double their value; and their attendants were not less troublesome. Goulahs, or singing-people, who in Africa always flock around those who have any thing to give, no doubt thought this a good opportunity to turn to good account their abilities in music, and we were continually annoyed by their horrid noise. Dozens of them would, at the same moment, set up a sort of roaring extempore song in our praise, accompanied by drums, and a sort of guitar, and we found it impossible to get rid of them by any other means than giving something. They were not, however, to be put off with a trifle. People who lived by that sort of gain, and not unfrequently received from their own chiefs presents to the amount of several slaves, were not be put off with trifles, particularly by persons with (apparently to them) so much riches as we had. The consequence was, we were in a continual state of uproar with those wretches. Never did I find my patience so much tired as on these occasions."

It appears, not long afterwards, that nothing was to be done without a sufficient *douceur*, and that the Imám's good-will, no less than that of his subjects, depended upon the liberality with which the white man fee'd him. On the 16th of June, after endless delays and artifices for the purpose of squeezing out more presents, they at last obtained a guide—but only through Kasson, which was not the route they wished to follow; having, in the mean time, suffered much from sickness and a scarcity of provisions. In two days they reached Búlibáni, the capital, where they were very civilly received, some of the king's wives sending them, "shortly after their arrival, two or three large calabashes full of fine milk and cous cous, which was not at all a despicable present." Here they had again to wait for a guide; for though we read, a page or two before, that the Imám had granted one, it appears that at Búlibáni, he was still to be sought; and when he had been appointed, and they were on the point of setting off, a message from court informed them that as the people of Karta had destroyed several of the towns of

Kasson, the passage through it was most likely no longer practicable. It was in vain that Major Gray offered to run any risk, and take all responsibility on himself; the Imám was inflexible in his regard for their safety, but it appeared from some broad hints thrown out, by one of his sons, that his inflexibility might be relaxed by larger presents.

No small trouble and negotiation was also requisite to obtain leave for the Mission to remove from the capital, and establish itself at Samba Conté, only fifteen miles from Bakél, on the Senegal. This was at length effected on the 17th of July, 1817. The rains, which commenced early in June, had now completely set in, and the effects of this change in the atmosphere had for some time been felt;—"Mr. Burton, and Mr. Nelson, and nearly all the Europeans, were labouring under fever and dysentery;" and the former died on the 19th, only two days after their encampment at Samba Conté. On the 9th of August, Mr. Nelson, who had gradually sunk under his malady, and had for three days been "a complete inanimate skeleton," breathed his last, and added one more to the long list of victims to this destructive climate.

Major Gray, in the mean time, anxious to announce his approach to the King of Barbarra, despatched Mr. Dochard (who wished to proceed on that service, and was then the only officer in the party capable of undertaking it) on a mission to Segó, accompanied by a guide and a messenger from the Imám. The result of this Mission, which brought another European to the banks of the Niger, is given in a subsequent part of the volume before us, and forms the third of the journeys performed by Major Gray and his companions.

Every thing went on smoothly till the beginning of October, when a fine Arabian mare having been purchased by Major Gray, an exorbitant demand was made for duty, though such charges did not appear to be usual; and on its being resisted, the natives were forbidden to supply him with provisions. After many fruitless explanations and complaints, it was found expedient to compromise the business, by paying as a duty legally demanded, nearly double the sum paid for the mare.

In the latter end of October, the decrease of the rains had a very beneficial effect on the health of the invalids; and the arrival of a French fleet at Galam, on the Senegal, contributed largely to the comfort and security of the party. No serious inconveniences seem to have been now experienced; but the absence of M. Partarieau, and the want of those supplies for which he had been despatched to St. Louis, prevented the Mission from moving forwards. On the 8th of January, 1819, the Imám

Amadí, (Ahmed,) who was old, and had in fact been long in a declining state, died. His successor, Músa Yeoro, received Major Gray "with marked hospitality and attention," and made, of his own accord, the most flattering promises; but about the middle of February he compelled him to come into the immediate neighbourhood of Búlibáni, the capital, on the old plea of anxiety for the safety of his guests; incursions of the Kártan army were, he said, hourly expected; he could not therefore answer for the security of the white men while removed so far from his protection.

On the 6th of May, M. Partarieau at length returned from St. Louis, with the stores and presents promised to the late, and covenanted for by the present Imám. On the 9th the Imám signed an agreement, (Appendix VI. 372,) in compliance with an application from Major Gray, containing, among other '*demands*,' one which required him (Major Gray) to make certain presents to the Imám. All seemed now to be settled, but the negro chief insisted on the Mission's taking one path, and Major Gray was resolved to take another. Something like a threat of hostilities ensued, and the Major, as a ruse-de-guerre, declared it to be his resolution to return to the Senegal through Fúta Toro, to the north west, hoping to work his way eastward when no longer under the immediate observation of the Imám of Bondù.

This retreat was a series of disasters; the treachery of the guides, together with continual attempts by some of the Imám's satellites to intimidate and check the progress of the travellers, operated as such a stimulus to the inhospitable and pilfering propensities of the populace, as could only be counteracted by the utmost determination and caution. Fúta Toro, through a part of which they were obliged to pass on their way to the Senegal, was then in a state of complete anarchy, in consequence of an interregnum occasioned by the death of the Imám or Sovereign; and as soon as the Mission set foot on this territory, it felt the effect of such a state of misrule. The different chiefs in the neighbourhood, seemed inclined to determine by blows who should have the honour of escorting through the country: i. e. who should have the privilege of fleecing strangers at his pleasure: and one of these worthies fairly blockaded their camp for two or three days, in order to force their acceptance of his protection. To rescue his party from this dilemma, Major Gray made a forced march by night to Bakél on the Senegal, and on the following day, the 11th June 1819, returned with twenty-five or twenty-six men and a supply of water; but when only three or four miles from his encampment, he most unaccountably stopped short, lest he "should reach the camp at too early an hour;" and by so doing

was caught in a heavy tornado, which gave some of his bullock-drivers an opportunity of making off with their cattle. When daylight returned, in addition to a thorough drenching, he had the mortification of discovering that Partarieau and his men had decamped; and just as he was entering the village where they were, the natives "attempted to tear the clothes off his men's backs and their arms out of their hands." This sort of treatment was too rough to be borne with sang-froid. A skirmish therefore ensued; but as the arms of Major Gray's men (now reduced to eleven) were rendered almost useless by the drenching of the preceding night, the enemy were too much for them. The chief of this rabble, however, came forward, and offering his hand to the Major, "said that if he would go quietly with him, no one should molest him,"— a promise which he had scarcely the power of performing.

Instead of allowing his prisoner (for such Major Gray now was) to join his party, as he had promised, this worthy (the same as had blockaded them before) compelled him to go to his own village, and did not release him till the fourth day, when he again found Partarieau had decamped, contrary to his expectations: but instead of pushing forwards towards Bakel, whither he supposed his party to be gone, he returned to his old foe and blockader, apprehensive of worse treatment elsewhere. Civil promises were made, as usual, but no guide was furnished till the third day, nor could the Major regain his party at Bakel till the 22d June, 1819. The French officers stationed there received him on this, as on former occasions, with the most cordial welcome. It is indeed highly satisfactory to observe, that the national animosities which have so often embittered the intercourse between the naval and military men in our own and the French service, seem to have been entirely forgotten on the banks of the Senegal.

The rains had now completely set in, and the losses experienced in the retreat of the Mission from Bonti rendered it impossible as well as imprudent to make any further attempt to advance eastwards, till both men and stores had been sufficiently recruited.

The reader has thus been furnished with a comprehensive and as brief a summary of the [illegible] journeys, as the limits necessarily assigned to the article and the number of events crowded with [illegible] and if, as we suspect, he [illegible] pardon our only adding a very [illegible] acts in the tragedy. They are [illegible] of the same tissue of broken promises and [illegible]

wearisome suspense and fruitless labours, as, throughout the preceding part of the narrative, so often fill the mind with disgust and contempt for one party, and regret on account of the unmerited sufferings of the other. Our admiration of the patience and resolution which bore up so long against an almost uninterrupted series of disappointments, contrasts too strongly with the feelings excited by the meanness and falsehood which appear on the other side of the picture, not to leave the mind wearied by the struggle of conflicting emotions, rather than cheered, as it ought to be, by the honour thus reflected upon our national character.

Fúta Toro, as has been already mentioned, was in a state of interregnum when Major Gray passed through the skirts of it, in May and June 1819, and to that circumstance the ill treatment which his party experienced, is to be ascribed: for as soon as the other chiefs heard of those proceedings, they sent messengers to him at Bakél, requesting a detailed account of his losses, and promising restitution, a promise which, it should be observed, was duly performed with regard to the most essential articles; not, in the author's estimation, from any regard for justice and the rights of others, but solely from jealousy of the chief who had thus maltreated him. A general sickness, in some cases fatal, which, as usual, marked the rainy season; intestine wars and jealousies between the French and the native chiefs, which occasioned a difficulty in procuring provisions; and an unusual detention of the flotilla from Senegal, all combined to render Major Gray's position irksome, and to prevent his making any except a retrograde movement. At length, on the 30th May, 1820, he received intelligence of Mr. Dochard's return from Bambarra, and on the 7th June he had the happiness of finding him arrived at Fort St. Joseph, but so reduced by a protracted attack of dysentery, that his recovery appeared hopeless. These apprehensions, however, proved to be erroneous, and by the kind assistance of the officers of a French gun-brig, lying off the Fort, Mr. Dochard was immediately conveyed to Bakél, when his convalescence was greatly retarded by frequent attacks of fever. On the 21st September the long looked for flotilla arrived, but without bringing the necessary supplies; Major Gray therefore resolved to retain only fifteen of his men, and sent all the rest under the direction of Messrs. Dochard and Partarieau, back to the coast. He determined with his own small party, to make one more effort towards the completion of the objects of the Mission; and Mr. Dochard, notwithstanding his sufferings and debilitated state of health, expressed a strong desire to accompany him,

which he very properly refused to allow. It is worthy of remark that almost all his men "volunteered to accompany him to the very last moment:" and he mentions two of those whom he selected, Serjeant Major Lee and Charles Joe, (a mulatto,) in the highest terms of commendation. On the 30th of September, 1820, the flotilla set sail for St. Louis, and on the 16th of November, Major Gray and his little party set out for Kárta, through which he hoped to penetrate into Bambarra—but at Fort St. Joseph, on the southern bank of the Senegal, which they reached on the 19th, they were obliged to wait till the 28th of January, 1821, when a messenger from Modiba, king of Kárta, came to inform him that he could not travel by the direct road, as it was infested by hostile tribes. He was also compelled to wait for the return of the said guide with an escort, and it was not until the 18th of March that he was allowed to proceed with a party which had been making a plundering incursion into the territories of Bondú. After numberless delays and impediments, during which he could never obtain any direct access to the king, who had been persuaded by his marábuts "that should he ever look upon a white man he must die," Major Gray was at length suffered to join a party of Bangassi people: but on his way to the frontiers, he was detained at Sanjarra by an order from the king, "who had been assured by good authority that he had with him an ass-load of silver."

After a week's detention, this difficulty was surmounted, protection to the frontiers was promised, and the travellers proceeded on their way; two days afterwards, however, one of the princes met them on his return from Fúla-dú, a part of which he had been plundering, and he forbad their farther progress, alleging, that as all the towns on the frontiers had been destroyed, it would be impossible for the travellers to subsist. Remonstrances were vain; the prince told him very plainly, that force would be used if he refused to obey; he therefore, though very unwillingly, retraced his steps. He was subsequently compelled to remove to Múnia, (nearer to the capital,) and fairly plundered, on the pretence of his not having paid the usual duties; nor was he allowed to depart till the 8th of June, when no escort was sent to accompany him; though he had been kept there, solely on the plea of the king's inability to furnish one, and his unwillingness to expose him to the risk of travelling without such protection.

On the 18th of August he reached Galam, but in consequence of intestine hostilities, and a quarrel between the French and the natives, the route by land was no longer open; nothing could be done, therefore, till the flotilla arrived; nor was it till the 24th of September, that Major Gray and his party could set off for

St. Louis, which they reached in a steam-boat on the 8th of October; and in the following month, the Major proceeded by Gorée and Bathurst, on the Gambia, to Sierra Leone, thus terminating his arduous and unwearied, but unsuccessful attempts, to penetrate into the interior of Africa.

The fact of Mr. Dochard's having been civilly received by the king of Bambarra, announced with some exultation, in the Quarterly Review, for July 1820, (No. XLV. vol. 23, p. 241,) raised an expectation in the public mind which was never to be gratified; for that unfortunate traveller returned home with a shattered constitution, and did not live long enough to finish the narrative, from which the extracts here given contain little more than a list of vexations and disappointments.

He left the encampment at Samba Conté, on the 23d of July, 1818, with ten men, (eight of whom were soldiers,) Lamina, and two other natives. (136.) He crossed the Fá-lémé at Náyer, thirty-four miles to the S. E. of the cantonment, on the 27th, and reached Mamier, the residence of a prince of Kasson, on the 1st of August. There he was detained till the 17th, under the persuasion that he would purchase a licence to depart by larger presents; the rains and swollen state of the rivers running northwards into the Senegal, afterwards arrested his progress from the 21st till the 25th. Nor could he reach the Bá-fing, in consequence either of similar impediments, or of swamps and tornadoes, till the 1st of September. Of his proceedings from that time till the 9th of November, no account is given, except that on that day, he reached Dhaba, a town of Bambarra, whence he dispatched Lamina and one of his men, to announce his arrival to the king. On the 21st, his messenger returned with information that the death of Lamina's brother, the king's treasurer, had prevented his business from being despatched; and on the 11th of January, 1819, he received an order from the king to wait at Ko, near the confluence of the Bâ-béli and the Jalli-bà, (Niger,) where he then was, "till he should see people from him," (253;) but no such people came till the 14th of February; and when his presents had been examined and approved, they declared that it was the king's pleasure that he should repair to Bamakù, and remain there till his majesty's final determination respecting the white men should be known. Finding that no remonstrances would be listened to, he complied without further hesitation; and ascending the river as far as it was navigable, landed at a small distance from the appointed place, which he reached on the 21st or 22d. About two months afterwards, (on the 25th of April,) he received the letters sent off by Major Gray in the preceding September. Of his occupations

during his residence at Bamakù, or of the incidents which occurred in the course of his retreat, nothing is here said; we merely learn that he reached Fort St. Joseph, on the 4th of June, 1821, in the alarming state of health already mentioned. He had made repeated applications for leave to proceed to Segó, but was always informed "that until the war was terminated, Dha (Jà) could not allow them to pass." (272.) As that event was very uncertain, for success had hitherto been on the side of the Fúlas of Massina, with whom the Bambarrans were then engaged, the progress of the Mission might be stopped for an indefinite period; Major Gray, therefore, gave up all hope of advancing beyond Segó, for the present, but despatched one of his men, a native of Nyamina, with a merchant named Yúsuf, (Joseph,) engaged in a trading voyage to that capital, to apologize for Mr. Dochard's return without leave, and to request a specific declaration of the king's intentions with regard to himself, as soon as possible. (274.)

It now remains to lay before our readers the substance of such notices respecting the history, civil and natural, of the countries visited by the Mission, as are scattered through different parts of Major Gray's volume. As that gentleman appears not to be himself a naturalist, the former are very scanty; on the latter he is rather more copious, and his information will fill up some gaps in our knowledge of this part of Africa.

The routes of Major Gray and his companions are marked upon the map prefixed to his work, and were placed no doubt in the hands of the artist by whom it was constructed. These routes are not even alluded to in the book itself; and, as was before observed, but for the map, we should not have known that Mr. Dochard left a single memorandum respecting his return. Geographical inquiries do not appear to have formed a part of Major Gray's pursuits, for excepting the occasional mention of the course of a river, or the direction of the road, and one solitary memorandum of the observed latitude of a place,—where a most extraordinary typographical error occurs,—there is nothing like a remark strictly geographical in the whole volume. As the author did not engage in the Mission, professing to undertake that part of the duties annexed to it, no blame can attach to him for not having touched upon a subject in which he perhaps took no interest; but it is to be regretted that he did not suggest to the gentleman whom he employed to construct his map, the propriety of adding a brief statement of the alterations introduced, and the materials from which they are derived. Being kept so entirely in the dark as to the data on which the disputable positions rest, it would be precipitate to pass any judgment upon the real merits of this compilation; but it may not be

amiss to observe that we felt some surprise on seeing the heads of the Senegal and Gambia precisely where they were placed by Major Rennell in his Map of Park's last Journey, though M. Mollien was assured by the natives of Fúta Jallon, that they are in the central ridge of hills near Tímbó, a fact which appears from this very map to have been confirmed by the inquiries of the British Mission with respect to the Bá-Fing.* The head of the Niger, in like manner, maintains its old position, though Major Laing's information shows that it must be nearly in 9° 25′ N. and 9° 45′ W.—about 5° W. and nearly 2° S. of the position assigned by Major Rennell; and only 1° N. and 25′ W. of that given by M. Eyriès. Timbuktû is brought about one degree more to the West, as was also done in Major Rennell's Map of North Africa, published in 1802, but its latitude is the same as in the Map of Park's Route. M. Walckenaer, however, has given some cogent reasons (Recherches Géographiques sur l'Afrique. Paris, 1821. p. 289.) for placing it in 17° 38′ N. and 0° 22′ W. If it be alleged, in reply, that his data are too hypothetical, what shall we say to the Rivers Gozen Zair of Sidi Hamet, and Bahar el Ahmar el Zahara, which figure in the map before us? We believe M. Walckenaer's data will be found to be far less doubtful than the reports of Sidi Hamet and Adams; the name of the latter river, moreover, is due only to an ingenious conjecture of Burckhardt's; Le Mar Zarra was the name mentioned by Adams, which may be Berber, or Timbuktûwa, or Mandingo, or Fúla, or any thing but Arabic, which Burckhardt supposed it to be, for aught yet known to the contrary. A geographer who has the improvement of knowledge really at heart, will be careful with respect to the names, as well as the positions, which he adopts, and will look to the accuracy of his engraver, lest those who use his maps, should be misled by orthographical errors, a fault too often to be found in the maps of the late Mr. Arrowsmith. In the map before us, nothing but the place and direction of the streams crossing the routes is marked; this is a circumstance highly praiseworthy; and it would have been well if the mountains had been laid down with as scrupulous a regard to positive data. Few things have led to more errors in geography than a want of discretion

* Tímbó, which Major Rennell placed in 10° N. and 10° W., has here travelled a degree further to the west, and a few minutes more to the south, as nearly as possible to the place assigned to it by M. Eyriès (Mollien, II. 315:) and in all the points, where the route of the Mission coincided with that of the French traveller, their observations have shown the correctness of his; why then refuse to give him credit for those points which they had no opportunity of verifying, such as the course of the Rio Grand, &c.?

in this respect: even Major Rennell seems to have been entrapped into the belief of a central belt traversing Africa, though there was no evidence whatever of a junction between the Kong Mountains and those of the Moon, which are now known to be entirely distinct from each other. In the map annexed to Major Gray's book, the former have been very properly terminated in about 2° W. where our evidence as to their course fails.

The tribes and nations visited by the Mission, such as the Nalùs and Vagres, between the Rio Grande and the Rio Pongas, are named in the map, though not mentioned in the book. Of the Bagù's or Bagòs, however, who lived on the banks of the Rio Pongas, (Pougomo of Danville, and Pogono of older geographers,) he says, (5) the men have an extremely savage appearance, though strong and well formed. A broad girdle of cotton cloth forms their whole clothing; cut teeth and tattooed breasts and arms, with tufts of grass in holes round the edges of the ear, distinguish the well dressed among the men, while the women, unlike their sisters in Europe, seem too frugal or too philosophical to lose any time at their toilet, and wear nothing but knee-bands and anclets of grass rope, besides the bandage which covers their loins. Copper nose-rings are the only articles of dress worn by the children of either sex. Their houses, of which a sketch is given, are about sixteen feet high, and divided by a partition of split cane into two apartments, one of which is a store-room, the other occupied by the family. In front is a large open gallery or veranda, and the whole is thatched with palm leaves. These dwellings, inartificial as they are, go one step beyond the cylindrical huts with conical roofs, which are found in the interior, from Fúta Jallon to Litákun, and are, as M. Mollien observes, (I. 273,) a proof that their inhabitants once lived in tents. The bee-hive huts of the Hottentots and Boschjesmans seem to be the lowest step in African architecture.

Of Fúta Jallon, or Dyallon, the first territory of any extent which the Mission entered, a larger account is given; and the principal circumstances mentioned were already in part known from the reports of Mollien and Major Laing. This country is now governed by Fúla chiefs, and the traditions respecting their origin, collected by M. Mollien, are confirmed in their most material points by Messrs. Laing and Gray.

"The Fulas or Fólés," (Fulhas, Pholeys, or Poules), says M. Mollien, (I. 273.) "anciently inhabited the fertile countries situated in the northern part of Africa, perhaps Numidia. The form of their huts shows that they were a migratory people, living under tents. The Yolofs, also, inhabited that part of the African continent, but were, I believe, more of a sedentary people."

These nations, he supposes, were driven by the incursions of the Arabs into the countries beyond the Sahrà (Zahara) or Desert; where they found a negro race, the Serrèrs, established on the banks of the Senegal, who fled "at the sight of men mounted on camels and horses, towards the S. W. and formed the states of Baol and Sin, which still exist. The Moors drove their enemies, the Fúlas, to the south of Senegal; and the latter, in order to secure themselves from further invasions, engaged to pay to the Moors a tribute of six múlos (about twelves quarts) of millet (sorghum saccharatum) for every family, and to embrace the Mahomedan religion. This tribute is still punctually paid every year."

By Numidia, M. Mollien understands, (as Leo Johan. Leon. Africæ Descript. 5.) the Date-district, (Bilád-el-jerid) or Southern Declivity of Mount Atlas; it may also be supposed, that the *Berbers* and not the Arabs were the immediate authors of these changes, which will account for our never having heard of them before. The northern banks of the Senegal are occupied, we have no doubt, by Berber tribes; and the Tarsarts the Bracknas, (Mollien, I. 4,) Aulád Ahmed and Aulád Amín will prove to be Berbers, more or less mixed with Bedwin blood, as well as the Aulád Omar (Ludamar's) whose villainous shaikh Alí used Park so cruelly. If so, they are connected by language, as well as habits and manners, with the Tawáric, in the centre, and the Shilhahs (Shulúh) and other Barábars (Brébers) along the sides of Mount Atlas from Wád Nún to Siwah.

"Cette grande nation des Poules, ou hommes de couleur rouge, n'existe presque plus," says M. Mollien, (I. 275.) "Their intermixture with the Yolofs and Serrérs has produced," he adds, "a mulatto race called Torodos, who now occupy the country called Fúta-Toro." The original Fúlas were driven by their spurious offspring into the deserts of the Búrb-Yolofs, Kayór, and Salom, where a small number of them have still preserved their copper hue and ancient migratory habits.

The extent of country over which the Fúlas are spread, is as yet very imperfectly known. Fúta-Toro and Bondú, to the south of the Senegal, and Fúta Jallon, at the back of Sierra Leone, stretch from the 10th to the 17th parallel of North Latitude; Sangarari and Wasselon are supposed to extend as far as 9° S. and 6° W. A large territory called Fúlí-dú-gú, (the country of the Fúlís,) lies on the western confines of the Mandingoes, to the south of the Bà-Lí; and Massina to the north of the Jáli-bà, (Niger,) is said by Major Gray (37) to be the native country of the chief who made the conquest of Fúta Jallo, about A.D. 1700, (Laing's Trav. 401.) Their settlements or conquests

extend, however, much further to the east; and the king of Sókatù, (in 13° 5′ N. 5° 5′ E.) who was visited by Captain Clapperton, is at the head of the Fellátahs, a Fúla tribe, as is proved by a vocabulary of their language, formed by Dr. Seetzen, in 1808, and published by Vater in 1811." (Kœnigsberger Archiv für Philosophie, &c. I. 51.) Further light, therefore, on the modern, if not on the ancient history of this widely extended African nation may be expected from Captain Clapperton's Narrative.

This mixture of blood will account also for the difference of character between these Fúlas and other negroes, observed by the English as well as the French travellers. Those of Bondú are characterised by Major Grey, (184,) as distinguished by "a low deceitful cunning and religious cant," having as much of the outward show, but less of the inward influence of religion than any of their neighbours;—"Autant j'ai eu à me plaindre des habitans du Foutatoro," says M. Mollien, (I. 327,) "autant j'ai eu à me louer de ceux du Bondou; ils sont doux, tranquilles, d'un grand sang froid, accueillent l'étranger avec affabilité et ne l'obsèdent pas par une curiosité incommode." But it appears from the account of Major Gray, who had much opportunity of observing them, that Mollien's character of the Torodos, is in the main applicable to their neighbours. "The Púl," says the latter, (I. 285,) "is violent, irritable, quick and lively; but indolent, fickle, artful, and treacherous, in the highest degree." "C'est au moment où le Poule donne la main à quelqu'un, qu'il forme dans son âme le projet de l'assassiner." (I. 286.) (Compare this with Major Gray's Narrative, pp. 26, 114, 117, 210, 286, 340-341.) "They are incapable of feeling affection, and hate the copper-coloured Púls, to whom they owe their origin, as much as they despise the negroes." Their unfeeling treatment of their prisoners is strongly depicted by Major Gray. When he wished to purchase "a poor old woman," in order to rescue her from the unmerciful blows with which she was continually belaboured, "nothing could be disposed of," he was told, "till the king had seen all that was taken." It was in vain that he urged the probability of the poor wretch's sinking under her sufferings. They only laughed at his compassion; and asked if he was displeased to see his enemies from Bondú thus punished; while Garran, the Kartan chief, remarked with the brutal cunning of a savage, that "men who were so tender-hearted to their foes, must be bad warriors." "They are always craving for presents, and abuse you or spit in your face, if not gratified," says Mollien. This was continually experienced by the British travellers, who were always deserted, or otherwise ill-treated, as soon as they ceased to deal out their donations as fast and as largely as they were demanded. "They never sell one another,"

says Mollien, (I. 286,) "but that must be understood of persons of the same tribe; a Moorish boy was given to Major Gray to purchase bullocks with." (117.) They are industrious, and, with the Mahomedan faith, have learned the art of writing. There are schools in almost every town where the Koran is taught. Of arithmetic, as an art, they are wholly ignorant. (184-185.) Their manufactures in weaving, carpentry, and cutlery, show "much taste, ingenuity," and skill, when the clumsiness of their tools is considered.

The dress of the different tribes is much the same:—

"The women," says Major Gray, (185,) "who, without the assistance of art, might vie, in point of figure, with those of the most exquisitely fine forms in Europe, are of a more lively disposition, and more delicate form of face, than either the Serrawollies, Mandingoes, or Joloffs. They are extremely neat in their persons and dress, and are very fond of amber, coral, and glass beads of different colours, with which they adorn or bedeck their heads, necks, wrists, and ankles profusely; gold and silver, too, are often formed into small buttons, which are intermixed with the former on the head, and into rings and chains worn on the wrists and ankles. They always wear a veil thrown loosely over the head: this is manufactured by themselves from cotton, and is intended to imitate thin muslin, at which they have not by any means made a bad attempt. They are exceedingly fond of perfumes of every kind, particularly musk, otto of roses, or lavender, but they can seldom procure these, and therefore substitute cloves, which they pound into powder, and mix up with a kernel having something the flavour of a Tonquin bean, which they likewise reduce to powder, and, with a little gum water, form it into beads about the size of a common garden pea. These they string and hang round the neck; they sometimes string the cloves themselves, and wear them in the same manner; but the way in which they prefer wearing them, is, sewed up in small bags made of rich coloured silk, a number of which are hung round the neck. The hair, which is neatly braided into a profusion of small plaits, hangs down nearly to the shoulders, and is confined round the forehead with a few strings of small beads, by the young girls, and by the married, with a narrow strip of silk, or fine cotton cloth, twisted into a string as thick as a finger. To complete their dress, a pair of large gold ear-rings dangle almost to touch the shoulders; and, in consequence of their great weight, would tear their ears, were they not supported by a little strap of thin red leather, which is fastened to one ear-ring by a button, and passes over the top of the head to the other. The walk of these ladies is peculiarly majestic and graceful, and their whole appearance, although strange to an European observer, is far from being inelegant."

"A white cotton cap, neatly worked with different-coloured silks or worsteds; a close shirt of white cotton, with short sleeves, next the

skin, covers the body from the neck to the hips, and is surmounted by a very large one of the same materials, with long loose sleeves, not unlike a surplice; this descends below the knees, and is embroidered in the same way as the cap, about the shoulders and breast. The small-clothes, which are very roomy above, descend about two inches below the knee, where it is only sufficiently large not to be tight. This part of their dress is generally blue. They wear their hair cut close; and sandals or slippers complete the catalogue of their wardrobe." p. 52.

" With the rich, the manufacture of the country is replaced by India bafts and muslins. The Maraboos, and men advanced in years, wear white turbans, with red or blue crowns; occasionally a hat made of a sort of rush or grass, having a low conical crown, with a broad rim. When on horseback, or going to war, the large sleeves of their gowns are tied together behind the neck, being brought over the shoulders; and the bodies, which would be otherwise extremely inconvenient, from being very loose, are secured round the middle with a girdle, which at the same time confines their powder-horn and ball-bag on their right side, and their grigri or amulet case on the left. These are all suspended by strong cords of red, yellow, or green silk or worsted, and are crossed in the same manner as the belts of our soldiers. A dirk, about nine inches or a foot long, hangs at the right side from the running string or strap, which at the same time serves to tighten the trŏwsers above the hips. A single or double-barrelled gun completes their equipment in general; some of the princes and chiefs, however, add a sword, confined at the right side by their girdle, and one or two pistols which hang dangling in thin leather holsters, variously coloured, at the pummel or front horn of their saddle. One leather bag, to contain water, and another a small store of dried couscous for their own provision, together with a nose bag, and a fetter of the same material for their horse, make up the catalogue of their marching baggage, and are all fastened by leather straps to the back part of the saddle, which is at best a bad one, being chiefly composed of pieces of wood tied together by thongs of raw cow hide, and which, when wet, stretches so as to allow the wood to come in contact with the horse's back, and wound it in a shocking manner." (187.)

A sketch of one of those comfortable saddles is given in p. 324, in order to illustrate the sufferings of the infant slaves on a march, which Major Gray has so feelingly described.

In make and height the different tribes vary a little. Those of Fúta Jallon are described by M. Mollien (II. 179) as ugly, with a ferocious expression of countenance, and long hair, tressed in the fashion of the ancient Egyptians. Major Gray, on the contrary, says, (41,) they are of the middle stature, and well formed. The women are good figures, have a lively and graceful air, and prominent features, much resembling the European.

" The natives of Bondù," he says, (185,) " are a mixed race,

of the middle size, well made, and very active, their skin of a light copper colour, and their faces of a form approaching nearer to those of Europe than any of the other tribes of Western Africa, the Moors excepted. Their hair is not so short and woolly as that of the blacks, and their eyes are larger, of a better colour, and more expressive."

The government in all the Fúla states seems to be rather a sort of feudal republic, under the direction of a lord paramount, than a monarchy strictly so called. Fúta Jallon consists of the three lordships of Tímbo, Lábi, and Tímbí. Fúta Toro was governed by seven chiefs, when M. Mollien travelled through it in 1818. In Bondú, the sovereign is an hereditary monarch, but, as in all Mahomedan states, the succession is open to disputes. A nephew succeeded to the Imám Amadi, who died in 1819, though a cousin was the lawful heir. (Gray, 175.) Where the government is elective, the Imám is always chosen, says M. Mollien (I. 279) from the Murábuts, *i. e.* from the devotees. When this fact is combined with those recorded by Messrs. Laing and Gray, respecting the conversion and conquest of Fúta Jallon, we see at once the nature and origin of such monarchies. They were established by priests turned kings, though the religion which they profess acknowledges no priesthood. But the Mussulman wants a guide (Imám) in the performance of his devotions at the canonical hours, and therefore has recourse to some one noted for his learning and sanctity. Such a person soon takes the lead in the community, and becomes the spiritual director (Imám) of all, instead of a few; his legal knowledge—for law and divinity are one and the same thing among Moslems—makes him their *civil* guide; and if he have a spark of ambition in his soul, his zeal for the extermination of infidels will ere long make him also the *military* leader of his converts. Hence arose the *temporal* Imáms in Arabia, as well as Africa; and hence likewise the same title is given to the sovereigns of Sanâà and Maskat, as in Turkey belongs to the parish clerk of a mosque. The Imám of Fúta-Toro, however, takes also the lofty appellation of *Emíru 'l múminín*, Commander of the Faithful; but is not on that account the more respected by his turbulent electors, or the less likely to be deposed as soon as they wish to try another.

Besides the legal tithe (ez-zekát) of all agricultural produce, a transit duty is levied on all merchandise passing through the country, to the amount of about five pounds for every ass-load of European goods, which with the presents expected by the king and chiefs individually, amounts almost to a prohibition; a tithe of the salt brought from the coast; customs levied on vessels going up the river, and on the French factory at Bakél; together with voluntary donations from the suitors and servants of the

court—by no means the least valuable of the royal resources,—form the revenue of the Imám of Bondú.

His force amounts to 500 or 600 horse, and from 2000 to 3000 foot. As soon as the drum of war—a wooden bowl three feet in diameter, covered with a triple hide, one of which is believed to be human,—is heard, every village repeats the sound, and the whole country is quickly in arms. Each chief repairs with his followers to the capital, where a council of war is held to determine on the plan of the campaign. Every man equips himself as he can, and depends for his maintenance in the field on the fortune of war. If not decided in a few days, one third of the force at least disbands itself, but the negro warfare is commonly confined to sudden incursions, and attempts at plundering the enemy's villages by surprise.

The oldest traditions preserved by the Fúlas have nothing of the marvellous so common in the history of savages, and are reconcilable to known facts, though the silence of Leo Africanus and Ibn Batúta presents, it must be owned, some difficulties. The only authenticated part of their history goes back rather more than a century, (Laing, 401,) *i. e.* to the time of the introduction of the Mahomedan faith. In Fúta Toro that change was effected somewhere about the year 1790, by Abdú 'l Cádir, a Morábut from Másina, who persuaded his disciples to expel the Deliankés, their rulers, already hated on account of their tyranny and cruelty. Abdú 'l Cádir contrived to retain the power intrusted to him only for a time, during the remainder of his life; but since that period his successors have always been elected by the seven chiefs who form the aristocracy of the kingdom.

Fúta Jallon was originally inhabited by the Jallon-kés, whose native country, Jallon-ké-dù, lies to the south of Fúlá-dú, and to the south-west of Manding. They, as appears from their language, of which Oldendorp has given a vocabulary, (Geschichte der Mission der Evangel. Brüder auf den Caraïbischen Inseln, Barby, 1777, p. 344,) are a Mandingo tribe. A party of Fúlahs from the north-east, under the command of Mahommadu Saidí, settled among them in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and their chief acquired such wealth and influence, and made so many converts, that his successor, Músá-bà, persuaded the Jállon-kés to place themselves under his direction; and Abdú 'l Cádir, the fifth of his successors, was the reigning Imám when the British Mission was in that country.

With regard to Bondú, its long and bloody warfare against Karta is the only part of its history well ascertained. The hostility between the two nations was occasioned by the interference of the first Imám of Fúta-Toro, who marched into Bondú, in

order to attack some Kartans, who were flying from the Bambarrans. On hearing of his approach, they retreated from Galam, where they had taken refuge, into their own country, and in their way destroyed some towns belonging to Gedumáhh. The chief of the Gedumáhhás, a brother Imám, laid his complaints before Abdú 'l Cádir, and alleged that Sega, king of Bondú, had assisted the Kártans, carried off his wife and daughter, and, which was a much more heinous offence, destroyed all his books of devotion. The Imám of Fúta-Toro, having summoned Sega to answer these charges, tried and deposed him; privately causing a personal enemy of the deposed chief to be nominated his successor. Amadi Isata, however, a brother of Sega, succeeded in defeating the newly elected king, assisted by his neighbours in Kajága, Galam, and Karta, whose aid was purchased by an annual tribute of a múlo of gold.* Abdú 'l Cádir, in the mean time, had become unpopular, and the chiefs of Toro could not support him in his meditated incursion into Bondú;—so that after first retiring into Gedumáhh, whence he was soon obliged to retreat for fear of his old enemies, the Delïankés, and then returning into Toro, he was at last surprised by an overpowering force from Bondú, deserted by his followers, and shot by Isata, while counting his beads, and in the attitude of devotion.† (199.) Isata was reproached by Modiba, king of Kárta, for this dastardly act, and reminded "of the noble conduct" of the Dámel of Kayór, (Park's Travels, I. 511-512,) and condemned to pay "as much gold as would fit in Abdoolghader's scull, when divested of its flesh and brains by boiling." In this instance, as in many others, we may observe how much the narrow spirit of Mahometanism has debased the genuine negro character.

The chiefs of Bondú, as soon as they ceased to want Modiba's assistance, leagued together, to guard themselves against the encroachments which, as a pagan, they pretended, he would certainly make upon the faithful. The king of Galam, however, refused to join the coalition; which made Amadi Isata, the Imám of Bondú, his deadly foe; and when the messengers from Kárta came to receive the customary tribute, they were murdered, by order of the Imám, who invaded Modiba's territories, as soon as he was joined by his allies from Kasson. This took place in 1815. The Kártans had at first great success, and got possession of Búlibáni; but through the avarice and mismanage-

* Compare this with Mollien's account of the tribute paid to the Moors, I. 275.

† This man is called Abdoul by Mollien, (I. 177,) who knew nothing of the particulars of his death. He converted the people of Kasson by a very summary method, in January, 1796, (Park's Travels, I. 118, 8vo. ed.) and afterwards received the memorable lesson from the Damel here alluded to.

ment of Modiba, they were driven back with great loss, in the beginning of 1817. In the following spring both parties, aided by their confederates, met near Tubáb-en-canè, on the southern bank of the Senegal; the Kártans mustering 2,500 or 3000 men, and the Imám of Bondú, nearly double that number. The latter was, however, completely routed, and his country laid waste in one of those murderous incursions, which usually terminate a negro campaign. Such was the state of things when the Mission entered the country, and though a peace was concluded between Kárta and Bondú, during Major Gray's residence in the latter kingdom, the mutual animosities between those states were too deeply rooted to be speedily extinguished; nor could travellers so equipped as the leaders of the British mission were, fail to excite the jealousy and suspicion of the rival chiefs, through whose territories they wished to pass.

The changes of level, soil, and productions in the different countries visited, are only incidentally noticed by Major Gray, and he rarely mentions the directions in which the rivers flow, so that little information, strictly geographical, can be collected from his work. We may infer, however, that almost all the tract between the mouth of the Rio Nuniez and Timbó is a hilly rugged ascent to the mountains behind that town, which appears to lie at no great distance from the highest ridges in the chain that divides the waters running northwards to the Gambia from those which fall into the sea to the west and south. The lowlands are well watered by numerous streams, probably joining the Komba, or Rio Grande; but the upper part of that stream is omitted in the map, and a chain of hills is marked between it and the track of the British Mission. The valleys are rich and productive, and in some places tolerably well cultivated; and though the mountains rise abruptly immediately beyond the Dunso, the intervening levels seem to be more extensive and populous. The hills abound in minerals, particularly iron, some specimens of which, brought home by M. Mollien, proved, on examination, to be of an excellent quality. (Voyages, II. 283.)

The Gambia, in the lower part of its course, runs through an alluvial and richly wooded valley, (47,) bounded by a range of heights parallel with it, and consisting of clay and sandstone. Further up the river, masses of iron-stone, sometimes "in the form of large rocks," (57,) appear; and "the blacksmiths of the country say that the iron procured from them is more malleable than" ours.

Cotton and indigo plantations are found in the more favourable situations, and show the *capabilities* of the country under a better system. At Kunting, more than two hundred miles from

the mouth of the river, the country begins to be diversified with hill and dale; and yellow clay, intermixed with quartzose pebbles, succeeds to the ferruginous sand and alluvial earth, with the latter of which it occasionally alternates. At Kassé, not far from the meridian of 13° W., the Mission quitted the banks of the Gambia, and entered the Sinbarri or Sinbáni woods; the soil was now a dark brown mould interspersed with white sand, and the country diversified by gentle risings. These, to the eastward, swell into hills of larger dimensions, where flourishing cotton plantations show the excellence of the soil. The ground rises, and the country improves in picturesque beauty, towards the districts midway between the Senegal and Gambia, where there is a table land "beautifully diversified by hill and dale, and thickly covered in every direction with small villages, in the vicinity of which cultivation appears to be carried on to a considerable extent." (122.)

On the west side of Búlibáni, the capital of Bondú, a range of small hills, running nearly north and south, is "composed of a dark brown stone, resembling volcanic eruption, and having a strong magnetic attraction." (122.) The northern declivity towards the Senegal is scarcely noticed; it may, however, be inferred, that it is rich and woody, and broken by gentle undulations.

The valley through which that river descends, closely resembles the country near the Gambia. Near Tuabo, the capital of Lower Galam, (in 15° N. and 11° W.) the river, at its time of inundation, reaches the neighbouring hills, which are moderately high and covered with trees. At the height of the flood, "it is impossible," says Major Gray, "to convey an accurate idea of the grandeur of the scene." (257.) A few miles to the north of Fort St. Joseph, the Senegal, "at Soman Kité, runs for some hundred yards over a shelving bed of solid rock, and to the north-east there is a chain of rocky hills." Isolated rocks, supposed by Major Gray (295) to be composed of granite, occur in the adjoining plains; and, twenty-five or thirty miles further east, there is "a high range of rocky mountains running north and south, said by the Kártans to be a continuance of those which break the course of the Senegal at Feloo, forming the falls of that name. Their western sides are steep, much broken, and very difficult of access; and their tops are flat table land, thinly covered with stunted wood, and in many places forming a surface of solid flat work, bearing a brown metallic polish, so smooth that the animals were continually slipping. The descent on the eastern side is scarcely perceptible, and, as one advances, the soil begins to bear a more fertile and less rocky appearance." (296.) Here, then, is one of the terraces which form an ascent from the coast to the higher levels in the interior. The plains beyond

these hills appear to be highly fertile, and those near the river are inundated from July to October. (299.) At the distance of forty-five or fifty miles to the east of the first ascent, "a rocky precipice occurs," extending as far as the eye can reach, in a north-east and south-west direction; "on the summit of which there is an extensive plain sloping gently to the east and south-east, bounded in all directions by high distant hills, and thinly covered with stunted underwood." "The soil is composed, for the most part, of a slate-like stone, in diagonal strata, resembling in point of colour the slates of North Wales." (311.) At Sanjarra (15° 30′ N. 8° 40′ W.) the ascent through the mountains commences. They consist "of a kind of slate, covered with shrubs, and in some places presenting the most wildly grotesque appearance." (316.) The descent on the eastern side, which is much less steep and rugged, leads into a rich and fertile country, where Major Gray was compelled, very much against his will, to retrace his steps.

Respecting the country to the south of the Senegal, some brief hints may be collected from Mr. Dochard's journals. Numerous streams flowing in a northerly direction, through deep and rugged beds, contribute to augment that mighty stream. Towards Jamu the soil becomes rocky, and beyond that town there "are several extraordinary high rocks, bearing in their form more the appearance of art than of nature." (143.) Beyond the Bá-fing the country is more open and elevated;—but nothing further is said respecting its appearance between that river and the Niger, which Mr. Dochard crossed at Cumeney, where it is nearly half a mile wide, on the 18th of February. The falls, a little way above that town, were then hardly passable from the small depth of water on them; and Manabugu, three days' journey above the place of embarkation, was the highest point at which the river was navigable. (255.)

The only remarkable vegetable productions which Major Gray has noticed, are,—1. "Some large trees resembling the horse-chestnut," of which the trunk is covered with large sharp protuberances in the shape of thorns, and the oval pods contain a silky cotton." (65.) This is probably the Bombax Ceiba. 2. A sort of tobacco, cultivated on the banks of the Nériko. "It is of small growth, and of a pale green colour, bearing a yellow blossom," and is manufactured into snuff. A larger kind also, more like the American plant, is cultivated there. This has "a white blossom, and when dried is used for smoking." 3. "The nitta, or locust-fruit; a kind of mimosa, very much resembling the tamarind-tree. The flowers are produced at the extremities of the branches, and are succeeded by pods similar to

those of a garden-bean, nine inches long and one broad. Each contains from nine to twelve black stones enveloped in a fine farinaceous powder, of the appearance of sublimed sulphur. Its taste is not unlike licorice-root powder, and when mixed with milk affords a very palatable and nutritious diet." (40.) Some of the soldiers who swallowed the seeds of the nitta were affected with sickness of stomach. This plant, which is strictly tropical, was found by Captain Clapperton in Haúsá; and by the Mission in great abundance near Panjetta, (in 11° 15′ N. and 12° 40′ W.) 5. Near Yanimarù, on the Gambia, he observed "large shady trees of the mahogany kind," (50,) and the "palm from which wine is extracted;" a little above that town, also, "a great number of the self-consuming tree." "We never," he adds, "saw any of them on fire, nor yet smoking, but their appearance would lead a person to suppose they had been burnt." The specimens of this tree sent home by Park, show that it is a species of pandanus. It is called fang-jani (self-consumer) by the natives; and a kind of mildew, which causes it to appear scorched, has probably given rise to the notion of its spontaneous combustion. (Park's Trav. II. 187. 8vo. ed.) 6. At Ganado, in Bondú, several sheep and horses were lost in consequence of their eating the leaves of the *talee*-tree, common throughout the country; but a strong poison, though it has a very sweet taste. Its bark is used by the pagan negroes for an ordeal, like the red-water of the Bulams and Timanis, and it is perhaps the mili of the Susú's. (Winterbottom's Sierra Leone, I. 130.) M. Mollien, when speaking of Conya Amadi in Bondú, says, (I. 311.) "L'eau de cet endroit que les hommes peuvent boire, est un poison pour les chevaux et les bestiaux; le voisinage d'un arbre appelé tali en est la cause. C'est un des plus beaux arbres que j'aie rencontré dans cette partie de l'Afrique; il est très-gros et très-haut, son feuillage est extrêmement touffu. Les nègres n'en emploient le bois à aucun usage." 7. Near Kirijù, in Kasson, there is "an immense forest of lofty ron-trees," a kind of palm. Of the medicinal plants, nothing is said, though it may be presumed that some valuable information might have been obtained, for "whenever the remedies made use of by the natives of Africa were resorted to in time, the disease," we are told, (140,) "soon gave way." Supposing those remedies (of which we hear nothing more) were not derived from any of the three kingdoms of nature, is it at all probable that the natives, who had intelligence enough to discover them, would have overlooked the more obvious productions of their fields and forests? To some readers a little detail on these subjects would have been a sufficient compensation for

less minuteness in the delineation of the belles and beaux of Bondú; such inquiries, moreover, would perhaps have helped "to wile the time away," which hung so heavily on the Major's hands. (141.) The plants collected by Mr. Kummer between the Cape and Tingalinta were lost; his sketches, also, and notes are, for the most part, too imperfect to be of use without the specimens referred to; so that only four could be engraved or deciphered: they are the Arum aphyllum, Tabernæmontana grandiflora, Strophanthus pendulus, and Pterocarpus Africanus, which produces one of the best kinds of gum kino, called kari. It is to the pen, and perhaps to the pencil of Dr. Hooker, that naturalists are indebted for this addition to their botanical stores.

The elephant and hippopotamus, monkey, wolf lion, and alligator, are almost the only quadrupeds noticed in these journeys.

Of the natives, the habits, peculiarities, and opinions are often incidentally mentioned. We have therefore here brought together the most characteristic passages, that the reader may be enabled at once to estimate the moral and intellectual condition of the Africans visited by the Mission.

At Kayé (53) the neatness of the huts, the dancing and musical propensities of the Mandingoes, their balafós, (a sort of harmonica,) and aptitude for commercial business attracted the notice of the travellers.

"I observed here," says Major Gray, (55,) "a sort of amusement, or rather inquisitorial exhibition, called by the natives kongcorong. It was thus:—a man covered from head to foot with small boughs of trees, made his appearance in the afternoon near the town, and gave notice to the young women and girls that he would pay them a visit after sunset. At the appointed time he entered the village, preceded by drums, and repaired to the assembly place, where all were collected to meet him with the music and singing. He commenced by saying that he came to caution the ladies to be very circumspect in their conduct towards the whites, meaning the men of the expedition, and related some circumstances with which he said he was acquainted, little to their credit; but, as it was his first time, he would neither mention names, nor inflict the usual punishment, namely flogging; he, however, would take advantage of the first opportunity which they would be imprudent enough to afford him. All he said was repeated by the girls in a sort of song, accompanied by the music and clapping of hands. Every one who had any thing to fear from his inquisitorial authority, made him a present; and I observed that not one of the girls withheld this proof of their fear of his tongue, or of their own consciousness of guilt. He remained with them until near midnight."

The Major may, perhaps, be thought rather too severe on the prudential liberality of the young ladies of Kayé, and it seems odd that he did not discover this mysterious censor to be no less a personage than the dreaded Mumbo-Jumbo (82. Moore's Travels, 40. Park, I. 58.)

While the party was encamped at Samba Konté, a lioness was killed in one of their hunting excursions. The native who first wounded the beast, was brought back to the town as a prisoner, with his hands tied behind his back, and he was met by all the women of the place singing and clapping their hands, while the carcass of the lioness, covered with a white cloth, was carried in procession, on a bier, surrounded by men shouting, discharging their firing-pieces, and playing all sorts of monkey-tricks. The natives, when asked why this man was treated like a culprit, replied, that, "As he had been guilty of lese-majesty in shooting the queen of beasts, he must be kept prisoner till released by the chiefs, who, knowing that the said queen was their foe, would not only release him, but give him the praise due to his valour." (143.)

The Gulukukko, a river running into the Senegal, a little to the west of the Bá-Fing, was 150 yards wide, and too deep to be forded at the place where Mr. Dochard reached its banks on the 31st of August, 1818. He sent, therefore, to the nearest village, six miles off, for assistance; but instead of canoes, the natives brought a parcel of large calabashes, the only ferrying vehicles they possessed. In each of these they stowed some articles of the luggage, and then "it was launched into the water, and pushed or rather dragged across," by two men swimming, one on each side of it. Those who could not swim were ferried across in the same way; supported by the calabash, of which they kept firm hold, and pushed forwards by the men swimming alongside of them. (150.) This contrivance, though not near so convenient or ingenious, is something like the rafts made of hides, with which Xenophon's men crossed the Euphrates, (Anab. I. 5, 10. II. 16.) and which probably gave rise to the keleks, or rafts made of reeds, and supported by inflated skins, still used on that river. (Otter, Voyage en Turquie, I. 148, 157. Macdonald Kinneir's Armenia and Koordistan, 478.)

Notwithstanding the bitter complaints made by Major Gray of the fraud, injustice, and unprincipled conduct of the Imám Isata Amadi, one event mentioned by him, shows that he is not quite free from prejudice. The market at Samba Conté was held under an Acacia, just outside of the British encampment; and as one of the soldiers was cleaning his rifle, it accidentally went off, and shot a poor woman through the head, who was sitting on the ground hard by counting over some beads, *i. e.* her money. (158.) As

retaliation, or a pecuniary fine in lieu of it, is authorized by the Mahomedan law, here was a fair opening for peculation and chicanery. But when the perpetrator of this accidental homicide was given up, Osmán, the chief of the village, told him not to be alarmed; for as "the thing plainly came from God, the Imám would certainly see that he was innocent, and pass sentence accordingly." And so he did; for his Alfa (Khalífah or deputy) or Cherno, who arrived on the third day, brought word, that as "the woman came by her death accidentally," the only thing required by the Imám was the purchase of a female slave, who should be delivered up to the chief of the village, adding, that he was sorry that the Major had "thought it necessary to put his child in prison." That the negro chiefs, by whom the progress of the Mission was interrupted, were interested and mercenary, and had very imperfect notions of truth, honesty, or honour, no one who reads this book can doubt; but that their views were so designing and hostile, or their professions so entirely devoid of sincerity, as the author seems from the first to have supposed, may well be doubted. He does not appear to have studied the art of accommodating himself to their whims and prejudices, nor to have felt much pleasure in keeping them in good humour. Some happy opportunities (167) of improving his knowledge of their habits and opinions were unluckily overlooked, nor can it well be supposed that he succeeded in making his own views (168) and intentions clearly understood.

Among the ignorant and illiterate, worthless and artful persons never fail to profit by the simplicity of their more honest, but weaker brethren. This is perpetually witnessed in our own country; where quacks and mountebanks and projectors and fanatics are every day to be found; but the worthies in Bambarra have outdone their rivals in Europe; having discovered that a hill in the neighbourhood of Kúli Korro, a town on the Niger, contains stones which preserve their possessors from all mischief, and would infallibly kill the man who dared to touch a person carrying one of them about him. All the vagabonds, therefore, of Bambarra, repair to Kúli-korro, where they are entirely secure from molestation, "and such is the dread entertained of this place, that the very name must not be mentioned in presence of the king." (155.)

That the Mahomedan negroes are not always unfeeling and fanatical, is proved by the memorable instances of Karfa Taura, (Park's Trav. I. 376-537,) and Asana Yira, king of the Súlimas (Laing, 228-523:) the Kártans, however, perhaps from being too near the ferocious Berbers of the desert, (Sahrà,) have lost the negro, without replacing them by any of the Mussul-

man virtues. When presents were to be sent to the king, they could not be received on Monday, because that was his majesty's *drinking day!* Bojar, his son, likewise, "always made a sacrifice of one or more days in each week to the ruby-lipped god," but was luckily, on those occasions, in high good humour. So much so, that in one of his visits to Major Gray, he not only brought a large calabash full of detestable, but potent beer, but sent for one of his sisters to cheer the Major's idle hours, and give him lessons in Bambarran. This was rather an embarrassing conjuncture, and all the Major's diplomatic finesse was required to extricate him from it.

"My want of gallantry upon this occasion," he says, (303,) "was remarked by all present; and I was asked if I had a wife in my own country, or if I did not think the one presented to me handsome enough for my acceptance. An effort to extricate myself from the repetition of such favours, and at the same time to avoid insulting her sable highness, obliged me to say that I was married, and dare not infringe the laws of my country, which punished with death any man who took unto himself more than one wife. This answer excited more than common remarks on the part of the prince, who said he had been told that white women were so completely mistresses of the men, that the whole care and labour of supporting our families deponded upon the latter, who dare not even speak to any woman save their wives. Another question of his, namely, should he come to England, would the king give him one of his daughters to wife? drew from me an answer of which I much doubted the truth; but which in this instance I must be excused for not adhering to, as it would not have been proper to hurt the pride of a man who appeared to possess not a small share of it, at least in his own way, and who thought he was conferring a high favour on the lady, let her be who she may, who might be solicited to partake of his royal protection."

The account of a council of war, held near the cantonment of the mission, at Samba Conté, where Major Gray's opinion was favourably received, (217,) and that of an assembly of the chiefs of upper Galam, held at Dramanét, on the Senegal, at which he was present, (281-286,) throw some light, on the civil and intellectual condition of the Mahomedan negroes, and should have been inserted here, had not this article been already extended beyond its proper limits. The debates, of which Major Gray has given an outline, prove, to borrow his own words, (285,) that "these people are far from being that savage, unsophisticated race of mortals, which they are by many supposed to be; and want but long and uninterrupted intercourse with enlightened nations, and the introduction of the Christian religion, to place them on a level with their more wealthy northern fellow-creatures." This

opinion acquires additional weight, from the unfavourable light in which the author had so often occasion to see the Negro character developed; and we cannot conclude our remarks upon Major Gray's narrative more appropriately, than by observing, that his freedom from any vindictive feeling reflects the highest credit upon himself.

His perseverance, in spite of every obstacle, in endeavouring to fulfil the objects of his mission, and the unaffected commiseration continually called forth by the sufferings of the slaves and captives, are as honourable to his resolution and humanity, as the readiness with which he gave way, where opposition would have only endangered the safety of his men, is creditable to his judgment and regard for their welfare.

Of the merits of Major Gray's style, our readers will be enabled to judge from the extracts which we have given. He has judiciously contented himself,—though the splendid periods of his preface, perhaps may have prevented some readers from discovering it—with transcribing from his journals the facts and observations as they were noted down at the time. There is one defect, indeed, by which his book is disgraced, but it belongs solely to the printer, and not to himself—we mean the incorrectness of the orthography and punctuation. The names are sometimes spelt in two or three different ways, almost in the same page; and sometimes are hardly recognisable on the map. Few persons would suspect that Diaperey was Japerey; or Dhyaje, Jaghee; Dyaghan, we believe, is the Joag of Park's map; for *Dhy* seems to have been substituted for the English *J*. In this respect, some blame must attach to the author; and it is to be regretted that he has given no vocabularies, nor other information respecting the native languages, in which, by the aid of M. Partarieau, he might easily have made a proficiency never attained by any preceding traveller. To that person, in fact, the singularities in orthography may be traced; for they originated with his master, M. Dard, Instituteur de l'Ecole du Sénégal, (Dictionnaire Français,—Wolof. p. xiv.) The use of an invariable system in the orthography of foreign words is exceedingly desirable; and when once explained, its deviation from our own is comparatively of little importance; but, if used without explanation, it only serves to embarrass and confound the traveller as well as the reader.*

* The African or Asiatic terms occurring in this article are all spelt according to Sir William Jones's plan, which gives to the consonants the same power as in our own, and to the vowels that which they have in the Italian language.

ART. XI.—*Sermons on Various Subjects.* By the late Rev. Thomas Rennel, B. D. Vicar of Kensington, Prebendary of South Grantham, and Chaplain to the late Lord Bishop of Salisbury. Rivington and Co. London, 1825. 8vo. 12*s*.

WE opened this work with expectations of considerable interest, and we have closed it with strong feelings of mingled satisfaction and regret. The excellent author, who has lately terminated a short but honourable career in our establishment, was one whose life and doctrine threw light upon each other, and both reflected credit upon the source from which they flowed. On this account, these sermons, many of them fresh from the master's hand, recommend themselves particularly to our attention;—nor, is it possible for those who knew him to recognise in their pages the principles and rules upon which his life was modelled, and his habits and affections formed, without the experience of many feelings, as agreeable as they are instructive. But the more pleasure we derive from this source, the more difficult is it to shut out the reflection, recurring at every step, that the work, now submitted to our inquiry, is the last monument of his earthly labours, and that the bright remainder of his course, so universally anticipated for him, is now irrecoverably a blank.

To those, indeed, who are disposed to carry their views beyond this transitory scene, his life will appear long enough for himself; for it was crowded with Christian labours, and closed in the serene assurance of Christian hope: but with respect to the public and to his friends, it is difficult to express how untimely his death appears, and how severely and extensively it will be felt. We, ourselves, are not without our share of this calamity, and if we were not deeply impressed with a sense of those higher interests which are involved in it, we could gladly indulge the expression of our regret, for the loss of one who was always friendly to our labours, and to whose learning and taste we had lately looked, as calculated to shed a lustre over this new era of our existence.—But when we remember how many ties of esteem, and tenderness, and affection, have been broken by his death—how admirable a course of actual usefulness has been arrested, and how many brilliant hopes, justly and fondly cherished, have been frustrated—when we reflect that a venerable parent, bereaved of his best stay, has been doomed by an inversion of the order of nature, to follow to the grave an affectionate and accomplished son—that a populous and extensive parish

have lost, in him, a faithful teacher, and an example of godly life—the church of England, a rational and judicious, but watchful and zealous, friend—and Christianity itself, an able advocate and expositor—our own feelings are absorbed in these deeper griefs, and we are disposed rather to take refuge for a while in the consideration of those leading features of his character, which, as they are honourable and hopeful to himself, so are they calculated to afford the best consolation to all who lament his loss. We trust to the indulgence of our readers, to excuse this brief memorial of our respect; and sure we are, that these sermons wherever they may find their way, will be read with more interest as well as more improvement, when it is known from what a mind they came.

Distinguished in his early years by a rapid progress in classical literature, in which he bore away, both at Eton and at Cambridge, many contested honours, he was still more remarkable afterwards for the entire and conscientious devotion of his highly cultivated mind to the studies and pursuits connected with that sacred profession, which had early been the object of his choice. To him the great masters of ancient wisdom and philosophy, with all their excellencies and defects, were, to use his own expressive language, the avenue and the portico of that sacred temple of the holy scriptures, in which he afterwards offered continually the first fruits of his health and strength upon the altar of his Redeemer. Nor was his merit suffered, for a moment, to languish in obscurity. His father's station and acquirements smoothed his introduction to the church, and his own industry and talents soon secured him approbation in it. From the moment of his taking orders, the course of ecclesiastical distinction was laid open to him; he became successively assistant-preacher to his father in the Temple, in which office many of these sermons were delivered, examining chaplain to the late Bishop of Salisbury, and Christian advocate in the university of Cambridge. In all these situations, involving considerable responsibility, and requiring in a greater or less degree a union of classical and ecclesiastical knowledge, he acquitted himself with so much judgment and ability, as to lay the foundation of much higher hopes; and, it is more than probable, that nothing but his premature death prevented his arrival at the greatest dignity, which it is in the power of our establishment to confer. It was not, however, within the path of literary labour, however appropriate to his profession, or suitable to his taste, that the zeal of his Christian spirit could be confined. Capable alike of every part of the ministerial duty,

and intent upon higher aims than those of earthly eminence or reputation, he shunned no office, refused no task, which might contribute to their furtherance—least of all was he likely to decline the useful and important duties of the parochial care, for which the kindness of his heart and the love of his profession rendered him particularly fit. Accordingly at an age (we believe twenty-eight,) when many would have shrunk from such a charge, and few, very few, would have been equal to it, he accepted at the hands of an eminent and judicious prelate the vicarage of Kensington, one of the most laborious and responsible cures in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. In the discharge of this duty he continued with unabating assiduity till his death, and his conduct amply justified the wisdom of the choice. In every part of his varied labours, the difficulty and delicacy of which can only be estimated by one who has experienced a similar charge, he set forth the excellency of the gospel, and upheld the credit of the church. As a preacher, he was every where approved, but particularly in his parochial church, where the flow of his mind was more free, and his personal influence more extensively felt. Animated, eloquent, and sensible—but, above all, earnest and sincere, he could scarcely fail of impressing upon others the truths which he felt himself; while his frequent forcible appeals to the consciences of his hearers (specimens of which will be found in these sermons), must have been powerful instruments in his hands, for instilling the terrors or inspiring the hopes of the gospel. Nor was he less remarkable for the prudence of his conduct, and the benevolence of his pastoral care. In the significant and comprehensive language of the apostle, he let no man despise his youth; and the deep regret still felt for him in his extensive parish, and the respect borne for his memory, by all ranks and degrees, within it, will best testify how high he stood when living, in their affection and esteem.

His published works, which appeared at intervals during the whole period of his ministry, breathe throughout the same Christian spirit that informed and directed his active life. That they are, for the most part, controversial, may be accounted for, partly from his office of Christian advocate, which imposed it upon him as a duty, and partly from his anxiety for religious truth, which made it his inclination to oppose every speculation set afloat (no matter upon what authority,) on the public mind, that was calculated to weaken the influence or to injure the integrity of the Christian faith. For such inquiries, the acuteness of his mind, as well as the character of his studies, rendered him highly competent; and as if sensible of the frail tenure by which he

held his existence, he seemed more anxious to give value to the passing hour by a prompt exertion of his faculties, wherever the sacred cause, we have mentioned, appeared to be at stake, than to aspire after more important labours by depending upon future years. But he had nothing in him of a controversial spirit. At Kensington, he abstained upon principle from every discussion which was likely to generate dispute; and his controversial writings are not more remarkable for the gravity and importance of their subjects, than for their total freedom from intolerance and bigotry, and, above all, from personality and abuse.

In truth, though the causes which gave birth to these discussions were temporary, not so, we trust, will be the results; for many of his tracts are drawn up with so much learning and acuteness, and contain matter of such perpetual use and application, that they will probably live with posterity when the occasions which called them forth shall be forgotten. His first work, published under the denomination of a "Student in Divinity," and entitled "Animadversions on the Unitarian Translation, &c. of the New Testament," was written before he was twenty-four years of age. His "Remarks on Scepticism," especially as it is connected with the subjects of organization and life, in answer to Mr. Bichat, and Mr. Lawrence—and his "Letter to Mr. Brougham upon his Durham Speech," &c. &c. the best and the most esteemed of his controversial works, were both composed amidst the labours of his cure at Kensington; and his last work, a new edition of "Munter's Narrative of the Conversion and Death of Struensee," to which his high opinion may haply add currency and value, was a solemn and appropriate legacy to the world, under the impression of his fatal illness, when his parochial labours had necessarily ceased; thus, in the language of the apostle, "not counting his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." But these writings, with others, equally acknowledged though not mentioned here, did not constitute the whole, nor perhaps the greater part of his literary labours during this period. Sensible of the prodigious influence exercised by the periodical press upon the public mind, his assistance was easily procured for every journal in which good morals and sound religious principles were advocated. Upon this principle he was, for some years, the editor of the "British Critic;" in which capacity he contributed largely in various ways, to its reputation and success; and to the latest year of his life he wrote occasionally for the "Christian Remembrancer," in whose pages several of these sermons will be found. Nor should it be forgotten, that

amidst all these occupations, he preached and printed several occasional sermons, and also delivered the "Warburtonian Lectures," at Lincoln's Inn.

Such was the man who has lately been removed by the will of providence from amongst us, at the early age of thirty-eight; and such the labours with which his youth was honoured, and his death was crowned. Of him it may be said in the words of the wise man—"he being made perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time, for his soul pleased the Lord; therefore hastened he to take him away from among the wicked." But short as his continuance was, in no respect has he lived in vain. He did much good in his generation, and of the best kind too, and he has left a rich inheritance behind. To the church, in whose bosom he was brought up, he has bequeathed the best testimony of his attachment—the credit to be reflected from his labours, and the support to be derived from them. To his family and his friends he has left the remembrance of his virtues and his kindness, the blessing of his good name, and a full title to the balm included in the apostolic injunction, not to be sorry as men without hope, for those who sleep in God. To all he has left the benefit of his example,—a life animated by the spirit, directed by the precepts, and spent, humanly speaking, in the service of the gospel; and while his early honours and success will be an encouragement to our studious youth to enter early upon the labours of the vineyard, his untimely death conveys an awful but salutary summons to the indolent and careless, to speed their loitering steps, lest the eleventh hour should come and pass by them, before their task is begun.

Having paid this last tribute to the memory of the author, we shall now turn to the sermons before us, which we may, in the first instance, venture to assure our readers are of no ordinary kind. They are the genuine views and conclusions of an ardent and susceptible mind, coming to the study of the scriptures with a disposition to acknowledge their beauties and to receive their truths, and yet so imbued with human learning, and so instructed in the nature and grounds of evidence, as to be proof against credulity or superstition; and they possess stronger marks of originality, than can be found in most sermons to which we could refer.

In the management and application of his learning, there is displayed much prudence and good taste. It is neither obtrusive nor pedantic, but shows itself rather in the wide range and the classical turn of his thoughts, and in the soundness of his observations, than in reference and quotation, and is so happily blended and tempered with the rich materials of his mind, drawn from

other sources, that it requires some degree of learning to distinguish where and whence it is. Indeed, although the sermons were preached at different places and to very different audiences; some at the Temple Church, some at St. Mary's, Cambridge, a few in cathedrals, and many at Kensington, and are evidently drawn up with a view to the state of acquirement in each, yet are they composed with such a union of usefulness and intelligence, that while his learned audiences will read with pleasure, as well as edification, his parochial sermons, there is scarcely one of his more erudite discourses which may not be understood and turned to account by his parishioners at Kensington.

Another feature which recommends these discourses, is the manliness and spirit with which the leading doctrines and the mysteries of our faith are brought forward and discussed by him. In this respect he follows the example and advice of Bishop Horsley, who laid it down as a maxim, that the clergy mistake their duty, and only consult their indolence, when they avoid the mention of every doctrine which may be combated, and bury every text of doubtful meaning. We rejoice that Mr. Rennel has pursued, at proper seasons, this bolder track, recommended from such high authority; for, although it is not one in which every man is competent to follow with advantage, since, when such subjects are unskilfully treated, or lightly entertained, they tend neither to the peace nor to the edification of the church; yet is there certainly none on which learning and judgment can be more usefully employed. The more these doctrines are liable to be mistaken by the ignorant, misrepresented by infidels, or distorted by enthusiasts, the more reason is there that the views of good and able men should be made familiar to the minds of every intelligent audience, that they may not only be satisfied themselves, but have a reason to give of the faith which is in them.

In this view, the doctrinal parts of these sermons, which embrace most of the important tenets of the Christian faith, will be found exceedingly valuable. They are throughout rational, judicious, and tolerant; without exaggeration, as without compromise; clear and decisive in following the church, as it follows the scriptures, but never pretending to be wise above what is revealed. Above all, they abound in lively perceptions and pleasing views of the benevolence of the Deity, even in his mysterious dispensations to his creatures; and are thus calculated to awaken the best and kindest feelings of our nature, under the impression of objects which cannot be contemplated but in wonder and awe. Without claiming for him the confident strength and the dauntless ingenuity which distinguished the prelate already alluded to,

we need not hesitate to say, that there is scarcely any divine of modern times to whom we could more safely or more gladly refer, for an interpretation of the doctrines of our church, or an illustration of their tendencies, than the author before us.

A third advantage which will be found in these discourses, and that by no means an unimportant one, is the judicious manner in which the materials are measured and arranged in them. As if he had always kept in view the edifying object for which he wrote, that of ministering grace to his hearers, his sermons are neither too long to fatigue, nor too crowded with matter to perplex them. The points to be discussed, and the lessons to be impressed, are generally few and simple, though important, while the argument is clearly developed; and thus the main object of each discourse is made so transparent, as to possess all the advantage of divisions and subdivisions, without the repetition and formality attached to them. To these qualities we may add, a pure and lofty tone of morality, the highest sense of the importance due to the leading principles of the Christian faith, and a glowing and edifying spirit of devotion; without which the most studied eloquence, and the soundest arguments, address themselves to our hearts in vain.

To illustrate these remarks, we shall first direct the attention of our readers to a copious extract from the second sermon on the Athanasian Creed, including some excellent and judicious observations on the Trinity itself. This creed, which has been the subject of much misapprehension, has also been, we must confess, the cause of some uneasiness; and certain it is, that if the eminent divines of our church, professing as they do precisely the same belief, should undertake to draw up a formula of this doctrine, suited to the present day, and agreeable to the mild and tolerant spirit of our church, they would be content to express it in simpler terms, and to place it in fewer lights; and they would either abstain altogether from the damnatory clauses, or express the sense of them in such a way, as to prevent the possibility of those harsh constructions to which they have been liable. The fault, however, is not in the learned men who composed it, nor yet in the creed itself, which recording as it does the identity of our faith with that of the primitive Christians, is entitled to our highest respect; but in the numerous heresies and wild opinions in the midst of which it was composed, and in the necessity of guarding carefully by every variety of position and expression the unity of the church, against the confusion which these heresies would have introduced. Something, perhaps, is to be attributed to the hasty views and rash conclusions of the objectors themselves, who are not careful

to inquire sufficiently into the real meaning and intention of the terms; and are apt, as our author truly says, to imagine, that instead of being an exposition of the doctrine, it is offered as an explanation of it. But whatever may be the source of these objections, they are eminently entitled to our consideration, for they are connected with some of the best principles of our nature, and particularly with Christian charity; and as we are heartily anxious, with Mr. Rennel, "for the interchange of mutual concession, and for the unity and peace of the church," we are glad to present these observations to our readers, because they are, we think, admirably calculated to promote them. Before we quit this subject, we are desirous to remark, that besides that venerable commendation which this creed bears as a testimony of ancient faith, there is another important circumstance connected with it, which should entitle it to our care—and this is, that though the history of many of these heresies is somewhat obscure, and even the memory of others has passed away, it is difficult to affirm of any of them, that in the pregnant waywardness of the human fancy, they may not be revived. In such case, it is surely of importance to possess a barrier already erected at every avenue, and founded upon such authority, to oppose them:—

"The first objection generally urged against this creed is, that in attempting to explain what admits not of explanation, and to define what is incapable of definition, it is at once confused, obscure, and unintelligible.

"That the doctrine of the Trinity is beyond the grasp of the human mind to comprehend, is fully and universally allowed; it is ever to be at the same time remembered, that because it is *above*, it is not therefore *contrary* to our reason. We are not to refuse our assent to the truth of a propositon, if we ascertained that its terms include not an actual contradiction, because we are unable to comprehend its mode and extent. Every proposition respecting the attributes of the Deity, that is, every application of a finite mind to an infinite Being, is subject to this rule. We assert the eternity of God, although of eternity we have but a faint and unsatisfactory idea. We doubt not of the ubiquity of the divine presence, though of infinite space our notions are equally limited. Why then should we feel any hesitation in admitting as an article of our belief, that although the Almighty appears in three different and distinct persons or characters, in his dispensations towards man, these three are but the same self-existent Being, whose Godhead is essentially and necessarily one; or in other words what reason can be adduced why we should not believe the existence of one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity? There is nothing in the nature of the proposition that confounds the powers of our belief, though it defies the force of our comprehension. It is a proposition that is clearly to be deduced, not from a few insulated pas-

sages, but from the whole tenour of scripture, and the whole scheme of Christianity; it therefore demands our assent. Confusion only follows when we are anxious to explain the mode of its existence, when the temerity of man attempts to fathom the mysteries of the Godhead. 'He maketh darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him with dark water, and thick clouds to cover him.'

"In the first ages of the church, when the doctrines of Christianity were not the care of a few transitory moments, but the regard and concern of a whole life; in much piety originated much mistaken zeal, not less in the object than in the mode of attaining it. They refused to acquiesce in that dim and partial vision, which is the lot of mortality; they attempted to soar on the wings of idle and adventurous fancy to the heaven of heavens, even to the throne of God. An excess of forbidden light struck them with judicial blindness. In the darkness of a confounded intellect, they invented the wildest theories, no less absurd in their own nature, than scandalous to the common cause of the Christian faith; and it may be doubted whether the church suffered most in the purity of its faith, from the folly in which they were framed, or in the harmony of its establishment, from the enthusiasm with which they were propagated.

"To discredit and denounce the dangerous and destructive errors, which infested the purity and peace of the Christian church, to present an uniform, clear, and scriptural rule of faith to each succeeding age, the creed in question was first composed. It was framed, not to explain a doctrine which the human mind could never comprehend, but to guard its simplicity from the misinterpretation of wild and fanciful delusion; to expose the fallacy of a false account, though it may be beyond the power of man to render a true one. It was to correct the glaring absurdities of former heresies, of which those who are not conversant in ecclesiastical history can have but a faint idea, that many of the doctrinal clauses were added, and in opposition to these erroneous fancies to state the several propositions of the Christian faith. Each proposition taken by itself is in its terms sufficiently intelligible, and all of them together are but an enlargement of the first, that there is one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. Every proposition is but a different mode of stating the same truth, in opposition to the fancies of some absurd and heretical tenets. How the Unity exists in Trinity and Trinity in Unity is not, because it cannot be explained, nor is there a single proposition which attempts its explanation. If we could view it in this light, and consider every proposition respecting the Trinity, as but another mode of stating the first grand article, every obscurity would surely vanish, and however superfluous some of these might appear to be in the present age, none are difficult or unintelligible. We make a difficulty where we find none.

"The second and most serious objection to this creed in the eyes of many good and charitable men, is the doctrine contained in what are usually termed the damnatory clauses. Shall a fallible man, say they, frame his system of belief on a most difficult, and in some manner,

incomprehensible subject, and condemn to eternal destruction all those who differ from him in so tender and questionable a point? And shall the mild and tolerant church of England sanction such an unwarrantable temerity?

"It may not be improper to observe, that from the sixth century to the present day, it has been received by the whole western church, and with the alteration of one doctrinal cause, by great part of the eastern. When therefore the church of England is accused of intolerance in retaining this creed, the charge is equally applicable to nearly the whole Christian church throughout the world. It is true that this is no argument for its retention, but it is a point which is seldom considered, or is carefully removed from view, by the generality of those who make the charge.

"But the church of England claims no authority which exists in man alone. The validity of her witness is to be tried by a greater witness, even the witness of God. In her eighth article she affirms indeed, that the creed of Athanasius ought thoroughly to be received and believed, not as the work of a man, not on her own authority, but as it may be proved by the most certain warrants of the holy scripture. To every clause throughout the creed this assertion equally and unequivocally applies. Let us first consider what the assertion really is, to which we so strongly object, and then let, us consider whether that assertion is not warranted by the whole tenour of the Christian dispensation. When then we say in the strongest clause of the whole, that 'this is the Catholic faith, which except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly,' we cannot be supposed to mean, that every trifling verbal difference, on a subject above our knowledge, shall doom even the best of men to eternal destruction; this is contrary to our belief as sons of the church of England; it is contrary to our charity as Christians. But when words grow into things, when verbal distinctions, as they very rapidly do, grow into practical evils, when a man shall wilfully reject, insidiously undermine, or knowingly degrade any leading doctrine of the Christian dispensation, then is he amenable to this clause. The revelation of God to man, the glories and graces of the Christian dispensation, are not the objects of capricious sport, or idle contention. They are not to be received at pleasure, nor rejected with impunity. Those who have the power and the opportunity of ascertaining, of receiving, and of defending their truth, must, in reason, be answerable for their wilful rejection, or intentional corruption. 'God is not mocked.' 'What a man soweth, that also will he reap.' But even here we must remember, that God, not man, is the judge. And when the judgments of God are threatened, they neither are, nor can be, threatened absolutely, but with a final and essential reservation for the mercies of infinite wisdom.

"Thus then, when after a black catalogue of human crimes, the apostle declares, 'that they which do such things shall not enter the kingdom of God.' And when, in consequence of such declaration, we believe that the wages of sin is everlasting death, do we by this belief

exclude the prerogative of infinite mercy? The analogy holds good in both cases. Both in the trial of faith and of works, there are venial, there are mortal sins; and though we know the law is equally explicit in its threatenings against sin in general, we know that justice will be tempered by mercy, according to the judgment of infinite wisdom. When then we say that he who keeps not all this Catholic faith, without doubt shall perish everlastingly; we mean, that against a wilful rejection, or corruption, of any of the leading and fundamental doctrines of the Christian dispensation, the judgment of death in the scriptures is pronounced; reserving ever the exercise of that mercy, which infinite wisdom can alone with equity dispense.

"Is then this declaration in conformity with the whole tenour of scripture? Is the witness of man authorized and confirmed by the witness of God? It is not my present intention to multiply texts in its defence. He that will examine for himself will find the witness of God not only greater but stronger than the witness of man. He will find the most positive, the most awful penalties, denounced against the wilful rejection, not of one, but of every article, both separately and conjointly, of the Christian faith. Beyond this, there is no appeal. 'He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life, but the wrath of God remaineth upon him.'

"Such then being the witness of scripture to the essential importance of every article of our faith, it is surely neither useless nor uncharitable to prefix a solemn warning to their general profession. It is for us to apply to those general threatenings, such rational limitations as are most consonant with the whole scheme of Christianity; not to violate with trifling objections, nor resist with obstinate jealousy its doctrines, because they are apparently, and in form, the witness of man, when we find that they are really, and in fact, doctrines emanating from a higher authority, that they are even 'the witness of God.'" —pp. 23-31.

With the close of the third sermon on the Incarnation, we are particularly pleased. It is a glowing, pious, and eloquent expression of gratitude for our redemption—admirably adapted to support the old English Christmas-like feelings of charity, and kindness, and hospitality, at that season; but calculated, at the same time, to chasten the excesses which were apt in former times to accompany and to degrade them:—

"When therefore in the captiousness of human folly, we consider this adoption of our nature, as beneath the dignity of God, we measure God by ourselves; and because our mean pride will not suffer us to condescend to the weakness and wants of our brethren, we conceive, that the Majesty of God cannot be lowered to the infirmity of man. Man is dearer to God than to himself. It is ignorance alone of the divine attributes, that can consider them as debased by any act of mercy. The farther the rays of infinite goodness penetrate into this vale of sin and sorrow, the stronger is that body of heavenly light

from which they emanate. Let it not then be a cause of cavil and exception, that God should submit to a condition so infinitely beneath him. If we cannot fathom the measures of the divine mercy, the least we can do is to receive them with grateful submission.

" ' This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it.' As on this auspicious day commenced the revocation of the fatal curse. We celebrate the nativity of the world, not less than that of Christ; a new creation unto life, a regeneration by the spirit of God. By this stupendous incarnation of the divine nature, he made himself the Son of Man, that by no less a change in our nature, we might become the sons of God.

" We know the honest transports which the liberty of a single nation, redeemed from the grasp of a tyrant, excites in every kindred heart; and shall a less degree of holy joy be felt at the anniversary of that morning which gave freedom to the whole world, which redeemed generations past, present, and to come, from the bondage of sin, and the powers of darkness, which recovered for fallen man, liberty, life, and immortality. 'Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion, put on thy beautiful garment, O Jerusalem, thou holy city; shake thyself from the dust, loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.'

" Are the first glimmerings of peace to a bleeding and exhausted world, to be hailed with enthusiastic joy, and is that event to be received with less heartfelt triumph, which proclaims a reconciliation between a sinful creature and an offended Creator, a peace between man and his conscience, a peace of pardon between man and God— ' Peace I leave with you,' said our dying Saviour, ' my peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you.' These are the glad tidings of eternal rest in the city of God, ' Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise.'

" It was on this day that the root and branch of Jesse, the bright and morning star, did spring up above our horizon; ' though darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people, yet the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.'

" It is for us to consecrate this holy festival with prayer, with thanksgiving, with holy and triumphant joy, in the persons of ourselves, and of our brethren in Christ. As Christ took upon him our nature, let us resemble him, as he resembled us. As he was an inheritor of corruption for our sakes, let us be heirs of immortality for his. Sin and sorrow are inseparable companions not only in our pilgrimage through this life, but in our hopes and fears of the next. As then we would consecrate this festival with joy, let us adorn it with innocence. But if Christ descended into the infirmities of our mortal nature, let us also descend into the weakness and wants of our brethren. Is there an enmity that still rankles in our breasts, this is the season of amnesty and oblivion, as God in the form of Christ forgave us, so let us forgive the sins of our fellow-creatures. The very season of the year, and the climate of our land, seem in a peculiar manner to call our at-

tention to the wants of our poorer brethren. Relieve that Saviour who, as on this day, came into the world to redeem you, in the person of his afflicted servants; and believe me, that the cheerfulness of every accustomed relaxation, the pleasure of every innocent festivity, will be rendered inexpressibly more grateful by the thought, that you have shared your delight with your poor fellow-creatures, that you have made the hearts of the widow and of the aged to sing with joy. May innocence purify the pleasures of this season, and charity consecrate them to God,—and thus may you render it happy, by making it holy." —pp. 42-45.

Not less impressive are some of his observations on the capital doctrine of the Resurrection.

After explaining generally the difficulties which this doctrine was likely to meet with from the pride and sophistry of man, he speaks thus eloquently of its reception at the proudest seat of philosophy, Athens:—

"In proof of this assertion, let us for a moment turn our eyes from that opulent and luxurious city, to whose converted inhabitants the words of my text are directed, and behold the great apostle in a nobler scene, standing in the midst of the Areopagus, addressing himself no longer to the obstinacy of Jewish prejudice, or the ignorance of Asiatic superstition, but to the pride of Athenian literature, to the power of Greek philosophy. Within the walls of that ancient and illustrious city, were assembled those who gave law to the moral and intellectual world; within her schools were concentrated the rich stores of information gathered from every age and country. She was still the emporium of science; the academy still flourished, and in her groves philosophy still maintained her ancient sway. It was to this city, it was to the disciples and followers of those great masters of human reason, whose writings have challenged the admiration of every age, and are themselves, if duly weighed, considered, and studied, both in their excellencies and defects, the very avenue and portico to Christianity; it was to them that the great apostle proclaimed aloud the resurrection of the dead. The partial light displayed by the greatest luminaries of human reason, had neither itself dispelled the powers of darkness in their minds, nor taught them to look up with confidence to that heavenly light, which now burst in upon them in full lustre. When they heard of the resurrection of the dead, 'some mocked, and others said, we will hear thee again of this matter.' The intellectual indolence of the Epicurean fled with precipitation from a thought so fatal to his voluptuous ease. The stern dogmatism of the Stoic rejected with scorn what he never did, and therefore never would, believe. The academy perhaps would freely have heard him again of that matter, but it would have heard him only to have indulged the love of idle disputation, and to have repeated a system of sophistical objections."—pp. 58-59.

The next part of the work to which our inquiries will be drawn

is the series of sermons, delivered at Cambridge, upon the state of discipline in which the race of man, during this short portion of his existence, is placed.

In the treatment of this important subject, which comes home to the business and bosom of us all, the author has shown great judgment and ingenuity, as well in the views which he has taken of it, as in the arguments by which they are supported. To judge of these sermons, however, they must be well considered together as a whole, otherwise an imperfect opinion will be formed. But the chief circumstance to which we wish to draw the attention of our readers, is that in the worn and beaten path through which the subject seems to lead: the general line of our author's observations is very different from that of any of the numerous writers which have trodden it before him. With that nice tact already pointed out, for discerning all the forms and shades of that divine benevolence which is the true characteristic of the gospel, he has happily educed from the shifting and chequered scenes around us, new and fruitful lessons of gratitude and love. Taking it for granted that this life is a scene of discipline and trial—a position as clearly obtained by deduction from scripture, and particularly from the parables of our Lord, as if it had been expressly declared there; and perfectly conformable to the whole scheme of things around us; and presuming further upon the same authority, that it is intended to prepare us for heaven—but waving altogether the presumptuous queries, why man was submitted to any trial, and why he was not placed at once in heaven, as unfit to be entertained by us on this side the grave, and totally incapable of solution—he proceeds to show from the moral history of man, both before and subsequent to the fall, that the means prepared for this discipline were such, as it became perfect wisdom and perfect goodness to provide; that since the fall, the knowledge which has been vouchsafed, with the aids, the graces, and the motives supplied to us in the gospel, are an ample compensation for the evils entailed upon us in Adam, constituting an increase of means in comparison with the danger; and that while they have the strongest tendency to exalt and improve us under them, they display in vivid colours the grace and the kindness of our Creator. Finally, that in the rewards and punishments annexed to this scheme, and forming the completion of it, and particularly in the person of our Judge, infinite mercy is reconciled with infinite benevolence. The subject is closed in the fourth sermon, which seems scarcely finished by the author, with arguments and illustrations tending to show, that the difficulties in which our duties and even our speculations are involved, will be much cleared by scriptural views of the subject.

In the prosecution of such a plan, it was difficult for him to avoid treading occasionally in the steps of the author of the "Analogy;" and considering the nature of his argument, particularly in the second or third sermons of the series, it was scarcely desirable that he should do so; but he has made no slavish use of this author, and in the application of the principle for the attainment of his conclusion, he has all the merit of originality.

Under the first head, the objection to the supposed insignificancy of the trial to which our first parents were submitted, is thus answered:—

"In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances under which our first parents were placed, when this trial was instituted. They were alone, the sole inhabitants, the sole rational inhabitants I mean, of this lower world. Trials of morality or self-government, of justice or of benevolence, were totally excluded from creatures in their situation. Whom could they injure? whose property could they invade—whose misery could they neglect—whose happiness could they promote—whose reputation could they sully? Could they dishonour parents, or injure children? Could they be disobedient servants, or tyrannical lords? No. While they continued alone, all these relations, and the duties resulting from them, however necessary in a subsequent state of the world, could not exist in theirs—the passions of sensuality, of avarice, of malice, could have no field for exertion. They could neither envy, hate, nor covet, for they were alone, and all was theirs. One duty only remained, the grateful adoration of that Being, whose blessings, unalloyed with pain, had been thus showered down upon them. This was at once their duty and their happiness. The sense of gratitude, to make it of value, must have been expressed by some external action, or trial of its sincerity. And how could this be more properly performed, than, as they were placed in the midst of a garden, by singling out one tree as sacred to their Maker, by placing a prohibition upon its fruit, and by declaring that constraint as the test of their gratitude, and their allegiance. And what trial could we imagine not only more natural in their condition, but more easy of observance! Here was no previous passion to be controlled, no previous desire to be repressed. As this was the only law given them, its violation was the only sin of which they were capable. Of good and evil, generally speaking, they had not purchased the fatal knowledge. They could therefore, even in idea, conceive but one sin, the sin of palpable disobedience to a command of God; and this command attached to but one object. Nay more, the presence of the Almighty daily before their eyes, must have imparted awe to the proposition, and promptness to their obedience. Shall then the cavils of narrow-minded man presume to arraign the wisdom of the Almighty, in imposing a trial; not for its severity, not for its hardships, not for its cruelty; but for its ease, for its mildness, for its mercy: not for the difficulty of obeying, but of transgressing it. From our extended knowledge of human ill,

we can all figure to ourselves trials much more severe, prohibitions much more numerous, attended by temptations, which from the previous state of the passions, are much more irresistible. It is then at the very facility of obedience that we revolt. The mind of man cannot adequately explore the mercies of God; the more we contemplate them, the more infinite do they appear. What then could have suggested the breach of so simple and so easy an injunction? Not a natural appetite, but a moral motive: though the trial, by its very simplicity, showed the benevolence of God, it was yet of a very searching and probing nature, and thereby evinced the wisdom of him who imposed it. It was to try the understanding, the temper, the whole moral frame of the creature whom he had made in the image of his own mighty mind. 'Eat,' says the tempter, 'of the tree, and your eyes shall be opened; ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil;' or in other words, ye shall find that ye have been deceived by God; ye shall be no longer vassals of his power, or the creatures of his bounty; this God knoweth, and to prevent your independence and continue your servitude, he hath placed upon you this prohibition. How many points now of our moral nature, must these considerations have affected. Even these very propositions showed how high in the scale of intellect and of reason man was created. But the intellect and reason which the very temptation supposes, ought and might with the greatest facility have resisted the assault. Man fell indeed by the fraud of the tempter, but it was a fraud which every consideration of present happiness, of gratitude, of obedience, nay even of the very threat of the Almighty, ought to have detected and withstood. The offence was not from ignorance, or from negligence; it was the result of that contumacious pride, that faithless ingratitude, which induced them, and their guilty and lapsed posterity since, to transfer their allegiance from their bounteous and gracious benefactor, to the adversary, the tormentor, and the destroyer of the human race. Blessed indeed would have been our first parents, had they endured the temptation. The tree of life might have been theirs and their children for ever. Like Enoch of old, they might have been translated, without sin, without sorrow, and without death."—pp. 87-91.

The subject is delightfully supported through the second sermon of the series, and in the third, (p. 114,) the following observations occur respecting the punishment connected with the scheme:—

"In considering the consequences of this life, or the happiness or misery of another, we cannot but remark, that our life of trial is limited, our life of retribution is unlimited. The words of Christ himself upon this point are too decisive to be explained away,* 'They

* It is a singular instance of inadvertency, that the *words* here quoted are those of the Athanasian Creed, not of our Lord; though the declaration was repeatedly made by Him *in substance*. The particular passage intended to be cited was probably Matt. xxv. 46:—"And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but

that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they which have done evil into everlasting fire.' The eternity both of happiness and misery rests, in this and in various other passages, upon foundations precisely the same. Is it then consistent with the benevolence, and the justice of God, to inflict an infinite punishment for a finite crime? Yet in the world now before us we may trace an analogy which strengthens the notion. For one single deed, a man may, very early in his life, forfeit his whole existence, either by the sword of justice, or the natural consequence of his crime. One dishonourable act, committed perhaps in the precipitancy and inexperience of early youth, has hung a dead weight upon a man's character and exertions, through the whole of a long life. But after all, if infinite punishment were the consequence of any single finite act, we might have some reason for our complaint. But the Almighty searches deeper than the act, even into the very spirit and soul of man. Here is the source of the evil; it is the heart of man that is gradually corrupted and enslaved by habits that lead them to impenitence in this world, and to condemnation in the next. It is not against any single sin, the result of a natural temptation, but it is against the repetition of that sin, till by our voluntary act and deed it grows into a habit and perseverance, that the wrath of God is revealed. But here the consideration of a state of discipline comes in to our aid. A man is excluded from heaven and condemned to that state of misery, which such an exclusion of itself must entail. We are placed here to cherish and enlarge those habits, and those affections, which may prepare us for heaven, and follow us thither. If, on the contrary, we prefer the habitual indulgence of evil passions, can we wonder that those passions shall follow us to an eternal world? Our exclusion from heaven then is not to be ascribed to God, but to ourselves. If a man under the clear light which the gospel imparts, and the repeated opportunities it affords, has never admitted the thought of heaven but with indifference or distaste, if he has never so much as desired its enjoyment, can he justly complain of being excluded from the possession of it? In what our future misery shall consist, we know not. The expressions of scripture are very general and very fearful. It may be said, that a spiritual body, such as at our resurrection we shall assume, is incapable of pain. This may be so, but we do not by this supposition get rid of either the difficulty or the danger. There is a pain of the mind, as we all know, severer far than any that the body can sustain; this is the worm that never dies, and which preys on a wounded spirit; for putting our final misery even at the lowest, make it to consist only in an exclusion from heaven; do we lessen the punishment?"

We think it will be clear to most persons who consider this passage with attention, that regarded in the light of an answer to a

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the righteous into life eternal:" where it is observable, that the force of the sentence is much weakened, by our translators having unaccountably rendered *one and the same* word in the original, by *two* in the English, "everlasting" and "eternal."

particular objection, it is the least satisfactory part of the work; and that neither the argument from analogy, nor that founded upon the aggravated nature of habitual sin, approaches even to a complete solution of the difficulty he states. The case seems to be this; the awful decree of eternal punishment against those who die in sin is affirmed so frequently and unequivocally in the gospel, that it is difficult to reject it without doing violence both to the letter and the spirit of the passages in which they occur; but when we proceed to scan the principles upon which the sentence is founded, we find the ground upon which we stand to be much too narrow, and our views much too limited for any satisfactory discovery or conclusion. "Now we see through a glass darkly," and till that period shall arrive when we shall know even as we are known, it becomes us to receive the doctrine with humility, and when pressed with difficulties to remember the admonition of our Lord, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate." But were we disposed to reason upon the subject at all, it would be on a different ground; we should say, judging from scripture, that there seems to be something in the nature of sin more essentially hateful and hostile to God, than our own views of the ingratitude and disobedience of man, strong and vivid as they are, can enable us fully to comprehend; but not the less fearful to sinners on that account; this we think is sufficiently proved in the doctrine of the atonement itself; which must be considered not only as a merciful provision for the pardon of man, but as a satisfaction to the offended justice of God, thus exhibiting the necessary union of sin and punishment under the most awful view. And if there are men (as too many we fear there are) who knowingly and advisedly reject the benefit of this vicarious sacrifice, they must bear the curse of sin themselves; and how heavy and how lasting it is likely to be, may be in some measure conjectured from the nature of that atonement, by which the redemption of others was effected, the Son of God suffering the greatest agony and ignominy upon the cross. There is scarcely any limit under such a view to our estimate either of the offence or of the punishment. But after all, as our author afterwards justly asks,—

"Is there not enough revealed to leave in the breast of every individual, the fullest persuasion of the mercy and justice of God? Have we not, at this moment, every one of us the power, if we will use it, to revoke the sentence of condemnation, which we may suppose, and justly suppose, to be suspended over our heads? It is the same enemy of mankind, that whispers in his heart, as in the heart of his first parents, 'Thou shalt *not* surely die.' But did our first parents therefore escape? We know the consequences of the first fall, and may God grant that none of us may feel the misery of a second!"

From the last division of the subject, we extract the following observations, as illustrative of his position, that many of the obstructions and difficulties of our state are cleared away by regarding man as in a state of probation :—

" In the different ages of life we clearly see the hand of God by these several gradations, leading the soul onward, and preparing it for heaven; even in the earliest stage of the understanding, we find a soil peculiarly adapted for the reception of the good and evil, which should hereafter spring up into a harvest of immortality. ' Suffer little children,' says our Lord, ' to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.' The analogy between the growth of worldly and religious knowledge and exertion in the ardour of youth, and in the strength of maturer years, is too obvious to be here enlarged upon. But in age the analogy, in practice at least, generally fails. We speak of the calm repose of declining years, and of the satisfaction which every great and good man must feel in reviewing the exertions and the glories of his better days; and so he might, if he were really great and good. But too true it is, that all the weaknesses of the human mind at that season of life are constantly displayed, from the absence of those better powers, which in the previous stages of existence, to some degree at least, abated their influence. Disappointment, fretfulness, jealousy, and discontent, yet remain and increase, to imbitter the declining years even of the most prosperous, and to increase the painful consciousness of declining influence. It is true indeed, that as a compensation, providence has often added an apathy as to passing events, which serves in some measure, if not to mitigate the passions themselves, at least to remove the causes of their excitement. And yet perhaps in our minds, the remedy will appear more deplorable even than the disease. There is a feeling of degradation of our nature in old age, which, as rational creatures, we must allow and deplore. But here revelation comes in to our aid, and while it indicates the providence of God, affords a new field for the exercise of his mercies. Let us consider age and all its infirmities, not as the conclusion of our existence, but of our discipline; comparing it both with what preceded, and with what is to follow. Trace the steps of the Christian through every stage of his moral probation, and bring him in the full consciousness of having actively discharged every social, every individual duty, both to God and man, to the threshold of age; and then consider the natural effect of this stage of life, upon a mind so constituted and so prepared. The very infirmities of years remind him that his reward is at hand. He considers himself more and more as the creature of another and a better state, and under the gracious dispensation of God, the very apathy he feels as to the objects of his former ambition, enables him more effectually to prepare his soul for its eternal abode. Here then we see the mercy of God in allotting to age an inappetence for the objects which agitate the world around him; an inappetence, not only proportionate to the probable decline of power in this present world, but

especially adapted to prepare it for the world that is to come. But even with respect to present affairs, the soul of the aged Christian is not abandoned. In a mind thus daily under the immediate discipline for things above, and at the same time in a full experience of things below, there will generally be found a justness of conception, an enlarged and chastened view of the present world, to which in no previous stage of life, it has had the opportunity to attain. This it is which teaches even those in the vigour of their manhood and intellectual powers, to rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man.

"Thus, as creatures of probation, are we reconciled to the weakness and infirmity of years, observing the wisdom and benevolence of God in ordaining this last stage of our existence. To the Christian mind all the decline and desolation which are thought attendant on that period of life, are converted into springs of consolation and joy. We know that Christ will not cast us away in the time of age, nor forsake us when our strength faileth. One very important observation this view of the subject will suggest: if we see, as too often we *do* see, this last stage of our trial unaccompanied with the blessings which have been mentioned, it is because, in the previous stages of existence, the exercise of Christian discipline has been neglected or despised. In all the works of God, and especially in this his appointment of our earthly trial, there is a harmony and connection between every stage and portion of it. If we have neglected to take advantage of the previous portions of our life, we must not expect to receive the comforts and the supports which attend the latter. If in the trial of youth we remember our God, he will not forget us in the destitution of our age."—pp. 123-126.

His discourse on Providence, (p. 182,) which is continued in a second sermon, abounds with striking and eloquent passages:—

"If, then, the interposition of a special providence, guiding, controlling, and directing every event in human life (whether, according to our limited conception, great or small,) is to be deduced by the soundest conclusions of natural reason, as it was adopted and inculcated by the best philosophy in the pagan world; how much higher sanction will it derive from the light of revelation, when upon the same grounds on which we question the particular interference of our Creator, we shall call in question also the special application of the sacrifice of our Redeemer, the personal influence of the Spirit of grace, and the grand and perfect system of Christian salvation; which will thus be lowered down into unmeaning terms and empty generalities. Christ not only died for the sins of ages past, present, and to come, collectively, but he died for the sins of each man individually, as much as if he had died for him alone. If man applies not every hope and fear which Christianity proclaims, to his own peculiar case, if he feels not a personal participation in the great sacrifice of his Saviour, he

loses that vital and animating principle of faith, which, while it speaks hope and consolation to the soul, controls the passions, and reforms the heart. He who perceives not his own immediate interest in the redemption of the gospel, neither will he perceive his own immediate concern in the obedience which it commands; if he forms a weak and erroneous idea of that portion of the new covenant which emanates from the Deity to man, he will not form a juster notion of that part which is due from man to God. If, as the scriptures inform us, to every one is given a measure of heavenly grace; if to every faithful servant of Christ is promised the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, can we suppose that any moral action can be performed independent of its power, unseen by its wisdom, uninfluenced by its operation? The Spirit of God searcheth all things—it witnesses every struggle with the infirmities of our mortal nature—it penetrates into the secrets of the heart, for it is God himself. If again, as revelation informs us, we shall be judged according to our works, and our Redeemer himself shall be our Judge, can we in reason suppose, that any, even the most trifling thought, word, or action, shall pass unobserved by his wisdom, or unrecorded by his justice? As creatures of moral probation, not only are our deeds all numbered, but every circumstance in which we are concerned, of itself becomes a trial; and as such, it is directed and controlled by that Saviour, who watches over us in every struggle of temptation, in every pang of affliction, and will so order the chain of human events, as not to 'suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able to bear.' Here then as upon a rock the Christian takes his stand; upon the faith of the special providence of his Creator, his Redeemer, and his Sanctifier, he rests a sure and certain hope, during the troubled scene of this his earthly pilgrimage. He recognises the counsel of God in every event, however minute, however casual. Not a hair can fall from his head, according to the words of his blessed Lord, without the will of his heavenly Father. He sees the handwriting of providence in vivid characters upon every event which the changes and chances of this varying world disclose to his view. He acquiesces in every dispensation whether of pleasure or pain, whether of prosperity or adversity; not with the absurd belief in fatalism, or necessity, but in a lively and consoling faith; that however dreary and cheerless the prospect before him, every trial will be directed, every affliction mitigated, every casualty which can befal him controlled, by an infinitely wise and good Being, to that one great end of his moral government, the salvation of the just.

"To those who may feel inclined to dispute the superintendence of a particular providence over every action of their lives, and every thought of their hearts, let one question be put between God and their consciences—when are we most inclined to break forth into the impious declaration, 'the Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard?' When are we most apt to doubt the existence of a superintending providence? at those times I fear when we have most reason to desire its absence. When those hours which should have been dedicated to a better purpose, have been consumed in idleness

and frivolity, then it is we hope that the power of the Almighty will not condescend to the trifles of the perishable existence of this lower world. When we have abandoned ourselves to the dominion of our passions, to the indulgence of our sensuality, to the slavery of sin, then it is, that we would throw the veil of insignificance over our conduct; then it is, that we would believe in chance, or fatality, in any thing but the existence of a superintending providence; being well assured, that if it does exist, it will exist to call us hereafter to a severe account for our sins and iniquities here. Who is he that ever doubted that his prayers and praises would not come up as a memorial before the Almighty? Who ever doubted that every act of self-denial, of resignation, of patience, of charity, however minute, however casual, has met the eye of that great Being who is ever with him, and that it shall stand recorded in heaven against the great day of the Lord? He that is inclined to be sceptical on the subject of this superintending providence, let him ever act, as if it really did exist, and he will then lose every doubt of its existence."—pp. 190-194.

The sermon on the "Anniversary of the Sons of the Clergy," has been printed before, but we cannot refrain from quoting the following appeal to the laity:—

"Thus, then, in the connection of the clergy with the laity, and in the incorporation of the church with the state, do we find the strongest possible obstacle against the encroachments either of spiritual or political usurpation. An active, pious, and learned clergy will confirm the faith, improve the conduct, and engage the affections of their brethren in the laity: while a vigilant, zealous, and Christian laity will in their turn cherish the spirit, animate the labours, and give effect to the exertions of their brethren in the ministry; 'provoking one another to good works' and to the labour of love. If the laity do their duty, the clergy cannot neglect theirs. The co-operation of the laity places a most practical restraint upon any tendency either to indolence or enervation in the sacred order, and forms a salutary check upon the spirit of dissipation or secularity. Thus then from the united influence and affections of the parts, will the whole derive a permanent and steady support; thus will the peaceful empire of the gospel be enlarged, and the kingdom which is not of this world, grow and flourish in increasing strength.

"What is the character, and what have been the services of that portion of the Christian church, which, by the providence of God, has been established in our native land, it is not for the clergy, but the laity to testify. We are the ministers, they are the judges. With every allowance for the frailties and imperfections of our common nature, we trust that, as a body at least, we have not betrayed the high office and charge imposed upon us. We trust that neither the faith nor the practice of that pure and apostolic church, which was watered by the blood of our fathers, has suffered by the negligence or the degeneracy of their children. That holy fabric, which they sacrificed

their lives to raise, it is our hope, as it will be our glory, to deliver unimpaired into the possession of our own posterity.

"At no time has the church of England sought to aggrandize itself at the expense of the state, or to establish a separate and independent interest. Of the revenues, with which, from the earliest ages of its existence, it has been endowed, in our own days at least, it is not afraid to render an account. No mass of income is returned again into the country from which it springs, with more political advantage, none is carried into a more beneficial and wholesome circulation, than the revenues of the established church. Of no income, though divided among so large a body of men, is less expended in idle extravagance, less amassed in sordid avarice, or more bestowed in the great works both of public and private charity. In this respect, we trust that the kingdom of our English church *is not of this world.*

"If to have maintained the principles of national order and of public justice—if to have resisted the voice of clamour and the blandishments of popular applause—if this be the reproach of our church, well may we, in the language of the apostle, 'glory in our infirmities.' To whatever obloquy or insult they may be exposed, the sacred order, I trust, will never sacrifice the line of conduct which the gospel has marked out, to meet the ebbs and flows of worldly opinion, or the suggestions of secular interest."—pp. 282-285.

The effect of our humane, national exertions for the preservation of maritime property and life upon the minds and characters of seamen themselves, is thus happily described in his sermon before the corporation of the Trinity-house:—

"Secure then in the vigilance, and confident in the protection of a parental and a Christian country, the mariner goes forth with an intrepidity all his own. Conscious that he is the object of the most anxious concern, not only for the sake of his services, but of himself, he cherishes in his heart every tender and amiable feeling, which such a consciousness is calculated to inspire. This is the principle which unites in the character of a British seaman, qualities so apparently opposite in their nature and direction. The perils that harden his frame, soften his affections. With native ruggedness and contempt of danger, he combines the softest feelings of humanity and love. Proud as he stands in the moment of triumph over a vanquished foe, prouder still would he be, when the conflict is past, to save the life of that very enemy, even at the hazard of his own. Few have equalled the seamen of England in courage, none have matched them in benevolence and mercy! To the call of suffering, whether from friend or foe, their ears are never closed; they go forth in the spirit of their Redeemer, less anxious even in the very heat of battle 'to destroy men's lives than to save them.' The wonders of the Almighty in the deep impregnate their souls with his fear, and the Christian principles of their country open them to his mercy. The same 'God that maketh a way in the sea and a path in the mighty waters,' hath found 'a temple' for his spirit in the hearts of them that are occupied thereupon.

"It is not in the superiority of our naval prowess, it is not in the extension of our commercial resources, it is not in the almost impregnable fortress of our insular situation, that as Britons, we rest the hope of a solid and a lasting prosperity. The victories and triumphs with which our arms have been crowned, are but the gleams of a passing glory, dazzling the sight with a proud, but an unsubstantial lustre. Where are the nations, which in ancient and modern times held a rank in commerce and in arms almost as high as our own? Some are vanished from the face of the earth, and of others the remnants only and the ruins yet exist; the monuments, as it were, of departed greatness.

"Would we lay the foundations of a substantial and a lasting strength, we must lay them deep in the rock of Christian benevolence. Institutions which have the preservation, the sustenance, and the comfort of life for their object; institutions, which unite man to man, and man to God, form the only basis upon which we can hope to build a permanent superstructure of national glory. Upon these the favour of the Almighty shall descend, as upon the agents of his providence, and the instruments of his goodness. The voices of thousands and tens of thousands who have been rescued from destruction, succoured in distress, and supported in age, shall make their way to the throne of heaven, and shall call down a blessing upon these establishments of mercy, and upon the happy country in which they are cherished.

"Praised then be the God and Father of all, whose providence has guarded, and whose Spirit has animated our native land, who, while he hath founded her dominion on the seas, has established her mercy upon the floods. Whether it be at home in protecting the persons, the happiness, and the morals of her children; or whether it be abroad in restoring peace to a distracted world, may the policy and the powers of our country be exerted, as they ever have been, 'Not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' 'Walk about Zion, and go round about her; tell the walls thereof; mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses that ye may tell them that come after; for this shall be our God, for ever and ever; he shall be our guide even unto death.'"—pp. 301-304.

We have spoken of the high value attached by our author to the fundamental doctrines of our faith, and of the pure morality inculcated by him, and we cannot better confirm these remarks than by an extract from his Ordination sermon, (p. 14.) He thus forcibly and eloquently addresses the candidate for orders:—

"Thus, then, adorned with every moral excellence, supplied with every grace of learning human and divine, rich in that faith which is the concurrence of the understanding and the will, is he summoned to enter upon his high and holy office. His duties have been too seriously studied, his future conduct too long anticipated, to need either enumeration or enforcement from this place. To him as a Christian, as a son of our church, as a minister of the gospel, with peculiar force

is addressed the precept of the apostle, 'Whatsoever thou doest in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus.' He is called upon, not only to act upon this principle himself, but to inculcate it upon the consciences and feelings of others. Let every Christian virtue be enforced upon Christian motives; let him never forget the high and leading doctrines of the gospel dispensation, which can alone control, and counteract the influence of passion. Man cannot live without the name of the Lord Jesus, without the hopes of a Redeemer, without the assurance, comfort, and co-operation, from above; and if these living waters be denied him from the pure fountains of true religion, he will seek them amidst the turbid streams of enthusiasm and error. Most fatal, therefore, will be the neglect of the Christian minister, if he omits the urgent, the repeated, the full enforcement of this powerful and commanding motive. All exhortation, all precept, unless in union with this principle, is but a useless display of cold and artificial rhetoric. If the name of Christ be forgotten, in what name can he proclaim to the children of wrath, the glad tidings of pardon and peace? Under what authority can he sound an alarm to a sinful and infatuated creation? In the name of Christ he received his awful commission, and in the same name must that commission be executed. Is he fearful that his ministry will be branded with fanaticism, and his doctrine derided as extravagant? Let him beware, lest his very fears become the instruments of their own completion, lest his very dread of the increase of enthusiasm should add vigour to its growth, and strength to its cause. It is not in the refinements of philosophizing morality, it is not in the effeminacy of popular theology, nor in a mean compromise of every religious doctrine, that the church of England grounds her opposition to the efforts of fanaticism. He that would successfully oppose its spirit, in any stage of its progress, must take his stand upon those high principles, which are perverted and misapplied by it. He that would successfully point out the absurdities of error, must fortify himself strongly within the fortress of truth. It is on the neglect of Christian motives, and Christian principles, that fanaticism takes its rise. It is from their admixture with truth, that its errors gain and support their influence. When profligacy or indolence, disgrace the lives of the minister or his flock; when every article of the Christian faith is lost in oblivion, enervated by refinement, or lowered down to the standard of selfish and sensual practice, it is in vain, that they indulge themselves in idle invective against the extravagancies of enthusiasm. They themselves are the authors of its influence, and the ministers of its contagion.

"Let not our very apprehensions be the cause of our fall. It is not from the constancy of our faith, from the fervency of our zeal, or from the innocence of our lives, that fanaticism will claim us as its disciples; but from the application of these high and heavenly qualities, to the meanest and most earthly purposes; from the prostitution of the name of our Redeemer, to the promotion of the interests and the extension of a party.

"Let the Christian minister, undismayed, disclose the mysteries of the kingdom of God, as they have been revealed to man in the dispensa-

tion of the gospel. It is for him to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation and grace, upon the terms which God has been pleased to affix to them; it is his commission to teach his flock to hope without presumption, and to fear without despair: it is for him to bind up the wounds of the afflicted, and, in the name of his Saviour, to sanctify the sorrows of a broken heart. Let him display the promises of the gospel in all their vivid colours. The cross of Christ will shine forth with a light too victorious for infidelity to withstand, or enthusiasm to pervert.

"Such is the high and commanding ground upon which our church erects her standard, such the foundation on which her bulwarks rest, even on the name of Christ. Let not her towers be undermined, nor her strength diminished by an abandonment of this one predominant motive and principle; much less, while assailed by a combination even of the most contrary powers, let her walls be sapped by the stagnant waters of indolence and sensuality. Whether it shall please the almighty Disposer of all human events, long to preserve this his chosen Zion, as the repository of his faith, as the ark of his covenant, as a blessing on this favoured nation; or whether it shall seem good to afflict her with those tribulations, which, as a visible church, she is doomed to undergo; she will still remain in the hearts of those, who in the name of the Lord Jesus have thus dedicated themselves to her service: their veneration, their duty, their obedience to this representative of their Saviour upon earth, will upon this one principle remain unchanged, and their affection unimpaired. Though her fabric should crumble to the dust, they will still look forward with the eye of faith to that blessed period, when from the congregation of the faithful here below, she, in the persons of her children, shall be translated to the communion of saints above, when from her militant and afflicted state here upon earth, she shall reign for ever triumphant in heaven!"—pp. 14-18.

In the twenty-sixth, one of his Kensington sermons, the character of our Intercessor, that cheering and delightful subject of the Christian's contemplation, is thus treated:—

"Who then shall be our Mediator? Who shall be found worthy to take the charge of a perpetual intercession between God and man? God cannot intercede with himself, and shall man intercede with God even for himself, much less for his fellow-creatures? The glorious army of saints and martyrs were men even as we are, and equally need the blood of Christ to wash them from the pollution of their human nature, and to present them a pure and living sacrifice before the throne of God. Shall we flee to the host of angelic beings as our mediators and advocates? We know not by revelation, nor can we be informed by reason, whether they are capable of even hearing our prayers. 'It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.' By partaking equally of the divine and human nature, he is, according to reason, the most appropriate and unexceptionable Mediator that can be

devised between God and man. Being related equally to both, the balance of justice and mercy is poised with an equal hand. He therefore is the true medium and centre of communication, to pour down from God to man all the mercies and blessings, spiritual and temporal, from his kingdom above; and again, to receive, convey, and recommend to God, all the prayers and thanksgivings, all the sorrows and sufferings, of his kingdom upon earth. Again, who is so fit to appreciate the strength of our temptations, who can be so sensibly touched with our sorrows, as that High Priest who was tempted as we are, and 'yet without sin?' Through suffering he was consecrated 'the author and finisher of our faith;' in our suffering therefore he will ever experience the tenderest regard, for our afflictions he will feel the liveliest concern. What temptation has befallen us, the weight of which he did not sustain? What power of Satan has he not struggled with, in his glorious conquest over sin and death? Who then shall intercede for our sins and our infirmities, but He who hath encountered their strength? Who shall be our succour and refuge in our struggles with the world, but He the great captain of our salvation, who hath subdued the world, and led on to the paths of victory.

"When, then, the infirmities of our nature, the power and virulence of our ghostly enemies, the sinkings of our hearts, evince the necessity of an Intercessor and an Advocate; when Christ, 'who sitteth at the right hand of God,' is alone, because he alone can be, that Intercessor for us; an Intercessor, who by previous humiliation and subsequent exaltation, proclaims himself alone, the worthy Advocate of his redeemed people; what remains for us, but to approach in humble confidence to the throne of grace, and having a free access to God, cheerfully to present our oblation of devotion and duty, with the full persuasion that it shall be accepted; and amidst all the sins and sorrows of this frail state, to join in the triumphant exclamation of the apostle, 'It is Christ that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ who died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.' How shall we stand excused in the sight of God for the neglect of means so gracious, of an Advocate so powerful: our cause is in the hand, not of man but of God. How can we answer for the omission of a duty, so sanctified in its very performance? Whether in our private devotions we pour out the sorrows of a penitent heart before our Redeemer, whether we offer on the altar of our God the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the congregation of the faithful, by scripture we know that our offerings are purified by faith; we are assured they are accepted: and to the hopes of accepted prayer, the soul of every suffering Christian, even though afflictions gather round, though the fear of death may come upon him, may, as on 'the wings of a dove, flee away and be at rest.'"—pp. 333-336.

We would gladly make further extracts from the parochial sermons, if our space would permit; but we are tempted to offer one remark applicable to them all.

Besides their general usefulness, in which respect they cannot

be too strongly recommended, they will bear an exclusive value in the minds of his parishioners, from the many interesting and instructive recollections they cannot fail to revive there: but, excellent as they are, they will convey to the general reader, only an imperfect notion of the effect of his addresses from the pulpit, because in no case do they contain all that was delivered by him. Depending much, as we are told, upon the strength of his memory, and the ready flow of his expression, he was accustomed to reserve a portion of his discourse for those moments of inspiration which the solemnity of the scene, or the sympathies of his audience, might induce; and it is probable that some of the best and most eloquent of his addresses were those which came thus warm and unstudied from his lips, and have no other place of record, save the hearts and understandings of his audience. But they will not therefore perish:—great should be the consolation to the numerous class employed in that most important office of the parochial ministry; so important, that all others have been considered as valuable, in proportion only as they contribute to the due regulation and the reward of this—great, we say, should be their consolation and encouragement to reflect, that their lessons of Christian love, speeded by the grace of God, may be in reality as permanent and extensive as they appear to be fugitive and local. Received with meekness into the hearts of their flocks, they rest not there; but mingling in the endless combinations of human thought, they reappear under a variety of modifications and forms, are communicated from man to man, and propagated in a thousand channels to the end of time.

Here we must close our review. The length to which our extracts have been carried, will preclude the necessity of any further remarks from ourselves; and this is precisely what we wished: for, conscious of some partiality to the memory of the author, we think it fairer to refer the reader to the work itself, than to our opinion of it. One thing, however, it becomes us to add,—if the matter we have extracted should induce any one to believe that the good opinion we have expressed is not ill founded, we may assure him further, that he will not be disappointed by an acquaintance with the rest. That there should be some little inaccuracies and obscurities of style, some inadvertencies and defects in the matter, cannot be surprising, when we consider that the sermons, for the most part, never received the last touches of the author, not having been intended for publication; and that they have now been hastily committed to the press by the trembling and scrupulous hand of a parent, to whom has been allotted the trying but consolatory task, (for what can be more consolatory, when such is the subject matter?) of editing the posthu-

mous works of his own son; but, notwithstanding these defects, which it would be invidious to specify, the usefulness of the work is well supported throughout, and the tone of it quite as equable as is either pleasing or desirable. In a word, we cannot sum up our feelings more forcibly than by saying, that should our labours happily contribute to give a greater circulation to the work, we shall take to ourselves the comfortable assurance, that we have thereby done an essential service to the cause of Christianity itself.

ART. XII.—*Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Brown, M.D. late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.* By the Rev. David Welsh. Longman and Co. 1825.

THE subject of this article naturally divides itself into two parts: first, a sketch of the more important particulars in the life of Dr. Brown; and secondly, an account of his philosophical works, comprising an outline of the history of metaphysical learning, as it has been cultivated in Scotland since the middle of the last century.

Dr. Brown was the son of a clergyman in the county of Galway, and was born in the year 1778. At the early age of seven, he was removed by a maternal uncle to London, where he was placed at school, first at Camberwell, next at Chiswick, and finally at Kensington. He showed a strong turn for poetry when a very young boy, and excelled so much in the composition of verses, that one of his school-exercises, the subject of which was the death of Charles the First, was thought worthy of insertion in a periodical work of considerable reputation. His English education was of the greatest service to him, for he proved a good classical scholar, and continued through life to speak and read with a pure and very agreeable accent. Among his class-fellows at Chiswick, he was wont to mention with much affection the present attorney-general; and at the top of the list of his early friends he placed Mrs. Graham, the mother of the senior baron of the Exchequer, of whose kindness to him he retained the warmest remembrance to the latest hour of his existence. The influence which that enlightened person had upon his character, and the happiness which he enjoyed in her society, are very beautifully described in the introductory verses to the volume entitled "Emily," which is also dedicated to the same intelligent patroness of his juvenile muse:—

——— "Ere one feeble line
My youthful heart had dared, that heart was thine,
So warmly thine, that years of sager lore,
More skilled to prize thee, scarce could love thee more."

At the age of sixteen he returned to his native country, in order to pursue his studies at the college of Edinburgh. It is stated by his biographer, that when attending the class of Dugald Stewart, he found time to write "Observations on Dr. Darwin's Zoonomia;" an undertaking which led to a protracted correspondence with that ingenious but fanciful author, not much to the credit either of his temper or his liberality. But the most remarkable incident belonging to the history of Dr. Brown's college-life, is the formation of a society, called the Academy of Physics, of which the principal members besides himself were Messrs. Brougham, Horner, Erskine, Jeffery, Birbeck, Leyden, Lord Webb Seymour, and the Rev. S. Smith. The reader will not be displeased to be made acquainted with the objects of an institution which embraced the names of so many individuals, who have since risen to a distinguished place in the eye of the public. The first meeting was held in January, 1797, when Mr. Brougham proposed to the Academy a plan of business, which was adopted with a few modifications:—

"The objects of the Academy shall be,

"1. Pure mathematics, or the philosophy of quantity.

"2. Mixed mathematics, or the philosophy of motion and its effects, comprehending subjects in which the data are inductive, and the reasoning mathematical.

"3. The physics of matter, or the philosophy of body, in which the data and reasonings are both inductive.

"4. The physics of mind, or the philosophy of mind, excluding religious controversies and party politics. Mind is either general or individual; the physics of the former we term general politics.

"5. The history of events, opinions, systems," &c.

This "plan of business," it should seem, was not found sufficiently determinate and precise to confine the speculations of the members within due bounds. We perceive accordingly, that at a meeting holden in the course of the same year, the "Academy having taken into consideration the inconveniencies resulting from the want of general principles, which might be taken for granted in all physical inquiries, and from the free and unrestrained introduction of metaphysical points, on which the members, either from the strength of *speculative* or *practical* habits, or the abstract nature of the subjects themselves, can never come to an

agreement, judged it expedient to adopt the following principles, reserving to themselves the power of altering or modifying them as experience shall dictate:—

"1. Mind exists—a something, of the essence of which we know nothing, but the existence of which we must suppose, on account of the effect which it produces; that is, the modification of which we are conscious.

"2. Matter exists—a something, of the essence of which we are entirely ignorant, but the existence of which we necessarily believe, in consequence of the effects which it produces; that is, the sensations and perceptions which we receive by means of the organs of sense.

"N. B.—Under these two heads are excluded the suppositions of mind being a bundle of ideas, and matter a collection of properties, for a bundle of effects can never constitute a cause.

"3. Every change indicates a cause; but of the nature of necessary connection we are entirely ignorant.

"The Academy also exclude the following questions, to the effect of prohibiting any conversation on them, but without preventing the members from hearing of them incidentally, in papers not professedly on that subject, or taking for granted any opinion connected with them, as the foundation of a hypothetical train of reasoning.

"1. The question as to a First Cause, or an infinity of causes.

"2. The questions concerning the action and passion of mind, liberty and necessity, merit and demerit, self-love and benevolence.

"3. All general questions as to the nature of evidence; establishing as sufficient grounds of belief, besides the evidence of sense and consciousness, that of memory; that of abstract truth, whether mathematical or metaphysical; that of experience, or conclusion from what has been to what will be; and that of human testimony.

"4. Questions concerning abstract ideas, establishing that we have general ideas; that is, ideas of something on which a number of objects agree.

"5. The question of existence of rights."

We find, immediately after these resolutions were adopted, that Mr. Brougham was appointed to examine "Holcroft's Translation of Count Stolberg's Travels," and to report; and that Messrs. Brown, Lang, Gillespie, and Brougham, were appointed a committee to examine the strata of granite imbedded in schistus, in the banks and in the bed of the water of Leith.

The extract now given will show, in the first place, the kind of

speculations on which young men at Edinburgh choose to exercise their ingenuity, and display their reading; and also the very vague and incorrect ideas with which they enter upon their metaphysical researches. The language in which their rules and limitations are expressed, affords the most ample proof that the young philosophers of Modern Athens were grievously ignorant, as well of the boundaries of the science to which they meant to direct their thoughts, as of the powers of intellect which it was their business to employ in their mysterious investigations. They excluded from the number of legitimate inquiries, the *action* and *passion* of *mind;* that is, all the faculties which belong to the understanding, and all the sentiments which spring from ethical contemplation on the characters and pursuits of mankind. They rejected in like manner the very important discussions which respect the moral qualities of human action, merit and demerit, liberty and necessity, self-love and benevolence. What was there left, then, in the physics of mind, on which the talents and learning of the academicians could be exerted?

But this fraternity of wits succeeded at length in associating their names with the history of literature, in a manner much more imposing than could ever have resulted from examining into moral theories, or even from ascertaining the affinities of granitic strata to a schistose formation in the water of Leith. From the Academy of Physics sprung the "Edinburgh Review." Messrs. Brougham, Horner, Jeffery, Brown, and Sidney Smith, were the original contributors to that popular journal. Dr. Brown wrote the article which appears at the beginning of the second number, on the "Philosophy of Kant;" but as some liberties were taken with one of his papers by the editor of the third number, he immediately withdrew his services from the review, and could never afterwards be induced to resume his connection with it. Mr. Jeffery was not established as editor till after the publication of the fourth number; and it appears that the offence which alienated Brown was given by a witty rector of our establishment, who still continues occasionally to enliven with his jokes the heavy pages of the northern periodical.

The events of Dr. Brown's life, from the time that he entered college as a student, till he became professor of moral philosophy, present very little variety. At first he appears to have directed his attention to law, but imagining that the labours of the bar would prove quite incompatible with the pursuits of elegant literature, to which he was sincerely attached, he relinquished the hopes of eminence which opened to his ambition in the line of that profession, and with apparent inconsistency devoted his days of study to the less intellectual science of medicine. But it can

hardly be said, that he ever practised either as a physician or surgeon. He became assistant to Dr. Gregory, so far as to give advice to patients who consulted him by letter; still continuing to devote all his leisure hours to the charms of poetry, or to the minute analysis of thought and feeling, in the less alluring field of metaphysical investigation. At length, in 1810, his most ardent wishes were gratified, by his appointment to the ethical chair in the university of Edinburgh, as the successor of Mr. Dugald Stewart; whom ill health, and the desire to discharge some literary engagements, had withdrawn from the active duties of the professorship. Dr. Brown obtained universal approbation, as an eloquent and very ingenious lecturer; but his constitution naturally not very vigorous, was unequal to the toil of incessant study, and was observed by his friends to sink gradually under the pressure of that mental exertion which had become at once his business and his amusement. About Christmas, 1819, he found himself compelled to discontinue his lectures; and in the spring of the following year, he proceeded as far as London, in search of a milder atmosphere than that of Scotland, and died at Brompton, in April, at the age of forty-two.

Before we proceed to give an account of his philosophical works, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the progress of metaphysical learning, north of the Tweed, during sixty or seventy years before his volumes appeared.

None of our readers require to be informed, that the "Essay on the Human Understanding," by Locke, gave rise in England to a new era in mental philosophy. It is equally well known, that the scholastic errors which adhered to his system were, by Berkeley and Hume, made the foundation of a species of theoretical scepticism, which threatened to undermine the pillars of truth, not only in metaphysics, but in morals and religion; and, in short, in all the departments of human research, where belief is ultimately made to rest on intuition, or the authority of the senses. By the ancient metaphysicians it was assumed as an incontrovertible axiom, that nothing could be perceived but what was in the mind which perceived it; and hence it was inferred, that we do not in reality perceive external objects themselves, but only the images or impressions of them by which they are represented in the sensorium, where alone they become objects of knowledge to the percipient or intellectual faculties. Entertaining no doubt of their own existence, or of the existence of the material world, the disciples of Plato, Anaxagoras, and Antisthenes, regulated their theory of perception in conformity with this natural belief: and reasoning, as they imagined, from analogy, they satisfied themselves that, by some mysterious process which they never at-

tempted to explain, there were conveyed to the mind ideas or images resembling the objects of external nature; and that these images, as we have said, were not only the immediate and direct, but the *sole*, objects of perception, and the only medium by which the mind could arrive at the knowledge of matter.

Descartes, aware of the objections which might be urged against these conclusions, as assuming the existence of the material world, adopted the bold but very whimsical determination of founding a new system of metaphysics on the basis of absolute incredulity, and of admitting no conclusion in regard to the existence or properties of things which was not established upon the strictest and most formal deductions of reason. Admitting the theory of perception which was held by the ancient philosophers, that the mind contemplated all external things through the medium of ideas, he proceeded to establish, upon the ground of that theory, the main facts which the Greek metaphysicians took for granted, namely his own existence, his personal identity, and the existence of a material world. He began with sensations, of which consciousness supplies the evidence, and endeavoured to prove the existence of the things to which sensation bears a reference, that is, the things which are felt and perceived by the mind. I THINK, *therefore*, I am, said he; and I perceive ideas of things, *therefore* the things which I perceive have an actual external existence. In this way he proved, or meant to prove, what the ancients had wisely assumed as the basis of all reasoning—the existence of the percipient being, and of the objects which he perceives: and thus, while he boasted that he had put it out of the power of every reflecting man to doubt, he had just come from sowing the seeds of the wildest scepticism that has ever disgraced the annals of metaphysical science.

Mr. Locke, who followed the French philosopher in this department of research, adopted his leading principles, both as to the theory of perception borrowed from the Orientals, and as to the evidence or ground of belief which accompanies our sensations. But, in pursuing the same path, he arrived at conclusions which had not been anticipated by the sagacity of his master. Reflecting that the sensations of heat, colour, taste, smell, and all the other secondary qualities of body, have no resemblance to any thing material, he pronounced that in fact there are no such qualities in external objects; that they are merely sensations, and have no existence whatever, except in relation to a sentient creature. Being sensations, they exist only in the mind or sensorium of the animal which perceives them; and when they are not perceived, they do not exist. There is no heat in fire, more than there is pain in a knife: these effects respect exclusively the properties of

a being which can experience the sensations which arise from the proximity of an ignited body, or from the separation of the muscles by a sharp weapon.

At this stage of speculation, it only remained for Bishop Berkeley to show, that the primary qualities of body have no greater resemblance to the sensations produced by them, than the secondary qualities bear to their corresponding impressions: and from thence he inferred very logically, that we cannot possibly have any conception of matter; that the material world cannot be proved to have an existence; but that the only things which exist are sensations and ideas, together with the minds by which these are perceived. Like Descartes, the venerable prelate was satisfied that he had, by this process of reasoning, established on the strongest grounds the interests of philosophical and religious truth; that scepticism would for ever cease to agitate the faith of the pious, and to gratify the pride of the sophist; and that, as every one carried within himself the evidence of his belief, in the ideas with which his mind was stored, and in the relations which subsisted among these ideas, the reign of doubt and of error would soon hasten to a close.

It was reserved for the perverted ingenuity of Hume to expose the absurdity of these principles, by carrying them to their utmost extent. Tracing the footsteps of Descartes, Locke, and Berkeley, he arrived at the extravagant conclusion, that, as far as the light of reason is to be taken as our guide, we must admit that there is neither mind nor matter in the universe. His great powers of understanding, and the peculiar dexterity with which, by insensibly shifting the meaning of the terms which he employed, he appeared to remove the intricacy of the most complicated argument, gave to his system an apparent firmness and support, which filled good men with amazement as well as sorrow; they saw the dearest interests of the human race exposed to the attacks of a sophistry which truth itself seemed unable to withstand; and although they were convinced that the reasoning which supported so monstrous a conclusion could not be sound, they found themselves destitute of the means whereby to detect and expose its fallacy.

The philosophy of mind had reached this stage of error and confusion, when Dr. Reid directed to it the powers of his sagacious and penetrating intellect. The alarming deductions of Hume led him to call in question the principles of the ideal system altogether; for he was obliged to acknowledge, that if their premises were granted, all the conclusions drawn from the reasoning of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, must be admitted, however repugnant to the ordinary notions of mankind, and however sub-

versive of moral and religious truth. He states candidly, that till the "Treatise of Human Nature" made its appearance, he had never thought of impeaching the principles commonly received in regard to the understanding. "The ingenious author of that treatise," says he, "upon the principles of Locke, who was no sceptic, hath built a system of scepticism which leaves no ground to believe any one thing rather than its contrary. His reasoning appeared to me to be just; there was therefore a necessity to call in question the principles upon which it was founded, or to admit the conclusion.—For my own satisfaction, I entered into a serious examination of the principles upon which this sceptical system is built: and was not a little surprised to find, that it leans with its whole weight upon an hypothesis which is ancient indeed, and hath been very generally received by philosophers, but of which I could find no solid proof. The hypothesis I mean is,—that nothing is perceived but what is in the mind which perceives it: that we do not really perceive things that are external, but only certain images and pictures of them imprinted upon the mind, which are called *impressions* and *ideas*."*

Rejecting, therefore, the ancient hypothesis in regard to perception, he endeavoured to prove, that instead of perceiving external objects by means of ideas and impressions made on the sensorium, the mind directly perceives these external objects themselves; and that by an original law of our nature, sensation is constantly attended by the belief, that there is something distinct from it in the material world, by the presence of which it is excited. This obvious principle once admitted, the foundation of the ideal system, with all the sceptical doctrines which had been built upon it, could no longer be supported. The science of mind was immediately placed on the same footing with the principles of natural philosophy; and it immediately became evident, that the knowledge of our intellectual faculties could not be successfully prosecuted in any other way than by the application of that cautious logic, to which mankind had already become indebted for an improved acquaintance with the laws and phenomena of the material creation.

That Reid did not misapprehend the doctrines of Berkeley and Hume, might be proved at great length from the works of these ingenious writers. "We are percipient of nothing," said the former, "but of our own perceptions and ideas." "It is evident," he adds, "to any one who takes a survey of the objects of human knowledge, that they are either ideas actually imprinted on the

* See Introduction to his Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense.

senses, or else such as are perceived by attending to the passions and operations of the mind; or, lastly, ideas formed by help of memory and imagination, either compounding, dividing, or barely representing those originally perceived in the foresaid ways.—Light and colours, heat and cold, extension and figure, in a word, the things we see and feel, what are they but so many sensations, notions, ideas, or impressions on the senses; and is it possible to separate, even in thought, any of these from perception? For my own part, I might as easily divide a thing from itself." Mr. Hume again asserts, that all our *ideas* are nothing but copies of our *impressions;* or, in other words, that it is impossible for us to *think* of any thing that we have not antecedently *felt,* either by our *external* or our *internal* senses. He assures us, that nothing can be *present to the mind* but an image or impression: and that the senses are only the inlets through which these *images* are conveyed, without being able to produce any immediate intercourse between the mind and the object.

It admits of no doubt, that Mr. Locke himself conceived these *images,* or copies of impressions, to be the immediate objects of thought; all our knowledge of the material world being obtained by their intervention. He enters regularly into the inquiry, How bodies produce ideas in us? and "that," says he, "is manifestly by *impulse,* the only way we can conceive bodies to operate in." "If then," he continues, "external objects be not united to our minds when they produce ideas in it, and yet we perceive these original qualities in such of them as singly fall under our senses, it is evident that some motion must be thence continued by our nerves or animal spirits, or by some parts of our bodies, to the brain, or the seat of sensation, there to produce in our minds the particular ideas we have of them. And since the extension, figure, number, and motion of bodies, of an observable bigness, may be perceived at a distance by the sight, it is evident some singly imperceptible bodies must come from them to the eyes, and thereby convey to the brain some motion which produces these ideas, which we have of them in us."

Having stated the distinction between the primary and the secondary qualities of matter, he proceeds thus:—"From whence I think it easy to draw this observation, that the ideas of primary qualities of bodies are *resemblances* of them, and their patterns do really exist in the bodies themselves; but the ideas produced in us by these secondary qualities have no resemblance of them at all." The import which he here attaches to the word *resemblance,* as applied to our ideas of primary qualities, may be gathered from the following sentence, where he gives an account of the difference between them and our ideas of secondary quali-

ties. "Flame is denominated hot and light; snow, white and cold; and manna, white and sweet; from the ideas they produce in us; which qualities are commonly thought to be the same in those bodies that those ideas are in us, the one the perfect resemblance of the other, as they are in a mirror; and it would by most men be judged very extravagant, if one should say otherwise." "Methinks," he says, in another place, "the understanding is not much unlike a closet, wholly shut from light, with only some little openings left, to let in external visible resemblances or ideas of things without; would the pictures coming into a dark room but stay there, and lie so orderly as to be found upon occasion, it would very much resemble the understanding of a man, in reference to all objects of sight and the ideas of them."

We have given these extracts in order to show, that Locke, Berkeley, and Hume held, to its full extent, the ancient doctrine in regard to perception, and believed that the only intercourse which the mind is capable of maintaining, with external nature, is that which takes place in the sensorium through the medium of ideas; consequently, that the human soul does not contemplate external objects themselves, but merely their images, conveyed to it by the nerves, or some other part of the bodily mechanism; and hence that these authors lent the support of their powerful talents to the conclusion already so often mentioned, namely, that we can possess no evidence for the existence of the material world, but only for the existence of ideas and sensations in our minds.

It was the object of Dr. Reid's first and ablest work to undermine the foundations of that theory, which, after having reigned in the schools two thousand years, bewildered the speculations of Locke, Clarke, and Newton; and afterwards supplied to Berkeley and Hume the materials of a system which shook all the principles of human knowledge, and took away from the deductions of intellect, and even from the instinctive impressions of natural belief, the confidence and certainty which they have always been found to confer upon every sound understanding. The northern philosopher undertook to prove, that the human mind perceives, not merely the ideas of things, but the very things themselves; that it is not simply the idea of hardness which follows the touching of a table or piece of metal, but the actual sensation of a hard and extended substance, external to the mind: such sensation being always accompanied with the belief, that the object to which it refers has a distinct and separate existence, independently of our impression of its qualities. According to him, when we look at a house, it is the house itself which we perceive, and not merely the idea of the house, situated in what Locke would

have called the dark closet of the mind. In a word, our perceptions bear a direct reference to the properties of matter, and not to the images of these properties in the sensorium; and as all our perceptions are accompanied with an instinctive belief, that the objects whence they arise, have an existence independent of their relation to our minds, we enjoy the most satisfactory evidence that the case admits of, that there is around us a system of material created substances.

The labours of Reid put an end to the idealism of Berkeley and Hume. He showed, that the principles of their system were not only unsupported by any proof, but contrary to incontestible facts; nay, that they were utterly inconceivable from the manifest inconsistencies and absurdities which they involved.

Dr. Priestley, it is well known, took the field against the Scottish philosopher; not with the intention of proving that his views were dangerous or fallacious, but to deprive him of the merit of originality where his opinions appeared of any value, and to convict him of ignorance in regard to many of the tenets which he had impugned. Not content with tracing a close resemblance between the "First Truths" of Le Pere Buffier, and the fundamental principles of belief maintained by Dr. Reid, he asserted, that the latter had been all along waging war with a phantom of his own creation, for that the doctrines which he combatted were never seriously maintained by any philosopher, either ancient or modern, "Before our author had rested so much upon this argument," says Dr. Priestley, "it behoved him, I think, to have examined the strength of it a little more carefully than he seems to have done; for he appears to me to have suffered himself to be misled in the very foundation of it, merely by philosophers happening to call ideas the images of external things; *as if this was not known to be a figurative expression*, denoting, *not* that the actual shapes of things were delineated in the brain or upon the mind, but only that impressions of some kind or other were conveyed to the mind by means of the organs of sense, and their corresponding nerves, and that between these impressions and the sensations existing in the mind, there is a real and necessary, though at present an unknown, connection."

This statement betrays much ignorance or unfairness. It is impossible to open the volumes of Berkeley or of Hume without perceiving, at the first glance, that the account now given of the word *idea* is at complete variance with their ordinary use of the same term. Do not all the reasonings which were deduced by these writers from Locke's philosophy, against the independent existence of the material world, hinge on that very principle which Dr. Priestley affects to consider as merely an accidental

mode of speaking, never meant to be understood literally? Had the metaphysicians who wrote prior to the time of Reid, used the terms *ideas* and *images* as mere figurative expressions, his work would indeed have proved an absurd and most unseasonable interruption to the progress of sound philosophy; but so far was that from being the case, it is universally admitted among competent judges, that the *ideas* of Descartes and his successors were little else (at least so far as *perception* is concerned) than a new name for the *species* of the schoolmen;—the various ambiguities connected with the word idea, says Mr. Stewart, having probably contributed not a little to shelter the doctrine, in its more modern dress, against those objections to which it must, at a much earlier period, have appeared to be liable, if the old peripatetic phraseology had been retained.—The following passage from Hobbes will show what was the doctrine of his age, and throw light, at the same time, on the opinions which prevailed all over Europe, at no great distance from the era to which our observations apply:—

"The philosophy schools through all the universities of Christendom, grounded upon certain texts of Aristotle, teach that for the cause of *vision*, the thing seen sendeth forth on every side, a *visible species*, a *visible show*, *apparition*, or *aspect*, or a *being seen*; the receiving whereof into the eye, is *seeing*. And for the cause of *hearing*, that the thing heard sendeth forth an *audible species*, that is, an *audible aspect*, or *audible being seen*; which entering at the ear, maketh *hearing*. Nay, for the cause of *understanding*, also, they say the thing understood sendeth forth an *intelligible species*, that is, an *intelligible being seen*; which coming into the understanding, maketh us understand.—I say not this," he continues, "as disapproving of the use of universities; but because I am to speak hereafter of their office in a commonwealth, I must let you see, on all occasions, by the way, what things should be amended in them, *amongst which the frequency of insignificant speech is one.*"

The philosophy of mind cultivated in Scotland, since the time of Dr. Reid, may be characterized by describing it as directly opposed to the idealism of Berkeley and Hume. In this part of the kingdom, the opinions of Locke in regard to perception have likewise undergone a thorough reformation, though no work, avowedly on the subject, has been allowed to take place of his celebrated "Essay on the Human Understanding." The only system of metaphysics, or, more properly, perhaps, of *intellectual physiology*, which has, since the epoch alluded to, attracted any attention in England, is that which was brought forward by Hartley, Priestley, and Darwin; and which undertakes to explain all

the phenomena of mind on the principle of nervous vibrations and the association of ideas. But the doctrines of these writers have not acquired any degree of popularity. The tendency which they manifested towards the conclusions of materialism, excited against them, in the first instance, a well-founded suspicion: and the extravagance with which their leading speculations were afterwards defended, and pressed upon the acceptance of the learned world, left no room for doubt as to the unphilosophical nature of the views whence they sprang, and the pernicious effects which they could hardly fail to produce.

The system of Dr. Reid has been very ably illustrated by Mr. Stewart, in a variety of publications. Without implicitly adopting all the opinions of his master, he maintains, with much talent, the soundness of his general principles, and particularly those which respect perception and the origin of our ideas. Dr. Brown, to the consideration of whose works we have at length arrived, followed in the same track; using, perhaps, greater freedom in his strictures on the Glasgow philosopher, and modifying more extensively the conclusions to which his reasoning has been found to lead. Unfortunately, for the credit of metaphysics, the one half of every new book is employed in correcting the errors contained in the publication which came out immediately before it; and, what is still much worse, in order to be original it is only necessary to give a slight change to the meaning of a word. A whole system may be erected on the most trifling addition to the import of the most common term. On this ground, we find some discrepancies raised, in relation to the philosophical opinions of the three authors now named; and in regard to one or two points of considerable importance, Dr. Brown has chosen to espouse the cause of Hume, in preference to the less accurate deductions of his celebrated antagonist.

Of these points, the most interesting, as well as the most difficult, is the doctrine which turns on the relation of Cause and Effect. Hume's essay on that intricate question is well known to every reader of metaphysics; and no one requires to be told, that the sceptical notions which he contrived to introduce into the examination of our ideas respecting that relation, created a very general prejudice against such inquiries altogether, as being either beyond the reach of human intellect, or totally unconnected with any legitimate system of mental philosophy. It occurs to us, however, that the peculiar difficulty which that writer encountered, and the scepticism which he founded upon it, have not been accurately traced to their source. Hume does not deny, that we have the idea of *power* as applied to causation. He admits that it finds a place in every mind, from the rank of a

philosopher down to that of the most ignorant peasant; but as it is not possible, *on his principles,* to account for the generation of that idea, he is willing to regard it as nothing more than an illusion. Proceeding on the theory of perception transmitted from the ancient schools to Descartes and Locke, he remarks, that "it seems a proposition which will not admit of much dispute, that all our ideas are nothing but copies of our impressions, or in other words, that it is impossible for us to *think* of any thing which we have not antecedently *felt,* either by our external or internal senses.—To be fully acquainted, therefore, with the idea of power or necessary connection, let us examine its impression; and in order to find the impression with greater certainty, let us search for it in all the sources from which it may possibly be derived.—When we look about us towards external objects, and consider the operation of causes, we are never able, in a single instance, to discover any power or necessary connection, any quality which binds the effect to the cause, and renders the one an infallible consequence of the other. We only find that the one does actually in fact follow the other. The impulse of one billiard ball is attended with motion in the second. This is the whole that appears to the *outward* senses. The mind feels no sentiment or *inward* impression from this succession of objects: consequently, there is not, in any single particular instance of cause and effect, any thing which can suggest the idea of power or necessary connection." He concludes by stating—"We have sought in vain for an idea of power or necessary connection, in all the sources from which we could suppose it to be derived. It appears that in single instances of the operation of bodies, we never can, by our utmost scrutiny, discover any thing but one event following another; without being able to comprehend any force or power by which the cause operates, or any connection between it and its supposed effect. The same difficulty occurs in contemplating the operations of mind or body, where we observe the motion of the latter to follow upon the volition of the former; but are not able to observe or conceive the tie which binds together the motion and volition, or the energy, by which the mind produces this effect. The authority of the will over its own faculties and ideas, is not a whit more comprehensible: so that upon the whole, there appears not throughout all nature, any one instance of connection which is conceivable by us. All events seem entirely loose and separate. One event follows another, but we never can observe any tie between them. They seem *conjoined* but never *connected.* But *as we have no idea of any thing, which never appeared to our outward sense or inward sentiment,* the necessary conclusion *seems* to be, that we have no idea of connection or power at all, and that these

words are absolutely without any meaning, when employed either in philosophical reasonings or common life."

This reasoning viewed in relation to Mr. Hume's doctrines on the generation of ideas, is perfectly logical and conclusive. The idea of power not being derivable from any of the qualities of matter, primary or secondary, nor from the exercise of reason on any of our external or internal impressions, it followed naturally, according to the principles of the school in which he had learned his philosophy, that we have no such idea at all, and that the word expressive of it has, in fact, no meaning, either in scientific or popular language. The best and the shortest answer, therefore, that can be given to every conclusion founded on such principles, is to assert, that we find ourselves in possession of simple ideas, and fundamental laws of belief, which cannot be traced to either of the two sources from which Mr. Hume, after the example of Locke and Descartes, undertook to derive all the elements of human knowledge. We are so constituted that every effect we contemplate, not only suggests the existence of a cause, but also that quality in the cause which is usually described by the words *efficiency* and *power:* that is, we instantly attribute to the antecedent a property analogous to the character of the consequent, and measure the nature and extent of the former, by the phenomena which present themselves in the latter.

Dr. Brown in his "Inquiry into the relation of Cause and Effect" differs ostensibly from Mr. Hume, while, in fact, he conducts his examination on the same principles, and arrives nearly at the same conclusion.

"A cause," says he, "in the fullest definition which it philosophically admits, may be said to be, *that which immediately precedes any change, and which existing at any time in similar circumstances, has been always, and will be always, immediately followed by a similar change.* Priority in the sequence observed, and invariableness of antecedence in the part of future sequences supposed, are the elements, and the only elements, combined in the notion of a cause. By a conversion of terms, we obtain a definition of the correlative *effect;* and *power* is only another word for expressing abstractly and briefly the antecedence itself, and the invariableness of the relation.—It is this mere relation of uniform antecedence, so important and so universally believed, which appears to me to constitute *all* that can be philosophically meant in the words *power* or *causation*, to whatever objects material or spiritual, the words may be applied."

It is obvious that this is a mere description of certain circumstances attending causation, and that the author tacitly admits the conclusion of Hume in regard to the impossibility of forming any idea of power. The relation of cause and effect is resolved

into the constant and invariable sequence of two events. We are thereby presented only with the *occasion* on which our perception or belief of the relation is produced; but as to the nature of the relation itself, it follows that we know nothing, and cannot even form the most remote conception. That there is in the cause or antecedent the quality or power of producing the effect, is an inference which forces itself upon our understanding; but this inference when strictly analyzed amounts, perhaps, to nothing more than to the constant and invariable sequence which has been already mentioned.

Power, according to Dr. Brown, may receive exactly the same definition as *property* or *quality;* all the three expressing only a certain relation of invariable antecedence and consequence, in changes that take place on the presence of the substance to which they are ascribed. Power, property, quality, are, when employed in relation to physics, strictly synonymous. Water has the *power* of melting salt: it is the *property* of water to melt salt: it is a quality of water to melt salt—all these varieties of expression, says he, signify precisely the same thing,—that when water is poured upon salt, the solid will take the form of a liquid, and its particles be diffused in continued combination through the mass. Two parts of a sequence of physical events are before our mind; the addition of water to salt, and the consequent liquefaction of what was before a crystalline solid.—The powers, properties, or qualities of a substance, are not to be regarded then, he continues, as any thing superadded to the substance or distinct from it. They are only the substance itself considered in relation to various changes that take place when it exists in peculiar circumstances.—The qualities of substances, he repeats in another place, however we may seem verbally to regard them, are separate or separable, are truly the substances themselves, considered by us together with other substances, in which a change of some sort is consequent on the introduction of them. These are not substances, therefore, and also powers and qualities, but substances alone.—The sensible qualities, therefore, whatever they may be, and with whatever names we may distinguish them, denote nothing more than the uniform relation of antecedence of certain external objects to certain feelings which are their consequents.

We must acknowledge that, when the term *power* is used as synonymous with *quality* and *property*, the relation of cause and effect appears considerably simplified; for as we cannot in any instance separate the quality from the substance, even by an effort of abstraction, we see more clearly the reason why we cannot form the idea of power, except in so far as it may be resolved into the invariable sequence of one event upon the appearance of

another, with which it has always been connected. We seem somehow to have got quit of the mysticism which has been thrown around the word power, and to have found a resting-place for our imagination in the less complicated idea of an ordinary property belonging to an ordinary substance: and no circumstance, perhaps, could prove more strikingly that we had never attained any precise notion respecting cause and effect, than the discovery we have just made, namely, that a different word may be substituted for the one to which our supposed idea has usually been attached, and serve equally well to denote the metaphysical relation which that other had been employed to express.

It is true, then, that though by the very constitution of our minds we are led to infer from every effect we contemplate the existence of an adequate cause, we have not in reality any idea of power in a strictly physical sense; that is, in the two natural events which we denominate cause and effect, we perceive nothing besides constant and invariable sequence; nothing in the former that *must necessarily* produce the other. Our knowledge of causation is not derived from the argument *a priori;* nor even after experience in the most familiar cases, is that relation discovered by any process of reasoning; but it is, in all cases, the object of intuitive belief; an inference which forces itself upon us, so soon as we have exercised our intellectual faculties on the phenomena of the material universe. It is, therefore, perfectly correct to say that we have the *belief* of *power* or *efficiency*, but that we have no *idea* of either; a distinction which applies to much of that mixed knowledge, inference, and intuition, which constitute the furniture of our minds.

This distinction, however, has not been admitted by the author of Dr. Brown's life, who thinks it necessary to defend the Professor against a charge adduced by some of his antagonists, "that he denied there is such a thing as power, or that we have any idea of efficiency." Dr. Brown does not, indeed, deny that there is such a thing as power, but he does most assuredly deny that we have any idea of efficiency. Not perceiving the difference between believing that a thing or quality exists, and the having a *conception* of that thing or quality, the biographer proceeds to give an explanation of Dr. Brown's opinions, which, in fact merely strengthens the ground on which the charge was originally made to rest:—

"I am convinced," says he, "that nothing more is necessary than to refer the reader to the extracts I have already made from Dr. Brown's work, to show that the charge is entirely without foundation. He does certainly maintain that power is nothing more than invariableness of antecedence; but then in the course of his work, he states, again and again, in many varied forms of ex-

pression, that the very first time we see a sequence of events, we believe that in all similar circumstances, the same antecedent will be followed by the same consequent; that we believe this by intuition; that it is impossible for us not to believe it. Nay, he says in express words, that the mind is *originally led to believe causation in every sequence.* It is vain to say, if this be Dr. Brown's doctrine, wherein does it differ from what every other writer maintains upon the subject? that has nothing to do with the present question. That question is whether he did or did not admit of the existence of power, and of the idea of power? If he did not, then, with all the love I bear his memory, I should rejoice to aid in the prompt exclusion of so monstrous a heresy."

Mr. Welsh even goes so far as to maintain that, "it is altogether unjust to accuse Mr. Hume himself of denying the idea of power. In the 'Essay on Necessary Connection,' Mr. Hume certainly does state as clearly as language can express that we have an idea of necessary connection. Dr. Reid was the first who represented him as maintaining the opposite doctrine; and his views, I presume, have been copied by the writers who followed him, without their putting themselves to the trouble of consulting Mr. Hume's writings for themselves."

We are amazed at the ignorance which pervades the whole of this statement, in regard to fact as well as to reasoning. Mr. Hume does most assuredly deny that we have an idea of necessary connection, and Dr. Reid did not by any means misrepresent the doctrines of that author, when he ascribed to him the opinion now mentioned. After giving two definitions of a cause, Mr. Hume, in the second section of his essay, proceeds to remark that "though both these definitions be drawn from circumstances foreign to the cause, we cannot remedy this inconvenience, or attain any more perfect definition which may point out *that circumstance in the cause which gives it a connection with the effect.* WE HAVE NO IDEA OF THIS CONNECTION; nor even any distinct notion what it is we desire to know, when we endeavour at a conception of it. We say, for instance, that the vibration of this string is the cause of this particular sound. But what do we mean by that affirmation? We either mean *that this vibration is followed by this sound, and that all similar vibrations have been followed by similar sounds:* or, *that this vibration is followed by this sound, and that upon the appearance of one, the mind anticipates the senses, and forms immediately an idea of the other.* We may consider the relation of cause and effect in either of these two lights; *but beyond these we have no idea of it.*

Neither Hume, nor his pupil Dr. Brown, denies the existence of

power; but unquestionably if words have any meaning, they both deny the possibility of our ever arriving at the *idea* of power, or of pointing out in any cause, the particular circumstance which constitutes efficiency. The former author reminds us again and again, that every idea is copied from some preceding impression or sentiment; and that where we cannot find any impression, we may be certain that there is no idea. In all single instances, he adds, of the operations of bodies or minds, there is nothing that produces any impression, *nor consequently can suggest any idea of power or necessary connection.* But when many uniform instances appear, and the same object is always followed by the same event, we then begin to entertain the notion of cause and connection. We then *feel*, says he, a new sentiment or impression; to wit, a customary connection in the thought or imagination between one object and its usual attendant; and this sentiment is the original of that idea which *we seek for.*

It is manifest that the sentiment or impression here mentioned, is not that of power, or of necessary connection between cause and effect, but simply the feeling of a "customary connection in the thought or imagination;" and as every idea, according to Hume, is the copy of an impression, it follows that the idea in this instance, must be that, not of power, but of customary connection in the thought; which, as the same author observes, is the original of the vague idea, for which we endeavour to find a pattern or impression in the actual relations of physical events. For, as he justly remarks, as this idea arises from a number of similar instances, and not from any single instance, it must arise from that circumstance in which the number of instances differs from every individual instance. That this customary connection or transition of the imagination is the only circumstance in which they differ. In every other particular they are alike. It is clear, therefore, we maintain, that there is a very great difference between this "transition of the imagination," and the philosophical idea of *necessary connection* in cause and effect.

We are surprised to find Dr. Brown himself taking the field in defence of Hume, and insisting that the author of the "Essay on Necessary Connection" did not deny that we possess the idea of power in reference to physical causes. This surprise is increased when we call to mind that Dr. Brown has repeatedly stated that the idea in question could never be found where Mr. Hume went in search of it; and that the process which he adopted, and the history of the idea as given by the philosopher now named, were "altogether inaccurate and inadmissible." . . "The belief of power," continues the Doctor, "is an original feeling, intuitive and immediate on the perception of change; not borrowed from

any resemblance in the transitions of thought." Mr. Hume, indeed, speaks of the idea of power and of necessary connection, as he was accustomed to speak of other errors or prejudices which prevail in the world; but every one who has read his Essay must be satisfied that the result of his investigation, according as he chose to conduct it, was that neither of the bad ideas could be derived from the exercise of the intellectual faculties, and that they were only to be found growing out of a sort of mental habit, superinduced by custom; a source on which no reliance could be placed, and from which Dr. Brown himself assures it, the idea of power could not possibly proceed. We therefore continue to hold the opinion that Dr. Reid was in the right, and that the late Professor of Moral Philosophy and his biographer have extended towards Hume a species of candour, which is more closely related to charity than to truth. But to prevent mistake we take leave to repeat, that the sceptical essayist did not deny that the idea of necessary connection was entertained by mankind at large, or that he frequently alluded to it in his writings, as a universal, or at least a very general, conviction in uninstructed minds. We simply maintain that he regarded it as a kind of illusion or prejudice: that when he endeavoured to trace it in the principles of human knowledge, he confessed it was not to be discovered; and that he at length imagined he saw it originating in a quarter where, it is admitted on all hands, it could not possibly be generated. In truth, Hume himself was perfectly aware that, in referring the idea of necessary connection to the "customary transition of thought and imagination," he was making an indirect acknowledgment that such an idea had never yet been formed by the human mind, and that the word which expressed it was entirely destitute of meaning.

We do not urge these considerations with a view of exciting a groundless odium against Hume, or even of calling in question the accuracy of his general reasoning on this particular subject. On the contrary we are convinced that, notwithstanding some important mistakes, he conferred on philosophy a great obligation by the light which he diffused on the relation of cause and effect, and more especially by removing from the argument much of the mysticism in which it had been involved by former inquirers. We agree with Dr. Brown, that—

"The suspicion attached to his doctrine with respect to it, must have arisen from the general character of his writings, not from attention to this particular part of them; for since all are able to understand the words of praise or censure in which a general character may be conveyed, and few are able to weigh and appreciate the works from which that character has arisen, there are many who hate and dread a

name, without knowing why it is that the name should be dreaded, and tremble at the consequence of opinions which, if they knew what those opinions were, might seem to them as void of danger as their own, from which they have perhaps no other difference than of the mere phrases employed to express them."

The amount of the service rendered by Mr. Hume to physical science, will be best appreciated by those who are acquainted with the notions entertained relative to causation by some of the older philosophers, and even by several who lived at no great distance from our own times. The distinction of causes by the peripatetics into efficient, formal, material, and final; and into occasional, physical, and efficient, by certain modern authors, could have no other effect than to confuse language, and impede the progress of knowledge.

"In the system of occasional causes which formed a part of the Cartesian philosophy, and which was founded on the difficulty of imagining any mutual agency of substances so little congruous as mind and matter, the direct agency of these upon each other was denied in every particular case; and the changes which seem to be reciprocally produced by their mutual action, were ascribed to the direct operation of God. According to this doctrine it is He, and He alone, who, when light is present affects our minds with vision: it is He, and He alone who when we will to raise our arm, produces the necessary contraction of the muscles. The presence of light in the one case, and our desire in the other case, are the occasions, indeed, on which the Omnipotent Power becomes thus active; but they are instrumental only as occasions; and but for the direct interposition of the Almighty himself, in both cases, there would be no vision though light were for ever present in the healthy eye, and no contraction of the soundest muscles, though our mind were wholly occupied from morning till night in willing a single motion of the arm."

Dr. Brown has introduced many valuable reflections into this department of his subject, and exposed most successfully the futility of those distinctions upon which some authors, comparatively recent, have supported the doctrine of physical and efficient causes; which, as he remarks, are just the *occasional* causes of Descartes under a new form and denomination. There is likewise a great deal of very ingenious reasoning displayed, in the fourth section of the third part, on the certainty of physical inference, independent of experience, in regard to the inertia of matter, and the phenomena connected with equilibrium and the composition of forces. This, in our opinion, is the ablest and most original part of Dr. Brown's work, and assuredly displays a very rare talent for analysis, as well as a minute acquaintance with a very intricate branch of mechanical philosophy.

Upon the whole, the doctrines on cause and effect maintained by Dr. Brown, are those which were first expounded by Mr. Hume. There are three propositions at least for the clear enunciation of which we are exclusively indebted to the latter, and which constitute the groundwork of the system constructed by the former. First, That the relation of cause and effect cannot be discovered *a priori*; secondly, that even after experience the relation cannot be discovered by a process of reasoning; and thirdly, that the relation is an object of belief alone, and not of perception or of deduction. "These propositions," says Mr. Welsh, "so far as they go, contain what may be considered as the established creed of philosophers. But to these he added two other propositions, which, though in accordance with his theory of impressions and ideas, are by no means in accordance with the phenomena that he introduces them to explain. The first of these propositions is, that the relation between cause and effect is believed to exist between objects only after their customary conjunction is known to us; and the second is, that when two objects have been frequently observed in succession, the mind passes readily from the idea of the one to the idea of the other; from this transition, and from the greater vividness of the idea, thus more readily suggested, there arises a belief of the relation of cause and effect between them. In a very full examination of these two propositions, Dr. Brown has shown that the customary conjunction of events is by no means necessary to our belief of causation; and that from a single sequence, the belief of power often rises with irresistible conviction. And in regard to Mr. Hume's theory of the manner in which our belief arises, Dr. Brown has most satisfactorily shown that it is at variance with every fact connected with this part of our nature."

Besides the "Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect," there is in the hands of the public another philosophical work written by Dr. Brown, consisting of four volumes. It contains the lectures delivered to the young men attending the moral philosophy class at Edinburgh, during the ten years that he held the appointment of Professor. These lectures are printed verbatim from the manuscript found in the possession of his family after his death; and as they have deservedly attracted considerable attention, the following circumstances respecting their composition, will not fail to be regarded as an interesting morsel of literary history. "He seldom began to prepare any of his lectures till the evening of the day before it was delivered. His labours generally commenced immediately after tea, and he continued at his desk till two, and often till three in the morning. After the repose of a few hours he resumed his pen, and continued writing often till he

heard the hour of twelve, when he hurried off to deliver what he had written. When his lecture was over, if the day was favourable, he generally took a walk, or employed his time in light reading, till his favourite beverage restored him again to a capacity for exertion. His exertions during the whole of the winter were uncommonly great; and with his delicate frame, it is surprising that he did not sink altogether under them. For several nights he was prevented from ever being in bed; and upon one occasion he did not begin his lecture till one o'clock on the morning of the day on which it was to be delivered. The subject of many of his lectures he had never reflected upon till he took up his pen, and many of his theories occurred to him during the period of composition. He never indeed at any time wrote upon any subject without new thoughts, and those often the best, starting up in his mind. It gives an additional value to the printed lectures to know (and there is the most satisfactory evidence upon the subject), that nearly the whole of the lectures that are contained in the first three volumes, were written during the first year of his professorship, and the whole of the remaining lectures in the following season. In going over his lectures the following year, his own surprise was great to find that he could make but little improvement upon them. As he continued to read the same lectures till the time of his death, they were printed from his manuscript exactly as he wrote them, without addition or retrenchment."

It could hardly be expected that lectures composed in such circumstances, should contain a complete system of ethics, and of intellectual philosophy. Our confidence in the soundness of Dr. Brown's views is greatly diminished when we call to mind the information supplied to us by his biographer, that "the subject of many of his lectures he had never reflected upon till he took up his pen, and that *many of his theories occurred to him during the period of composition.*" But it should seem that in the metaphysical school of Edinburgh, novelty and boldness of speculation constitute the principal charm of the lectures. A theory, like a coach or a suit of clothes, must only be used for a certain time, and then give place to a newer fashion, or more splendid materials. The doctrines of Reid are superseded by those of Stewart, and at length comes Dr. Brown, who tells his pupils that those old gentlemen were mere blundering dreamers, and that they must receive the gospel of metaphysics from the inspirations which were regularly vouchsafed to him every evening after a cup of strong tea. The present Professor again declares, we presume, that he cannot understand Brown's infinitesmal analytics; that the speculations of his predecessor ascend far

above the transcendentalism of Kant; and that if the intellectual nature and moral attributes of man are ever again to be rendered intelligible, we must approach nearer to the earth, and take a more practical view of what the human being does, and feels, as an actual member of society. What becomes of the poor students during this random play of mental aërostation? Why, they gaze at the philosopher who is up for the time; and the farther he goes into the clouds they like him the better, and pass the the louder praises on his personal courage and the buoyancy of his machine: and when he comes down to let a younger aëronaut have his turn, they immediately forget his exploits, in admiration of the gas and silk which are about to darken the atmosphere, in a new voyage of discovery. It cannot be surprising, therefore, that we should agree with Hobbes, in the quotation given above, that among the things to be amended in universities, *the frequency of insignificant speech is one!*

We should not, however, do justice to Dr. Brown, did we omit to mention that there are in his lectures more ingenious reasoning, and a greater number of original views, than are to be found in any modern work with which we are acquainted. His various theories, even if they did occur to him for the first time during the period of composition, give proof of a very acute and penetrating mind: exciting, as we peruse them, a feeling of deep regret that he did not live to review his labours with the more cool and impartial eye of riper years, and prepare them for the press, not merely as discourses read to very young men, but with a more direct reference to the actual state of knowledge that obtains in the scientific world. A sketch of his system may be given in the following words. Confining the inquiries of philosophy to an examination of mental phenomena, as mere states of the mind, without attempting to unfold the nature of the thinking and feeling principle itself, he divides our intellectual and sensitive impressions into these classes and orders:—

"Of these states or affections of mind, when we consider them in all their variety, there is one physical distinction that cannot fail to strike us. Some of them arise in consequence of the operation of external things—the others, in consequence of mere previous feelings of the mind itself.

"In this difference, then, of their antecedents, we have a ground of primary division. The phenomena may be arranged as of two classes, the external affections of the mind, the internal affections of the mind.

"The former of these classes admits of very easy subdivision, according to the bodily organs affected. The latter may be divided into two orders, intellectual states of the mind and emotions. These orders which are sufficiently distinct in themselves, exhaust, as it appears to me, the whole phenomena of the class."

This classification is, no doubt, both ingenious and satisfactory; being much more simple than the cumbrous enumeration of Reid, and sufficiently comprehensive to include all the powers and susceptibilities of the human mind. But many of the minor details are objectionable both in principle and language. The mind, for example, is identified throughout with its own operations: thought is represented as being merely the mind in a state of thinking; anger, love, and desire, are the mind in so many different states; and, in fact, the mind is described as consisting of its own ideas and feelings, and therefore incapable of existing but when it thinks and feels. It is a mere bundle or succession of ideas and emotions. We admit, indeed, that an attempt is made to obviate this objection; but it must be obvious to every one, that the language of the defence is inconsistent with the expression, as well as with the general tenour of the doctrines to which it refers.

There is perceptible, too, throughout the whole work, a tendency to find fault with Dr. Reid and his opinions, and to lower that distinguished writer as a philosopher and author. By means of a paltry kind of special pleading, an attempt is made to prove that his controversy with the idealists, Descartes, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, originated in a mistaken view of their doctrines in regard to perception. No one who has made himself master of the metaphysical tenets which were held by those ingenious philosophers will agree with Dr. Brown; for it must be granted, either that the disciples of the Cartesian school did not understand their own language, and that the world ascribed to them a set of opinions which they never maintained, or that Reid's strictures on their system were just and well founded. But we find, moreover, that Dr. Reid was frequently attacked when Mr. Stewart's reasoning was the object of the lecturer's vituperation. In a letter to Mr. Erskine he confesses this *ruse de guerre* in the following terms: "I was very much *constrained*, as you may believe, by the unpleasantness of differing so essentially from Mr. Stewart, on many of the principal points. But I conceived that it would be more honourable to state at once my own opinions, than to seem to introduce them afterwards in other years; and *Dr. Reid's* name fortunately served every purpose when I had opinions to oppose, in which Mr. Stewart perhaps coincided. I got off therefore pretty well in that way; though I must confess that it was one of the most unpleasant circumstances attending my situation."

We must not forget to mention, that Dr. Brown composed six or eight volumes of poetry, written generally after the manner of Collins and Akenside; but which, with the exception of one piece, named the "Paradise of Coquettes," have not gained for their author the meed of praise. Mr. Erskine, in one of his letters

to him, very successfully points out the source of his failure, by stating that he "cut blocks with a razor." He was so nice about his words, that he allowed his thoughts to evaporate while searching for an expression. At all events, Dr. Brown's fame will not be supported by his poetical eminence.

Mr. Welsh concludes the "Life" with a highly wrought character of its subject, as a man, a poet, and a philosopher; but like many other unskilful eulogists he defeats his own end by saying too much, as also by inadvertently drawing aside the veil, and showing the original instead of the picture. For instance, after extolling Dr. Brown as the most amiable, and candid, and self-denied, of human beings, he adds, as one of the shades to the brightness of his excellencies, *a tendency to give too little credit to the motives of those who differed from him in sentiment*"—one of the worst tendencies, it must be confessed, that can darken any character, whether literary or political. Again, after praising his philosophical style and talents in terms of the most unbounded admiration, he acknowledges "that Dr. Brown often shows a preference of what is subtle to what is useful, and is sometimes more ingenious than solid." He even applies to him the remark which Buonaparte made on La Place:—"*Il cherchoit des subtilités partout; et portait enfin l'esprit des infiniment petits dans l'administration.*" "His style," he continues, "is too abstract, and his illustrations are not always introduced in the manner that might give them most effect. Many quaintnesses, both of thought and expression, are to be found in his writings. His sentences are often long, sometimes involved," &c. &c. Of these observations we have only to say, that if the author believed them well founded, he ought to have drawn his pen through the twenty pages of hyperbolical panegyric which immediately precede them. Let those, however, who wish to have a favourable specimen of Dr. Brown's talents and manner as a metaphysician, read with attention the "Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect."

ART. XIII.—1. *Prof. Schumacker's Astronomische Abhandlungen*, Altona, 1823. *A Memoir on Refractive and Dispersive Powers, by M. Frauenhofer.*

2. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. IX. On a Monochromatic Lamp, &c., by Dr. Brewster.—On the Absorption of Light by coloured Media, by J. F. W. Herschel, Esq.*

3. *Some Account of the late M. Guinand and his Improvements in the Manufacture of Glass,* 8vo. London, 1825.

M. Frauenhofer has been long known on the continent as a very distinguished practical optician. He has succeeded beyond any artist in this country in producing flint glass for optical purposes, of the most complete transparency, and freedom from flaws and defects. This superiority in his glass has enabled him to prosecute some very important researches, an account of which is contained in the memoir named at the head of this article, as inserted in French, in the well known journal of Prof. Schumacker.

His primary object was to determine with great exactness, for the formation of achromatic object glasses, the dispersive powers of different species of glass. He first tried the effect of correcting the colour by opposing prisms, viewed through a telescope, which is in fact the same method as that originally proposed by Dr. Brewster. But it became an object of attention to examine the dispersion of each coloured ray separately. To do this is a problem which has always been attended with the essential difficulty, of not being able to fix upon rays in the spectrum which are strictly homogeneous, and which can at all times be identified with certainty. In order to get over this difficulty M. Frauenhofer tried, without success, different coloured media and flames: to trials of this kind we shall have occasion to allude in the sequel, as leading to some important discoveries. Our artist, however, next adopted a plan which he considered successful; this was to place six lamps in a row behind a small aperture, close before which was a prism. The separate spectra of each lamp were thus thrown, so that the prism under trial, which was placed at nearly seven hundred feet distance, received only the red rays (for example) from one lamp, and the blue from another, &c., by which means the colours appeared in the form of distinct spaces, separated entirely from each other. We cannot help feeling some difficulty as to the application of this method, but perhaps the description itself is not the clearest that might be given. We do not feel sure that the rays were strictly homogeneous; however, they were capable of exact identification from this further contrivance: a narrow aperture was made in the screen above the six lamps, through which the light of another lamp passed and was received on the second prism; in viewing this, a bright line was seen at the limits of the red and yellow spaces; this was exactly defined, and by means of its invariable position, in comparison with the coloured spaces below, the observer could always be assured that the same identical ray fell on his prism. A number of measurements were thus made with great exactness, from which the great differences in the

ratios of refraction for the same ray in different media, are clearly ascertained.

But the most important point was the appearance of the bright line above mentioned; this M. Frauenhofer next proceeded to study; he found it exhibited alike by the light from all flames, &c. when received through a narrow aperture. He next tried the light of the sun; this was received into a dark room through a narrow crevice, at the distance of twenty-four feet, by a prism of excellent flint glass: in looking at the spectrum thus formed through a small telescope, he observed not only the bright line before spoken of, but an infinity of lines, some dark and some bright, crossing every part of the spectrum at right angles to the direction of its elongation, and not forming the boundaries of the different coloured spaces, but existing in the middle of them, and in fact distributed in some places more plentifully than in others along the whole length, in some parts more conspicuous, and in others more faint. Of all these lines the observer has given an accurate delineation; he counted upon the whole 574 of them; if the aperture be so wide as to subtend an angle of more than 15″ at the eye, the lines disappear. Some of the fainter ones also are not seen, unless the eye be shaded from the glare of the brighter parts. With English flint glass, M. Frauenhofer could only see the brightest lines; but with every sort of glass of his own manufacture, and with prisms formed of liquids, they were all distinctly seen. He then proceeded by an extended series of measurements, with a repeating circle, to determine the angles of deviation which these lines formed when viewed through different media. These lines in fact supply the great desideratum in researches of this nature, and enabled him to determine the deviations belonging to points in the spectrum strictly definite, with any degree of accuracy.

From observing the great number of lines crossing the spectrum, we might be led to suppose that the inflexion of light at the edges of the aperture had some connection with the phenomenon; in order to examine this point, M. Frauenhofer varied the experiment in the following manner: He received the rays through a small circular hole nearly 15″ in diameter; the spectrum thus formed had almost no breadth, but in order to widen it, M. Frauenhofer made the rays pass through a semi-cylinder of glass, by this means the length and order of colours remained unaltered, but the breadth being magnified, he saw as before all the lines. By means of the same contrivance he detected similar lines in the light of the planet Venus, without employing any aperture; the brightest lines only were visible, but they coincided in position with the corresponding ones in the solar spectrum. The light of some of the principal

fixed stars was subjected to the same examination; in some of these, lines were observed in positions different from those before observed. The electric light was tried in the same way; the points of two conductors were connected by a fine fibre of glass, along which the succession of sparks was so rapid as to produce the appearance of a fine line of light. In the spectrum formed by this light, (without passing any aperture,) lines different from any of the former were observed. The light of several flames was similarly examined, and several curious results obtained.

Such is a brief outline of the most important parts of M. Frauenhofer's experiments; they indicate a very remarkable property of light, and present appearances which we believe have not yet been accounted for on any known principles. We must here take occasion to remind our readers, that the discovery of the fact itself, (though evidently unknown to M. Frauenhofer,) was made some years ago by Dr. Wollaston. His experiment was however somewhat different; and owing to the great superiority of his glass, M. Frauenhofer has the merit of having ascertained the almost infinite number of those lines, which in Dr. Wollaston's experiments appeared only a few. M. Frauenhofer must also have the credit of being the first to apply these lines to the purpose of accurate determination of the dispersive power, although Dr. Wollaston made a few observations of this kind. It may be satisfactory to many of our readers if we here mention, that with an ordinary prism of English glass, the principal lines may be very well seen, by looking through the prism at a narrow aperture in a shutter, or screen placed against a window so as to receive the light of the clouds; this was Dr. Wollaston's method: his experiments are given in the "Phil. Trans." 1802; he examined also the light from flame. If any of our readers are inclined to try the experiment, we recommend particularly to them to look at the blue part of a candle flame through a narrow slit; the separation of the colours is very wide and complete.

The mere inspection of the prismatic colours is sufficient to show that the different parts of the spectrum, independently of their colour, possess very different degrees of brightness or illuminating intensity. The late Sir W. Herschel was, we believe, the first who attempted any accurate determination of these relative intensities; he found the greatest illumination in the yellowish-green space, and a gradual decrease from thence towards each extremity. M. Frauenhofer tried similar experiments by a different method, and his determinations were made with greater attention to exactness than perhaps any former; but there appear to us two essential difficulties in his method.

In the first place, the intensity of each coloured ray was to be

equalized with the white or yellowish light reflected by a plane mirror from a lamp; M. Frauenhofer considers it easy, with a little practice, for the eye to judge of this equalization with the requisite accuracy. This we must confess appears to us very doubtful; though the sensation of colour and of intensity may possibly depend on modifications of the same cause, yet the two sensations follow such very different laws, and that difference is dependent upon principles so wholly unknown to us, that we can hardly conceive the possibility of abstracting so entirely from the idea of colour that of intensity, as to enable the mind to decide in any thing like a certain and satisfactory manner, upon the equality of illuminating effect in lights of two different colours simultaneously presented to the eye.

Another and more serious difficulty appears to us to arise from the following considerations: Supposing the illuminating intensities to be really equal; it is well established that if two rays of light, one of a colour approaching more to whiteness than the other, be presented in juxta-position to the eye, the deeper colour of the one will be diluted by the proximity of the lighter colour of the other; that is to say, though not actually combined or blended together, the sensation which the one produces in the eye tends to diminish that which arises from the other. If this, as is highly probable, is owing to the different convergency required for the two, it will obviously take place in a greater degree in proportion as the coloured ray differs in refrangibility from the white. (See *Edin. Phil. Journ.* No. 19, p. 33.)

Whatever weight may be attributed to the objections against this particular method, it is certain that the illuminating intensity sustains a regular decrease from the central yellowish green to the violet on one side, and the red on the other. The series of numbers given by M. Frauenhofer decrease in a more rapid ratio than those found by any other observers, and the tendency of the causes just considered as influencing his results, would be precisely that of producing this rapid diminution. But the decrease of illuminating power towards the red boundary, will become a point of considerable interest in the sequel.

M. Frauenhofer's observations on the illuminating powers of the prismatic rays, led him to several suggestions of practical importance in the construction of telescopes. He attends particularly to the distinction between diminishing the aberration of colour, and producing greater distinctness in the image; as also to the aberration from the want of achromatism in the human eye. When different specimens of glass were examined by the accurate test of the spectral lines, the difference in their dispersive powers was shown, when not otherwise capable of detection. M. Frauen-

hofer found differences of this kind in specimens taken not only from the same crucible, but from the opposite parts of the same piece of glass. By unwearied diligence and laborious trials he has, however, at length succeeded in the manufacture of flint glass, to such a degree, that in a crucible containing four hundred pounds, two pieces, one taken from the bottom, and the other from the top of the same mass, exhibited absolutely the same power.

This becomes the place for noticing the results obtained by a fellow labourer in the same work, M. Guinand. The small publication we have named relative to this individual, is one which we have perused with considerable interest, as exhibiting a remarkable instance of the power of intuitive mechanical skill, in surmounting all the obstacles which circumstances and situation conspired to place in the way of its developement. M. Guinand was the son of a joiner at Neufchatel: as a youth he worked at that trade; subsequently made watch cases; and thus acquiring some idea of casting metals, undertook, on examining a reflecting telescope, to make one; in which he soon succeeded, without any knowledge of optics, and left entirely to his own resources for every part of the work. His next attempt was to make a pair of spectacles. He learnt the art of grinding and polishing the lenses by having once witnessed the process. He hence proceeded to make lenses for telescopes, and constructed several small refracting ones. He now accidentally became acquainted with the principle of the achromatic object glass: and all his energies and labours seemed concentrated upon the means of endeavouring to procure glass free from imperfections for this purpose. This is in fact one of the most difficult problems with which the practical optician is concerned; and the patience, the sagacity, the perseverance, which M. Guinand displayed, in a long series of attempts under the most discouraging circumstances, to obtain his object, were truly surprising. At every failure he seemed to be occupied solely in studying the cause which had occasioned it. And thus, step by step, he contrived to approach at length towards the wished for object, and produced glass more free from striæ and imperfections than any before made. Every disappointment taught him some further improvement, and it was thus that he acquired, what is perhaps the distinguishing characteristic of his method, the mode of joining together into one large disk separate pieces of glass, selected as the most perfectly homogeneous. These he contrived to soften and unite together again, after which they were formed into the required lens, without any perceptible joining or imperfection; in this way he has formed lenses of twelve or eighteen inches diameter. In 1805, his fame had reached M. Frauenhofer, who invited him to Bavaria, to give his important services to the

establishment of Benedictbauern, where glass for optical purposes is largely manufactured under M. Frauenhofer's direction. The glass made by M. Guinand has since become known over Europe; specimens have been tried by the opticians and astronomers of France and our own country. The report of that eminent artist, M. Tulley, as to its great superiority to any made in this country, is couched in the strongest terms; and there can be little doubt that owing to the very perfect transparency which it possesses, we may expect a great increase in the power of refracting telescopes, hitherto so much limited in their degree of improvement. M. Guinand returned to his native place, and continued the construction of telescopes with uncommon ingenuity and success, himself not only having melted, formed, and polished the glasses, and calculated the adjustments, but also constructed every part of the apparatus, and put it together. This remarkable example of untaught genius died in 1823, aged seventy-six. His secret is confided to his son, who undertakes to continue the manufacture so important to the scientific world, upon the same principles as his father.

We before mentioned that M. Frauenhofer's first attempts were directed to obtaining homogeneous light by means of flames and coloured media; in this he was unsuccessful. Dr. Brewster, however, and M. Herschel have been more fortunate. In the memoirs above named by these two distinguished individuals, a great number of experiments are detailed, having in many instances a similar object in view.

Dr. Brewster was in want of homogeneous light, to illuminate objects under microscopic examination; Mr. Herschel wished to obtain it for the prosecution of certain optical researches. Dr. Brewster after numerous trials ascertained the remarkable fact, that almost all bodies in which the combustion is imperfect, such as paper, linen, &c. gave a light in which strictly homogeneous yellow rays predominated; that the yellow light increased with the *humidity* of these bodies; and that a great proportion of the same light was generated when various flames were urged mechanically with a blow-pipe, or a pair of bellows. He thence concludes, that the yellow rays are the produce of an imperfect combustion. However, the most important circumstance was, that the presence of aqueous vapour increased the quantity of yellow light; this was a new fact, and supplied Dr. Brewster with a lamp whose light was truly homogeneous. Diluted alcohol is the pabulum he employs, and he has suggested a convenient form for a lamp for the purpose wanted.

Various media, such as coloured glasses, were also tried. Dr. Brewster investigated the effect of heat in changing the tints of

these glasses; in some the power of absorbing particular colours is altered transiently, in others permanently. He tried the effect of different media in absorbing the different rays of the spectrum, and has given delineations of the spectrum as seen through different coloured glasses.

In Mr. Herschel's experiments the object was nearly the same in the first instance, but he has pursued it in a somewhat different manner from Dr. Brewster, and has arrived at some other results of considerable consequence.

He first examined, as also Dr. Brewster did, the effect of certain coloured glasses in almost obliterating certain coloured spaces in the spectrum, whilst others were transmitted in all their brilliancy. This fact was first noticed by Dr. Young: Mr. Herschel, in applying to the examination of it the uncommon powers of his analytical skill, has resolved the phenomena into their most general expression, and thus traced the cause of many interesting consequences which otherwise would not have been deduced.

For example: one of the glasses he tried was of a ruby red colour; this permitted to pass almost the whole red, and a considerable portion of the orange; and even in strong lights a portion of yellow or a trace of green, but the rest were obliterated. He represents the effect by conceiving a straight line divided according to the proportions of the coloured spaces, to be taken as the abscissa, and at each point ordinates erected representing the proportion of rays transmitted by any medium; the extremities of these ordinates give a curve, which he calls *the type* of this medium. The nature of this curve is determined by observation for each medium; but Mr. Herschel has given an analytical expression, showing the law by which the nature of the curve is altered, according to an increase of thickness in the medium: this is in fact one of the most curious parts of the subject.

"It would appear at first sight," Mr. Herschel observes, "that the effect of doubling or tripling the thickness of any coloured medium, would simply be to increase the depth and intensity of the tint, but not to alter its character. If a white object appear blue through a blue glass, we should expect it to appear still bluer through two, and yet more so through three such glasses. The above formula shows, however, that this is so far from being the case, that the tint of the emergent pencil is essentially dependent on the thickness of the medium; and that it is only from a knowledge of the relative values of the ratios of the intensity, after traversing a thickness equal to unity, for the various parts of the spectrum, that we can say *à priori*, whether the tint of a thick glass will retain any similarity to that of a thin one of the same kind." (p. 447.)

The fact is, the quantity of any coloured ray, transmitted by an

homogeneous medium, decreases in *geometrical* progression, as the thickness increases in *arithmetical.* Thus, however trifling the difference may be at first in the effect of two media, it is always possible to render it sensible by taking a sufficiently great thickness; thus the water of the lake of Geneva is indigo-blue, that of the lake of Como, emerald-green, when viewed through a considerable thickness, though colourless in small quantities. Of this, numerous other instances will occur; such as the difference in the colour of the sea according to its depth, so well known to pilots, as often enabling them to perceive their approach to shoals, &c.

"In some instances, the curve has two unequal maxima in different parts of the spectrum; and if at the same time the greater of these should happen to correspond to a ray of feebler illuminating power than the less, the tint, in small thicknesses of the medium, will (generally speaking) be that of the lesser maximum; the greater vividness of these rays giving them a predominance over the others, though more numerous; but as this inequality of number increases with the increase of thickness, the feebler rays will at length begin to influence the tint, and finally obtain the predominance: thus producing, in several cases, a complete change of colour, not a little surprising to those who are ignorant of its cause. Dr. Thomson's muriated liquor, (chloride of sulphur,) which is yellowish green in very small thicknesses, and bright red in considerable ones, is a case in point; a solution of sap green presents the same phenomenon yet more strikingly. If enclosed between glass plates, slightly inclined, so as to form a thin wedge, its colour towards the edge will appear emerald green, and towards the back blood red, passing in the intermediate thicknesses through a kind of livid neutral tint."

The existence of any real homogeneous yellow in the solar spectrum, has been denied by Dr. Wollaston. The researches both of Mr. Herschel and of Dr. Brewster tend to show, that though the insulation of these rays in perfect purity may not be practicable, yet they may be so far separated, as to place their existence beyond all doubt. Dr. Brewster considers these rays as encroaching on the limits both of the red and green. Mr. Herschel attributes to them a breadth not less than one-fourth of the interval between red and blue. Dr. Brewster draws the conclusion, that both the orange and green are really composite colours.

Of the numerous subsequent experiments of Mr. Herschel, we shall not give any details; they are all of a very interesting nature, and exhibit several very singular changes in the aspect of the spectrum, by a mere addition of thickness in the coloured glasses: the curves which represent them, are all delineated.

From the solar light, Mr. Herschel afterwards turned his attention

to that from flames, &c.: these lights differ extremely in their *types* when examined by the prism, and that in an apparently most capricious manner. Among other results, he found that sulphur, at a stage of inflammation which is extremely violent, as when thrown into a white hot crucible, emits a perfectly homogeneous and brilliant yellow light. In examining the light of a spirit lamp, it was found to become perfectly homogeneous when viewed through a glass consisting of a pale orange and a pale green one cemented together. A lantern formed of such glass, would afford a monochromatic lamp for microscopical purposes.

Some beautiful appearances are detailed, as produced from the tinge given to flames by various substances held in solution with alcohol, &c.

One of the first glasses which Mr. Herschel tried, and one which gave the most important results, was of that blue kind with a purplish tint which is employed for finger glasses, &c. When the spectrum is viewed through a thickness of .04 inch of this glass, the red space was divided into two by a dark line; other changes took place in the rest of the spectrum, which we need not here detail. With a double thickness of this glass further alterations were observed; among which was that the outer red alone remained visible, the inner being totally obliterated. When a great many thicknesses were laid together, the extreme red and violet only were transmitted. Mr. Herschel directed his attention particularly to these outer red rays, and we extract the following important observations upon them:—

"The species of light alluded to is remarkable; first, for its perfect homogeneity, and, secondly, for its position in the spectrum. When the solar spectrum received on a white paper in a darkened room is viewed through a moderate thickness (.08 inch) of that glass, cemented to any red glass of a tolerably pure colour, it will be seen reduced to a perfectly circular and well-defined image of a deep red colour. If a pin be now stuck in the *centre* of the red circle, it will be found, on removing the glass from the eye, to have been fixed in what an ordinary observer would call the *very furthest termination* of the red rays; and a mark similarly made at its circumference, will appear to lie wholly without the spectrum, among the dispersed light which usually hangs about its edges: in other words, the red, thus insulated, is of too feeble an illuminating power to effect the sight in the immediate vicinity of the other more brilliant rays, and only becomes visible when they are extinguished, or greatly enfeebled. To an eye defended by such a glass, vision, through a prism with the largest refracting angle, is as sharp, and the outlines of minute objects as free from nebulosity and indistinctness, as if the rays had suffered no refraction. These characters,—the absolute homogeneity of the rays,—their situation precisely at the least refracted limit of the spectrum, and the facility with which they

may be insulated, render them of peculiar importance as standards of comparison in optical experiments."

In this simple and unpretending manner does Mr. Herschel announce, what we must consider one of the greatest accessions to the catalogues of optical facts, which has been made since Newton first pointed out the unequal refrangibility of the primary rays. To their number Mr. Herschel has added another, whose existence had not previously been suspected: in the analysis of light he has detected a new ingredient, and has thus found a new and exact means of measuring the dispersive powers of different media. To this purpose he has, at the conclusion of his paper, applied the insulation of these extreme red rays, and of the extreme violet: the deviation thus obtained, being of course greater for every sort of glass than any obtained by former methods, and the measurement extremely exact, from the circumstance of the rays being precisely defined and truly homogeneous. The method of operating is, we believe, new, and very simple.

The utility of the extreme red rays for this purpose is unquestionably very great; but the fact will be interesting to philosophers in a variety of other points of view. We have already made some remarks on the decrease of illuminating intensity in the different spaces of the spectrum, from the centre to the extremities: this is closely connected with the existence of invisible rays. It has been ascertained that the eye is somewhat deficient in its power of converging red light: from this cause alone, if the red rays were presented to it in an insulated state, the outer part of the red would be indistinct, and it would be very probable that certain extreme rays might exist which would be altogether invisible; but when the rays are presented in juxta-position, the influence of the central rays which converge at a shorter distance, will tend to increase the deficiency in the perception of the extreme red; and this would be the case, on the supposition that all the rays possessed an intrinsic equal illuminating power, and were all of equal density: but if in this respect they differ, (as we have seen they do,) the diminution will be still more considerable. It would thus be evident, that at whatever distance from the central point the real termination of the spectrum were situated, the apparent illuminating powers must decrease by a much more rapid law, than the absolute and intrinsic intensities would do: so that the apparent limit of the spectrum, would be at a much shorter distance from the point of maximum illumination.*

* For some able illustrations bearing on this point, we refer our readers to a paper by Dr. Brewster, "On the adjustment of the eye," Edinburgh Journal of Science, No. 1, p. 77.

The discovery of the new red rays has, as might be expected, excited great interest; they have been recently examined by Mr. Powell, who has measured their deviation, and observed them also, in the moon's light. In forming the spectrum, as in Dr. Wollaston's experiment above described, their appearance is remarkably distinct; in the spectrum of the blue part of a flame they do not exist, although there is much of the more refrangible red.

On the peculiar importance of these rays, in respect to another branch of physical inquiry, we will not here enlarge, as we believe we shall shortly have a more appropriate occasion of noticing them.

Meanwhile we have to trust to the indulgence of our readers for the length to which our present subject has led us; but we can assure them we have used our utmost endeavours to compress into the shortest compass, all that appeared to us most likely to be generally interesting, in the recent history of optical researches.

ART. XIV.—*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, de ses Causes, et de ses Suites, jusqu'à nos Jours, en Angleterre, en Ecosse, en Irelande, et sur le Continent. Par Augustin Thierry.* 3 tome. Paris, 1825.—*History of the Conquest of England by the Normans, with its Causes from the Earliest Period, and its Consequences to the Present Time.* Translated from the French of A. Thierry, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. London.

OUR readers cannot be ignorant, that of late years much has been done to elucidate our national history. A new era seems to have opened among us; and our writers, disdaining to walk tamely in the footsteps of their predecessors, have determined to consult the original documents, and to think for themselves, unfettered by precedent or authority. The consequence is, that the supremacy which Hume had so long enjoyed, has been shaken; his negligences, and errors, and partialities, have been repeatedly exposed; and his admirers, even in their attempts to prop up his declining reputation, have silently admitted that he has no claim to those qualities, which form the chief praise of the historian, patience of investigation, and fidelity of statement.

Nor has this spirit of research been confined to our own country. The work which lies before us, both in the original French and in its English translation, constantly appeals to original texts and

documents; and its author, Mr. Augustin de Thierry, flatters himself that he has taken so amply from these sources, as "to have left little worthy of citation." His subject, the conquest of England by the Normans, is certainly of sufficient interest to form a work by itself, but the reader will be deceived if he suppose it to include no other period of our history. The author has sought the causes of that conquest in the very first colonization of this island, and has deduced its consequences, in some instances, down to the present day. He has even contrived to connect with it the history of the Welsh, the Scotch, and the Irish, the Normans of the continent, the Bretons, the Anjouans, and the several nations of southern Gaul; an immense outline, which he has filled up in its several parts with very different success.

That Mr. Thierry is a writer of considerable talent, and extensive reading, is sufficiently attested by his work; but to these qualities he adds two others, not very favourable to historical accuracy, a lively imagination, and considerable warmth of feeling. That late event, which he calls "the resurrection of the Greek nation," if it did not originally suggest the plan of his work, has at least guided his pen in its execution. He thinks, that he has discovered a striking resemblance between the condition of the English under the Norman, and of the Greeks under the Turkish despotism, not only in the leading features of servitude, but also in the particular form assumed by the national spirit amidst the sufferings resulting from oppression, both in the moral instincts and superstitious notions to which it gives birth, and the demonstration of national hatred, wherever there exists the will without the power of effectual resistance. Hence, adopting the doctrine of Seneca, that *res est sacra miser*, he makes the history of the oppressed, their wrongs and sufferings, and their struggles to emancipate themselves from the yoke, the favourite object of his attention. All other writers, he persuades himself, have been seduced from their duty by the dazzling splendour which always accompanies the conqueror; and have neglected the most interesting and instructive part of their office, the history of the conquered, who necessarily form the greater, and eventually rise to be the most important portion of the nation. He has therefore sought to supply their deficiencies, and to lay before his readers every instance which he could discover of Norman tyranny, or Saxon retaliation.

We need not be told that human nature is every where the same, and that man, in whatever clime he may suffer, whether in the isles of the Archipelago or those of the northern ocean, will seek to relieve himself and to wreak his vengeance on the oppressor. These are truths which all feel, and which the history of

every country attests. But we are inclined to believe that Mr. Thierry, in his wish to elucidate these principles, has occasionally suffered his judgment to be misled by his imagination, and has attributed the conduct of the people and their leaders to views and motives which never had existence, except in the mind of the writer. To seek to establish any particular hypothesis is as dangerous in history, as it is in natural philosophy. It has a tendency to warp the judgment; it imparts a meretricious colouring to the facts, and it often leads to conclusions widely distant from the truth.

Mr. Thierry begins his history of the conquest of England in the eleventh century with an elaborate account of its condition at the most remote period. Who were its aboriginal inhabitants, he, indeed, knows not: but he can assure us that at some time or other they were driven to the mountains of the north and the west, and many of them across the sea to the neighbouring island of Erin, by an invasion of the Cambrians from Gaul; that the Cambrians in their turn, but after the revolution of some centuries, yielded in like manner to the pressure of a colony of Loegrians from the same country; and that these were followed by a host of Britons, who came from the provinces lying between the Seine and the Loire, and gladly exchanged their native seat for the more tempting tract of land which stretches from the Frith of Solway to that of Forth. All this is gravely narrated as legitimate history, and in its support is alleged the infallible authority of the Tryoeds ynys Prydain, and the other fictions of the Welsh bards.

Thence Mr. Thierry proceeds to the occupation and subsequent abandonment of the island by the Romans; the arrival of Hengist and Horsa as "traders in war;" the conquests and settlements of the several tribes of Saxons; the establishment of the British exiles in America; the devastation of Gaul by the Franks; the solicitude of the popes to convert these barbarous nations for the extension of their temporal influence; the gests of king Arthur; and the non-appearance of that prince after his death, notwithstanding the contrary predictions of the British bards. These subjects fill up the first book. The narrative is rapid, confused, and unsatisfactory; and though the writer does not fully disclose his opinions on religion, we think that we see some reason to doubt whether he believes in any one of the forms of Christianity.

The second book reaches from the first descent of the Danes in 787, to the accession of Edward the Confessor about the middle of the eleventh century. Of this part it will be only necessary to observe, that Mr. Thierry allots to Alfred the Great but a small share of that praise which is bestowed on him by our national

historians. He represents that prince as despotic in his notions, and unjust in his decrees, joined with a contempt for the great, and neglect of the people, which completely alienated from him the affections of his subjects. To this cause he attributes the sudden subjugation of Wessex by the Danish king Gothrun, and the flight of Alfred from his pursuers to the isle of Ethelingay. It was, if we may believe Mr. Thierry, that the Saxons refused to obey the orders of the tyrant; they had rather submit to the yoke of the invaders, than unite for their own protection under the banners of a prince whom they hated. It is, however, to be lamented that the French historian has not pointed out the authority on which his narrative is founded. In the pages of Dr. Lingard we find the same event attributed, and apparently on good authority, to a very different cause, the unexpected approach of the Danish army to Chippenham, in the depth of winter, and before Alfred could have it in his power to collect a force, and oppose it to the invaders. [1]

There is reason to believe that, if Harold had not gone to Normandy, the conquest of England would never have been achieved, perhaps never attempted. It was the oath of fealty which he swore, and the promise of aid which he was compelled to make to William, that gave a semblance of justice to the ambitious design of that prince, and induced numbers to join his standard against the perjured Harold. But what could induce the English earl to put himself into the power of the Norman, the prince whom of all others he had the most reason to dread? To this interesting question Mr. Thierry replies, on the authority of the "Chronique de Normandie," and the "Roman de Rou," that Harold, in defiance of the misgivings and entreaties of Edward, resolved to visit the Norman court, in order to obtain from William the liberation of his two brothers, who were detained there as hostages for his fidelity to his own sovereign; that during his voyage he was shipwrecked on the French coast, imprisoned by the Count de Ponthieu, and ransomed by the Duke of Normandy, who took the opportunity to extort from him both his oath and his promise. To us this account savours of fiction; nor is its credibility much increased by the nature of the authorities on which it depends. We are more inclined to believe those writers who say, not that Harold sailed to liberate his brothers, but that while he was on shipboard on a party of pleasure, he was driven by a storm on the coast of France, where he met with the imprisonment, and compulsion, which have been already mentioned.

Of Mr. Thierry's talents for historical composition, we shall subjoin as a specimen his narrative of the battle of Hastings. It should however be remembered that we quote from the transla-

tion, as being, though perhaps less favourable to the author, more convenient to the generality of our readers :—

"At the moment when the troops where about to advance, William, raising his voice, thus addressed them :—

'"Remember to fight well, and put all to death; for if we conquer, we shall all be rich; what I gain, you will gain; if I conquer, you will conquer; if I take the land, you will have it. Know, however, that I am not come here only to obtain my right; but also to avenge our whole race for the felonies, perjuries, and treacheries of these English. They put to death the Danes, men and women, on St. Bride's night. They decimated the companions of my kindsmen Auvré,* and took his life. Come on, then; and let us, with God's help, chastise them for all these misdeeds.'

"The army was soon within sight of the Saxon camp, to the north-west of Hastings. The priests and monks then detached themselves from it, and ascended a neighbouring height, to pray, and witness the conflict.† A Norman named Taillefer spurred his horse forward in front, and began the song of the exploits of Charlemagne and Rolland, famous throughout Gaul. As he sung, he played with his sword, throwing it up with force in the air, and receiving it again in his right hand. The Normans joined in chorus, or cried, 'God be our help! God be our help!'‡

"As soon as they came within bowshot, the archers and crossbowmen began to discharge their arrows; but most of the shots were deadened by the high parapet of the Saxon redoubts. The infantry, armed with spears, and the cavalry then advanced to the entrances of the redoubts and endeavoured to force them. The Anglo-Saxons, all on foot around their standard planted in the ground, and forming behind their redoubts one compact and solid mass, received the assailants with heavy blows of their battle-axes, which, with a back-stroke, broke their spears, and clove their coats of mail.§ The Normans, unable either to penetrate the redoubts or to tear up the palisades, and fatigued with their unsuccessful attack, fell back upon the division commanded by William. The duke then commanded all his archers again to advance, and ordered them not to shoot point-blank, but to discharge their arrows upwards, so that they might descend over the rampart of the enemy's camp. Many of the English were wounded, chiefly in the face, in consequence of this manœuvre; Harold himself lost an eye by an arrow, but he nevertheless continued to command

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* It was thus that the Normans wrote and pronounced the name of Alfred. *Chronique de Normandie, Recueil des Hist. de la France,* tom. XIII. p. 232. *Wace, Roman de Rou.*

† . . . . . pour orer.
Et pour la bataille esgarder. *Roman de Rou.*

‡ Dieu aïe! *Roman de Rou. Chron. de Normandie,* p. 234. *Henrici Huntingd.* p. 368.

§ Sævissimas secures. *Guil. Pictav.* p. 201.

and to fight. The close attack of the foot and horse recommenced, to the cry of 'Our Lady! God be our help! God be our help!'* But the Normans were repulsed at one entrance of the Saxon camp, as far as a great ravine covered with grass and brambles, in which, their horses stumbling, they fell pell-mell, and numbers of them perished. There was now a momentary panic in the army of the foreigners; it was rumoured that William was killed, and at this news they began to fly. William threw himself before the fugitives, and barred their passage, threatening them, and striking them with his lance; † then uncovering his head, 'Here I am,' cried he; 'look at me; I am still alive, and with God's help I will conquer.'‡

"The horsemen returned to the redoubts; but, as before, they could neither force the entrance nor make a breach. The duke then bethought himself of a stratagem to draw the English out of their position and their ranks. He ordered a thousand horse to advance and immediately fly.§ At the sight of the feigned rout, the Saxons were thrown off their guard; and all set off in pursuit, with their axes suspended from their necks. At a certain distance, a body of troops posted there for the purpose joined the fugitives, who then turned round; and the English, surprised in the midst of their disorder, were assailed on all sides with spears and swords, which they could not ward off, both hands being occupied in wielding their heavy axes.‖ When they had lost their ranks, the openings of the redoubts were forced, and horse and foot entered together; but the combat was still warmly maintained, pell-mell and hand to hand. William had his horse killed under him. Harold and his two brothers fell dead at the foot of their standard, which was plucked from the ground, and the flag sent from Rome planted in its stead. The remains of the English army, without a chief and without a standard, prolonged the struggle until it was so dark that the combatants on each side could recognise one another only by their language." ¶

Mr. Thierry proceeds to narrate with considerable prolixity the subsequent events of the conqueror's reign, the repeated insurrections of the natives, and the severe revenge taken by the Normans: but he refuses to William that praise which many writers have bestowed upon him for the composition of the roll, which has been denominated "the doomsday book." According to the French historian, it was forced upon him by

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* *Chronique de Normandie. Math. Parisiensis*, p. 2, 3. *Monastic. Anglic.* tom. I. p. 311. *Guil. Pictav.* p. 201.

† Verberaus aut minans hastâ. *Guil. Pictav.* p. 202.

‡ Vivo et vincam, opitulante Deo. *Ibid. Chronique de Normandie*, p. 234, 235.

§ *Chronique de Normandie*, p. 234, 235.

‖ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid. Guil. Pictav.* p. 202, 203. *Monastic. Anglic.* tom. I. p. 312. *Math. Westmonast.* p. 224. *Eadmer.* p. 6.

the peculiar situation in which he was placed as the chief of a conquering army, and by the necessity under which he found himself, of establishing some kind of order in the chaos which his victories had made. Similar expedients have suggested themselves to other conquerors in similar circumstances; and what is common to many, ought not to be considered as a proof of superior merit in one.* In this portion of Mr. Thierry's work we find little that is new, unless it be the extraordinary expedient by which he seeks "to strengthen the patriotism of those Englishmen, whom past ages called *villains*, and to whom the present age vouchsafes the epithet of the middling and lower classes." These he advises to take an exact survey of the insulting privileges, which are denied to them, but granted to men of superior rank; "and to have it in their power (should the question of antiquity of lineage—a question so dear to the privileged classes—come to be debated) proudly to maintain that priority of abode on the English soil belongs to plebeians, and that the nobles are new men, as their very names and the dates of their titles testify." We have no doubt that the plebeians will feel grateful to Mr. Thierry for this hint, and still more so, if he will come among us, and point out who are of Saxon and who of Norman descent; for we are sure that without his aid no person in England can do it, and that it will still remain a problem, what individuals can justly claim priority of abode on the English soil!

He concludes his history of the reign of the conqueror with the following picture of the state of England at that period:—

"If, collecting in his own mind, all the facts detailed in the foregoing narration, the reader would form a just idea of England conquered by William of Normandy, he must figure to himself—not a mere change of political rule—not the triumph of one candidate over another candidate—of the man of one party over the man of another party, but the intrusion of one people into the bosom of another people—the violent placing of one society over another society, which it came to destroy, and the scattered fragments of which it retained only as personal property, or (to use the words of an old act) as 'the clothing of the soil.'† He must not picture to himself—on the one hand, William, a king and a despot—on the other, subjects of William's, high and low, rich and poor, all inhabiting England, and consequently all English: he must imagine two nations, of one of which William is a member and the

* A curious manuscript of this description has been lately discovered in Paris. It is written in verse in the Modern Greek, and contains a description of the different fees into which Greece was divided by the Latin crusaders. Mr. Bouchon has undertaken to publish it.

† Terræ vestitus, terra vestita—i. e. agri cum domibus, hominibus, et pecoribus. *Vide Glossar. Cangii et Spelmanni.*

chief—two nations which (if the term must be used) were both *subject* to William; but as applied to which the word has quite different senses, meaning in the one case—*subordinate*, in the other—*subjugated*. He must consider that there are two countries—two soils—included in the same geographical circumference; that of the Normans rich and free, —that of the Saxons poor and serving, vexed by *rent* and *taillage*;—the former full of spacious mansions, and walled and moated castles,—the latter scattered over with huts of straw and ruined hovels:—that peopled with the happy and the idle—with men of the army and of the court—with knights and nobles,—this, with men of pain and labour—with farmers and artizans;—on the one, luxury and insolence,—on the other, misery and envy—not the envy of the poor at the sight of opulence they cannot reach, but the envy of the despoiled when in presence of the despoiler.

"And lastly—to complete the picture—these two lands are in some sort interwoven with each other;—they meet at every point;—and yet, they are more distinct, more completely separated, than if the ocean rolled between them. Each speaks a language foreign to the other,—the land of the rich using the Roman tongue of the Gaulish provinces beyond the Loire, while the old language of the country is heard at the fire-sides of the poor and enslaved."

Having concluded his narrative of the conquest, Mr. Thierry hastens to detail its consequences through the reigns of the children of William, and of their immediate successors. During the whole period he keeps his eye steadily fixed on the real or imaginary contests, which he discovers continually existing between the two races. To the hatred which marshalled them against each other, he attributes every act of violence committed by Norman or Saxon, though with this difference, that in the first case it is an act of aggression, in the second an act of retaliation. But that which will most surprise the reader, is the important discovery which he has made respecting the conduct of Becket, the celebrated archbishop of Canterbury. Becket was of Saxon origin, the first Saxon who had been elevated to the archiepiscopal throne. This sufficed to give wings to the imagination of Mr. Thierry. Hitherto it had been supposed by Becket himself, by his contemporaries, and by posterity, that he fought and bled in the cause of the church: but this, it seems, was a mistake: the French historian has made him the champion of the vanquished; he pronounces it a contest between the Norman tyrant and the oppressed Saxon; and reveres the archbishop as a martyr in the defence of his countrymen, the original proprietors of the English soil.

To the history of Becket, Mr. Thierry has added another of Girald Barry, who was twice elected Bishop of St. David's, in opposition to the will of the Norman monarch, and who long con-

tended against him in support of the independence of the Welsh church. But Barry aspired not to the crown of martyrdom. After a long process, judgment was given against him in the court of Rome; and, though he maintained that the judgment was founded on perjured testimony, he had the wisdom to desist from his pretensions, and to labour to establish his reputation as a scholar and writer, when he found that he would never be permitted to wield the crosier as metropolitan of Wales.

The history, properly so called, terminates with the execution of William, surnamed the Longbeard, who suffered for sedition and treason, at Tyburn, in the year 1196. That this man was of Norman origin is plain from his name of William Fitz-Osbert; but it suited the historian's purpose to make him a Saxon, and he has described his conduct, and that of his associates, as the last attempt of the Saxons to free themselves from the tyranny of the Normans. If the reader have the leisure to follow Mr. Thierry step by step in his quotations on this subject, he will be amused to observe with what felicity, by the occasional introduction of the words Norman and Saxon, and by the creation of motives, of which his authorities knew nothing, he has been able to transform a popular quarrel respecting the unequal division of the taxes among the citizens of London, into a national contest between the two races.

In his last chapter Mr. Thierry has comprised several short notices of different nations. To an account of the invasion of Ireland under Henry II., he has added a rapid narrative of the principal events which have since occurred in that country; but we believe that most of our readers will be disposed to question his accuracy, when they learn that the chief authority on which he relies is that of Sir Richard Musgrave in his history of the Irish Rebellion. A section is also devoted to the history of Wales, from the accession of the Tudors to that of his present majesty: and the French historian informs us, with undisguised satisfaction, that the Welsh are not humbled by their subjection to England; that they consider themselves as better than the proudest of the English nobility; and that since the revolutions in America and France, the national spirit of Wales is become "allied with the great ideas of natural and social liberty, which those revolutions have every where awakened."—To the Scots also he pays many compliments. They have indeed lost their religious and political enthusiasm, but then they have turned to the cultivation of literature those imaginative faculties which he considers a proof of their Celtic origin, whether as Gauls or Britons. Scotland, if we may believe him, is the only country in Europe where knowledge is truly popular, and "where (mirabile dictu!) men of all classes like to learn for learning's sake, *without any interested*

motive, or desire of bettering their condition. They are indeed compelled to write in a language different from that of their habitual conversation, yet they have, if we compare their number, produced more distinguished authors than their English brethren; and in historical narrative, in the manner of relating facts, whether real or imaginary, they have attained a decided superiority, strongly characteristic of their original descent!"

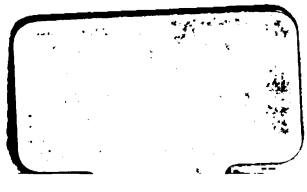
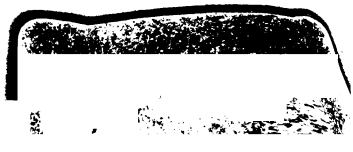
The work concludes with a hasty dissertation on the extinction of the Norman tongue, and the dissolution of the Norman society in England. From it we select the following passage for the information of our readers, who most certainly, had it not been for the pages of Mr. Thierry, would never have been acquainted with the lofty pretension of the London shopkeepers and the Yorkshire farmers.

"As there no longer exists any popular tradition relative to the division of the inhabitants of England into two hostile populations, and to the distinction of the two elements from which the present language is formed, no political passion is now connected with these forgotten circumstances. There are now neither Normans nor Saxons, but in history; and as the latter do not make the more brilliant figure in its pages, the mass of English readers, not being conversant in national antiquities, love to deceive themselves respecting their origin, and to consider the sixty thousand men who accompanied William as the common ancestors of all who now bear the name of English. Thus, a London shopkeeper, or a Yorkshire farmer, will talk of his Norman ancestors, just as a Percy, a D'Arcy, a Bagot, or a Byron would do. Norman, Poitevin, or Gascon names, are no longer, as in the fourteenth century, exclusive marks of rank, power, and large property; and it would be unreasonable to apply to the time present the old verses given as the motto to this work. One fact, however, is certain and easy to prove; that, in an equal number of family names, taken on the one hand from the class of the nobles and those called English *country squires* and *gentlemen-born*, and on the other from that of the tradespeople, artizans, and peasantry, the names of French mould are to be found among the former in much the greater proportion. This is all that is now observable of the ancient separation of the two races; and with this modification we may repeat the words of the old chronicler of Gloucester:—

"'The high personages of this land are descended from the Normans, and the men of low condition from the Saxons.'"

> "the folk of Normandie
> Among us woneth yet, and shalleth ever more:
> Of Normans beth these hygh men that beth in this land,
> And the low men of Saxons."

With these extracts we shall conclude the present article. We

understand that the work of Mr. Thierry is highly popular with a certain description of readers in France: nor are we surprised. What to an Englishman may prove trite or insignificant, ridiculous or unfounded, may often appear to a foreigner the result of deep research and extensive information. To the author, we are willing to allot the praise of industry and ingenuity: but at the same time we may be allowed to say, that his labours have been estimated above their real value, by the vanity or partiality of his countrymen; that his industry has added little or nothing to our former stock of historical knowledge; and that his ingenuity has been chiefly displayed in placing in a doubtful and delusive light some of the most important events recorded in our annals.

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